SUPPLEMENT TO VOL. I.

COMMERCE.

Report of the American Secretary of State, to Congress, concerning the Privileges and Restrictions of the Commercial Intercourse of the United States with Foreign Nations *.

THE Secretary of State, to whom was referred by the House of Representatives, the report of a committee on the written message of the President of the United States of the 14th February, 1791, with instructions to report to Congress the nature and extent of the privileges and restrictions of the commercial intercourse of the United States with foreign nations, and the measures which he should think proper to be adopted for the improvement of the commerce and navigation of the same, has had the same under consideration, and thereupon makes the following report:

The countries with which the United States have their chief commercial intercourse, are Spain, Portugal, France, Great-Britain, the United Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden, and their American possessions: and the articles of export which constitute the basis of that commerce, with their respective amounts, are—

	Dollars.
Bread-stuff, that is to say, bread-grains, meals, and bread, to the annual amount of	7,649,887
Tobacco,	4,349,567
Rice,	1,753,796
Wood,	1,263,534
Salted fish,	941,696
Pot and Pearl-Ash,	889,093
Salted Meats,	599,130
Indigo,	537,379
Horses and mules,	339,753
Whale oil,	252,591
Flax Seed,	236,072
Tar, pitch, and turpentine,	217,177
Live provisions,	137,743
Ships,	
Foreign goods,	620,274

To descend to articles of smaller value than these, would lead into a minuteness of detail neither necessary nor useful to the present object.

The proportion of our exports to the nations before mentioned, and to their dominions respectively, are as follow:

	Dollars.
To Spain and its dominions	2,005,207
Portugal and its dominions	4,698,735
France and its dominions	4,698,735
Great-Britain and its dominions	9,363,416
The United Netherlands and their dominions	1,963,880
Denmark and its dominions	225,415
Sweden and its dominions	47,240

Our imports from the same countries are—

Spain and its dominions	335,110
Portugal and its dominions	595,763
France and its dominions	2,068,348
Great-Britain and its dominions	15,285,428
United Netherlands and their dominions	1,172,692
Denmark and its dominions	351,364
Sweden and its dominions	14,325

Those imports consist mostly of articles on which industry has been exhausted.

Our navigation depending on the same commerce, will appear by the following statement of the tonnage of our vessels, entering in our ports, from those several nations, and their possessions, in one year, that is to say, from October 1739, to September 1790, inclusive, as follows:—

	Tons.
Spain	19,696
Portugal	23,576
France	116,410
Great Britain	43,580
United Netherlands	58,858
Denmark	14,655
Sweden	750

Of our commercial objects, Spain receives favourably, our bread stuff, salted fish, wood, ships, tar, pitch, and turpentine. On our meals, however, as well as on those of other foreign countries, when re-exported to their colonies, they have lately imposed duties, of from half a dollar, to two dollars the barrel, the duties being so proportioned to the current price of their own flour, as that both together are to make the constant sum of nine dollars per barrel.

They do not discourage our rice, pot and pearl ash, salted provisions, or whale oil: but these articles, being in small demand at their markets, are carried thither but in a small degree. Their demand for rice, however, is increasing.—Neither tobacco nor indigo are received there. Our commerce is permitted with

* This report was made in the early part of 1793. It is of great importance, as containing the sentiments and commercial system of the person, who is now President of the United States, and who, of course, has it in his power, to act up to the principles here laid down. He cannot, indeed, adopt any regulations injurious to England, till the stipulations of the treaty of 1794, have expired; but, as they will expire on the 1st. of October, 1803, and as Mr. Jefferson will continue to be President (if he lives so long,) till March 1805, he will not want for time and opportunity to carry his principles into effect.—In every point of view, therefore, this report is of great importance.

the Canary islands, under the same conditions.—

Themselves and their colonies are the actual consumers of what they receive from us.

Our navigation is free with the kingdom of Spain; foreign goods received there in our ships, on the same conditions as if carried in their own, or in the vessels of the country of which such goods are the manufacture or produce.

Portugal receives favourably our grain, and bread, salted fish, and other provisions, wood, tar, pitch, and turpentine.

For flax-seed, pot and pearl ash, though not discouraged, there is little demand.

Our ships pay twenty per cent. on being sold to their subjects, and are then free-bottoms.

Foreign goods (except those of the East-Indies) are received on the same footing in our vessels, as in their own, or any others; that is to say, on general duties of from twenty to twenty-eight per cent. and consequently, our navigation is unobstructed by them. Tobacco, rice, and meals, are prohibited.

Themselves and their colonies consume what they receive from us.

These regulations extend to the Azores, Madeira, and the Cape de Verd Islands, except, that in these, meals and rice are received freely.

France receives favourably our bread-stuff, rice, wood, pot and pearl ashes.

A duty of five sous the kental, or nearly four and a half cents, is paid on our tar, pitch, and turpentines. Our whale oils pay six livres the kental, and are the only foreign whale oils admitted.

Our indigo pays five livres the kental; their own two and a half: but a difference of quality, still more than a difference of duty, prevents its seeking that market.

Salted beef is received freely for re-exportation; but if for home consumption, it pays five livres the kental. Other salted provisions pay that duty in all cases, and salted fish is made lately to pay the prohibitory one of twenty livres the kental.

Our ships are free to carry thither all foreign goods, which may be carried in their own, or any other vessels, except tobaccos not of our own growth: and they participate with theirs the exclusive carriage of our whale-oils and tobaccos.

During their former government, our tobacco was under a monopoly, but paid no duties; and our ships were freely sold in their ports, and converted into national bottoms. The first national assembly took from our ships this privilege. They emancipated tobacco from its monopoly, but subjected it to duties of eighteen livres fifteen sous the kental, carried in their own vessels, and twenty-five livres carried in ours; a difference more than equal to the freight of the article.

They and their colonies consume what they receive from us.

Great-Britain receives our pot and pearl ashes, free, while those of other nations pay a duty of two shillings and three pence the kental. There is an equal distinction in favour of our bar-iron; of which article, however, we do not produce enough for our own use. Woods are free from us, whilst they pay some small duty from other countries. Our tar and pitch pay eleven pence sterling the barrel. From other alien countries, they pay a penny and a third more.

Our tobacco, for their own consumption, pays 1s. 3d. sterling the pound, besides heavy expenses of collection. And rice, in the same case, pays 7s. 4d. sterling the hundred weight; which, rendering it too dear, as an article of common food, it is consequently used in very small quantity.

Our salted fish and other provisions, except bacon, are prohibited. Bacon and whale-oils are under prohibitory duties, so are our grains, meal, and bread, as to internal consumption, unless in times of such scarcity as may raise the price of wheat to 50s. sterling the quarter, and other grains and meals in proportion.

Our ships, though purchased and navigated by their own subjects, are not permitted to be used, even in their trade with us.

While the vessels of other nations are secured by standing laws, which cannot be altered, but by the concurrent will of the three branches of the British legislature, in carrying thither any produce or manufacture of the country to which they belong, which may be lawfully carried in any vessels; ours, with the same prohibition of what is foreign, are further prohibited by a standing law (12 Car. 2. c. 18. s. 3.) from carrying thither all and any of our own domestic productions and manufactures. A subsequent act, indeed, has authorized their executive to permit the carriage of our own productions, in our own bottoms, at its sole discretion; and the permission has been given from year to year by proclamation; but subject every moment to be withdrawn on that single will, in which event, our vessels having any thing on board, stand interdicted from the entry of all British ports. The disadvantage of tenure which may be so suddenly discontinued, was experienced by our merchants on a late occasion *, when an official notification that this law would be strictly enforced, gave them just apprehensions for the fate of their vessels and cargoes dispatched or destined to the ports of Great-Britain. The minister of that court indeed frankly expressed his personal conviction that the words of the order went further than was intended, and so he afterwards officially informed us; but the embarrassments of the moment were real and great; and the possibility of their renewal, lays our commerce to that country, under the same species of discouragement as to other countries, where it is regulated by a single legislator; and the distinction is too remarkable not to be noticed, that our navigation is excluded from the security of fixed laws, while that security is given to the navigation of others.

Our vessels pay in their ports 1s. 9d. sterling per ton, light and Trinity dues, more than

* April 12, 1792.

paid by British ships, except in the port of London, where they pay the same as British.

The greater part of what they receive from us is re-exported to other countries, under the useless charges of an intermediate deposit, and double voyage. From tables published in England, and composed as is said, from the books of their custom-houses, it appears that of the indigo imported there in the years 1793—4—5, one third was re-exported: and from a document of authority, we learn, that of the rice and tobacco imported before the war, four-fifths were re-exported. We are assured indeed, that the quantities sent thither for re-exportation since the war, are considerably diminished, yet less so than reason and national interest would dictate.

The whole of our grain is re-exported when wheat is below 50s. the quarter, and other grain in proportion.

The United Netherlands prohibit our pickled beef and pork, meals, and bread, of all sorts, and lay a prohibitory duty on spirits distilled from grain.

All other of our productions are received on varied duties, which may be reckoned on a medium at about three per cent.

They consume but a small proportion of what they receive. The residue is partly forwarded for consumption in the inland parts of Europe, and partly re-shipped to other maritime countries. On the latter portion they intercept between us and the consumer, so much of the value as is absorbed by the charges attending an intermediate deposit.

Foreign goods, except some East-India articles, are received in vessels of any nation.

Our ships may be sold and naturalized there, with exceptions of one or two privileges, which somewhat lessen their value.

Denmark lays considerable duties on our tobacco and rice, carried in their own vessels, and half as much more, if carried in ours; but the exact amount of these duties is not perfectly known here. They lay such as amount to prohibitions on our indigo and corn.

Sweden receives favourably our grains and meals, salted provisions, indigo, and whale-oil.

They subject our rice to duties of sixteen mills the pound weight, carried in their own vessels, and of forty per cent. additional on that, or 22 4-10th mills carried in ours, or any others. Being thus rendered too dear an article of common food, little of it is consumed with them. They consume some of our tobaccos, which they take circuitously through Great Britain; levying heavy duties on them also; their duties of entry, town duties, and excise, being 4,34 dollars, the hundred weight, if carried in their own vessels, and of forty per cent. on that additional, if carried in our own or any other vessels.

They prohibit altogether our bread, fish, pot and pearl ashes, flax-seed, tar, pitch, and turpentine, wood, (except oak, timber, and masts) and all foreign manufactures.

Under so many restrictions and prohibitions, our navigation with them is reduced almost to nothing.

With our neighbours, an order of things much harder presents itself.

Spain and Portugal refuse, to those parts of America which they govern, all direct intercourse with any people but themselves. The commodities in mutual demand between them and their neighbours, must be carried to be exchanged in some part of the dominant country; and the transportation between that and the subject state must be in a domestic bottom.

France, by a standing law, permits her West-India possessions to receive directly our vegetables, live provisions, horses, wood, tar, pitch and turpentine, rice and maize; and prohibits our other bread-stuffs; but a suspension of this prohibition having been left to the colonial legislatures, in times of scarcity, it was formerly suspended occasionally, but latterly without interruption.

Our fish and salted provisions (except pork) are received in their islands under a duty of three colonial livres the kental, and our vessels are as free as their own to carry our commodities thither, and to bring away rum and molasses.

Great-Britain admits in her islands, our vegetables, live provisions, horses, wood, tar, pitch and turpentine, rice, and bread-stuff, by a proclamation of her executive, limited always to the term of a year, but hitherto renewed from year to year. She prohibits our salted fish, and other salted provisions. She does not permit our vessels to carry thither our own produce. Her vessels alone may take it from us, and bring in exchange, rum, molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa-nuts, ginger, and pimento. There are, indeed, some freedoms in the island of Dominica, but, under such circumstances as to be little used by us. In the British continental colonies, and in Newfoundland, all our productions are prohibited, and our vessels forbidden, to enter their ports. Their governors, however, in times of distress, have power to permit a temporary importation of certain articles, in their own bottoms, but not in ours.

Our citizens cannot reside as merchants or factors within any of the British plantations, this being expressly prohibited by the same statute of 12. Car. 2. c. 18, commonly called the navigation act.

In the Danish American possessions, a duty of five per cent. is levied on our corn, corn-meal, rice, tobacco, wood, salted fish, indigo, horses, mules, and live stock; and of ten per cent. on our flour, salted pork, and beef, tar, pitch, and turpentine.

In the American islands of the United Netherlands, and Sweden, our vessels and produce are received, subjected to duties, not so heavy as to have been complained of; but they are heavier in the Dutch possessions on the continent.

To sum up these restrictions, so far as they are important:

1st. In Europe—

Our bread-stuff is at most times under prohibitory duties in England, and considerably dutied on re-exportation from Spain to her colonies.

Our tobaccos are heavily dutied in England, Sweden, and France, and prohibited in Spain and Portugal.

Our rice is heavy dutied in England and Sweden, and prohibited in Portugal.

Our fish and salted provisions are prohibited in England, and under prohibitoty duties in France.

Our whale-oils are prohibited in England and Portugal.

And our vessels are denied neutralization in England, and of late in France.

2. In the West-Indies:

All intercourse is prohibited with the possessions of Spain and Portugal.

Our salted provisions and fish are prohibited by England.

Our salted pork, and bread-stuff, (except maize) are received under temporary laws only, in the dominions of France, and our salted fish pays there a weighty duty.

3. In the article of navigation.

Our own carriage of our own tobacco, is heavily dutied in Sweden, and lately in France.

We can carry no article, not of our own production, to the British ports in Europe.

Not even our own produce to her American possessions.

Such being the restrictions on the commerce and navigation of the United States, the question is, in what way may they be removed, modified, or counteracted?

As to commerce, two methods occur.

1. By friendly arrangements with the several nations with whom these restrictions exist: —or,

2. By the separate act of our own legislatures for countervailing their effects.

There can be no doubt, but that of these two, friendly arrangement is the most eligible. Instead of embarrassing commerce under piles of regulating laws, duties, and prohibitions, could it be relieved from all its shackles in all parts of the world—could every country be employed in producing that which nature has best fitted it to produce, and each be free to exchange with other mutual surplusses for mutual wants, the greatest mass possible would then be produced of those things which contribute to human life and human happiness; the numbers of mankind would be increased, and their condition bettered.

Would even a single nation begin with the United States this free system of commerce, it would be adviseable to begin it with that nation; since it is by one only, that it can be extended at all. Where the circumstances of either party render it expedient to levy a revenue, by way of impost, on commerce, its freedom might be modified, in that particular, by mutual and equivalent measures, preserving it entire in all others.

Some nations, not yet ripe for free commerce in all its extent, might still be willing to mollify its restrictions and regulations for us in proportion to the advantages which an intercourse with us might offer. Particularly they may concur with us in reciprocating the duties to be levied on each side, or in compensation any excess of duty, by equivalent advantages of another nature. Our commerce is certainly of a character to entitle it to favor in most countries. The commodities we offer are either necessaries of life, or materials for manufacture, or convenient subjects of revenue; and we take in exchange, either manufactures when they have received the last finish of art and industry, or mere luxuries. Some customers may reasonably expect welcome and friendly treatment at every market; customers, too, whose demands increasing with their wealth and population, must very shortly give full enjoyment to the whole industry of any nation whatever, in any line of supply they may get into the habit of calling for, from it.

But should any nation, contrary to our wishes, suppose it may be better to find its advantage by continuing its system of prohibitions, duties, and regulations, it behoves us to protect our citizens, their commerce and navigation, by counter-prohibitions, duties and regulations also. Free commerce and navigation are not to be given in exchange for restrictions and vexations; nor are they likely to produce a relaxation of them.

Our navigation involves still higher considerations. As a branch of industry, it is valuable; but as a source of defence essential.

Its value as a branch of industry, is enhanced by the dependence of so many other branches on it. In times of general peace it multiplies competitors for employment in transportation, and so keeps that as its proper level; and in times of war, that is to say, when those nations who may be our principal carriers shall be at war with each other, if we have not within ourselves the means of transportation, our produce must be exported in belligerent vessels at the increased expense of war-freight and insurance, and the articles which will not bear that, must perish on our hands.

But it is as a resource for defence that our navigation will admit neither neglect nor forbearance. The position and circumstances of the United States leave them nothing to fear on their land-board, and nothing to desire beyond their present rights. But, in their sea-board, they are open to injury, and they have there too a commerce which must be protected. This can only be done by possessing a body of citizen seamen, and of artists, and establishments, in readiness for ship-building.

Were the ocean which is the common property of all, open to the industry of all, so that every person and vessel should be free to take employment wherever it could be found, the United States would certainly not set the example of appropriating to themselves, exclusively, any portion of the common stock of occupation. They would rely on the enterprize and activity of their citizens for a due participation of the benefits of the seafaring business, and for keeping the marine class of citizens equal to their object.—But if particular nations grasp at undue shares, and more especially, if they seize on the means of

the United States to convert them into aliment for their own strength, and withdraw them entirely from the support of those to whom they belong, defensive and protecting measures become necessary on the part of the nation whose marine resources are thus invaded, or it will be disarmed of its defence; its productions will lie at the mercy of the nation which has possessed itself exclusively of the means of carrying them, and its politics may be influenced by those who command its commerce. The carriage of our own commodities, if once established in another channel, cannot be resumed in the moment we may desire. If we lose the seamen and artists, whom it now occupies, we lose the present means of marine defence, and time will be requisite to raise up others, when disgrace or losses shall bring home to our feelings the error of having abandoned them. The materials for maintaining our due share of navigation, are ours in abundance; and, as to the mode of using them, we have only to adopt the principles of those who thus put us on the defensive, or others equivalent and better fitted to our circumstances.

The following principles being founded upon reciprocity, appear perfectly just, and to offer no cause of complaint to any nation.

1st. Where a nation imposes high duties on our productions, or prohibits them altogether, it may be proper for us to do the same by theirs. First burthening or excluding those productions which they bring here, in competition with our own of the same kind; selecting next such manufactures as we take from them in greatest quantity, and which at the same time we could the soonest furnish to ourselves, or obtain from other countries; imposing on them duties, lighter at first, but heavier and heavier afterwards, as other channels of supply open. Such duties having the effect of indirect encouragement to domestic manufactures of the same kind, may induce the manufacturer to come himself into these states, where cheaper subsistence, equal laws, and a vent of his wares, free of duty, may ensure him the highest profits from his skill and industry. And here it would be in the power of the state governments to co-operate essentially, by opening the resources of encouragement which are under their controul, extending them liberally to artists in those particular branches of manufacture, for which their soil, climate, population, and other circumstances have matured them, and fostering the precious efforts and progress of *household* manufacture by some patronage suited to the nature of its objects, guided by the local information they possess, and guarded against abuse by their presence and attentions. The oppressions in our agriculture in foreign parts would thus be made the occasion of relieving it from a dependence on the councils and conduct of others, and of promoting arts, manufactures and population at home.

2d. Where a nation refuses permission to our merchants and factors to reside within certain parts of their dominions, we may, if it should be thought expedient, refuse residence to theirs in any and every part of ours, or modify their transactions.

3d. Where a nation refuses to receive in our vessels any productions but our own, we may refuse to receive, in theirs, any but their own productions. The first and second clauses of the bill reported by the committee, are well formed to effect this object.

4th. Where a nation refuses to consider any vessel as ours, which has not been built within our territories, we should refuse to consider as theirs, any vessel not built within their territories.

5th. Where a nation refuses to our vessels the carriage of any of our own productions, to certain countries under their domination, we might refuse to theirs, of every description, the carriage of the same productions to the same countries.

But as justice and good neighbourhood would dictate, that those who have no part in imposing the restrictions on us, should not be the victims of measures adopted to defeat its effect, it may be proper to confine the restrictions to vessels owned or navigated by any subject of the same dominant power, other than the inhabitants of the country to which the said productions are to be carried. And to prevent all inconvenience to the said inhabitants, and to our own, by too sudden a check on the means of transportation, we may continue to admit the vessels marked for future exclusion, on an advanced tonnage, and for such length of time only, as may be supposed necessary to provide against that inconvenience.

The establishment of some of these principles by Great-Britain alone, has already lost us in our commerce with that country and its possessions, between eight and nine hundred vessels of near 40,000 tons burthen, according to statements from official materials in which they have confidence. This involves a proportional loss of seamen, shipwrights and ship-building, and is too serious a loss to admit forbearance of some effectual remedy.

It is true we must expect some inconvenience in practice, from the establishment of discriminating duties. But in this, as in so many other cases, we are left to chuse between two evils. These inconveniences are nothing, when weighed against the loss of wealth, and loss of force, which will follow our perseverance in the plan of indiscrimination. When once it shall be perceived that we are either in the system or the habit of giving equal advantages to those who extinguish our commerce and navigation, by duties and prohibitions, as to those who treat both with liberality and justice, liberality and justice will be converted by all into duties and prohibitions. It is not to the moderation and justice of others we are to trust for a fair and equal access to market with our productions, or for our due share in the transportation of them; but to our own means of independence, and the firm will

to use them. Nor do the inconveniences of discrimination merit consideration. Not one of the nations before-mentioned, perhaps not a commercial nation on earth, is without them. In our case, one distinction alone will suffice, that is to say, between nations who favour our productions and navigation, and those who do not favour them. One set of moderate duties, say the present duties, for the first, and a fixed advance on these, as to some articles, and prohibitions as to others, for the last.

Still it must be repeated that friendly arrangements are friendly with all who will come into them; and that we should carry into such arrangements all the liberality and spirit of accommodation, which the nature of the case will admit.

France has, of her own accord, proposed negotiations for improving, by a new treaty, on fair and equal principles, the commercial relations of the two countries. But her internal disturbances have hitherto prevented the prosecution of them to effect, though we have had repeated assurances of a continuance of the disposition.

Proposals of friendly arrangement have been made on our part, by the present government, to that of Great-Britain, as the message states: but, being already on as good a footing in the law, and a better in fact, than the most favoured nation, they have not as yet discovered any disposition to have it meddled with.

We have no reason to conclude that friendly arrangements would be declined by the other nations, with whom we have such commercial intercourse as may render them important. In the mean while, it would rest with the wisdom of Congress to determine whether, as to those nations, they will not surcease *ex parte* regulations, on the reasonable presumption that they will concur in doing whatever justice and moderation dictate should be done.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Report made to the National Convention by ROBERJOT, *relative to his Mission into the Countries conquered by the Armies of the North, and of the Sambre and Meuse* *.

Topographical and Commercial Details, relating to the Countries acquired by Conquest on this Side of the Rhine.

These conquered countries may be divided into two zones; one of which is bordered by the rivers of the Rhine and the Meuse, and the other by the latter river and the ocean.

This vast territory is intersected by other rivers, the principal of which is the Moselle, the Roër, the Sambre, the Lys, and the Scheldt: they are all in a great degree navigable.

The country between the Meuse and the Rhine, comprises a part of the Dutchy of Cleves, a part of Holland, the province of Guelderland, the principality of Meurs, the country of Juliers, the Electorate of Cologne, the Dutchy of Limburg, the Marquisate of Franchemont, the principality of Stavelot, the Dutchy of Luxemburg, the greatest part of the Electorate of Treves, Bingheim, the town of Mentz, and a very small part of that Electorate, some part of the bishoprics of Worms, and Spires, most of the Palatinate, the Dutchy of Deux-Ponts, and other countries of inferior importance.

The territory beyond the Meuse comprises the Low Countries of Austria, the remainder of the country of Liege, Dutch Brabant, and some divisions or parcels of territory between the Meuse and the Rhine.

The first zone has a superficies of one thousand one hundred and thirty square leagues, and contains a population of one million eight hundred and seven thousand inhabitants; which gives a proportion of one thousand one hundred and fifty-eight inhabitants to every square league.

The second contains a territory of nine hundred square leagues; the population is about one million seven hundred and thirty thousand. Each square league contains an average of one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two individuals.

The complete superficies of the two countries is two thousand two hundred and thirty square leagues, and the whole population about three millions five hundred and seven thousand inhabitants.

On returning to the country between the Meuse and the Rhine, it is observable, that different portions of the territory have an equal population; that industry is much varied, and the soil is more or less fertile.

The Dutchy of Cleves belongs to the King of Prussia; it is very fertile in corn; its commerce and industry are principally directed to linen cloth, but leather is likewise manufactured.

I here allude only to the left bank: if I add the principality of Meurs, which is situated in the middle of Guelderland, there will be an extent of thirty-six square leagues, and sixty thousand inhabitants.

Guelderland is in the possession of Holland, Austria, and Prussia: the three portions belonging to these powers contain thirty-six square leagues, their population amounts to seventy thousand individuals. This province is very fertile, though it has some heaths of considerable extent: its commerce and industry are principally confined to damask and plain linen.

The country of Juliers contains one hundred and thirty square leagues, and two hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants. It belongs to the Prince Palatine: this is one of the most fertile countries. It has manufactories of cloth, linen, and brass; there are foundries and forges, a quantity of coal, and manufactories of various kinds, particularly those of needles and thimbles.

* This article contains a vast deal of information, which is, at this time, become peculiarly interesting.

The Electorate of Cologne is a piece of land which extends along the Rhine: it contains about fifty-seven square leagues, and comprises sixty thousand inhabitants; it is the most fertile part of the whole country, and its manufacture is chiefly linen.

The Dutchy of Limburg belongs to the Emperor: it produces a quantity of forage, but not much corn; it rears a number of cattle, and its industry is very extensive: woollen cloth of all qualities is manufactured, and coal mines opened; it contains fifty-four square leagues, and twenty-four thousand inhabitants.

The Marquisate of Franchemont, and the principality of Stavelot belong, the former to the Prince of Liege, and the latter to the Abbé de Stavelot, who is a prince of the Empire. The territory of Liege, which is on the right bank of the Meuse, contains sixty-two square leagues, and ninety thousand inhabitants: they manufacture cloth and leather, and cultivate forage and grain, though to no very considerable extent.

The Dutchy of Luxemburg belongs to Austria: it contains three hundred and sixty square leagues, and three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants: its principal trade is in wool. This Dutchy possesses much wood, and is not fertile.

The Electorate of Treves is the property of the bishop elector: it contains an hundred and sixty square leagues, and one hundred and thirty thousand souls. This country does not abound in grain, but it produces wine; there are many foundries and forges, particularly in the vicinity of Blankheim; where marble and slate are also procured.

The palatinate and the portions of the bishoprics of Worms, Spires, and the Dutchy of Deux-Ponts, Bingheim and Mentz; together with the small portion of this electorate and some other parcels of adjoining territory, have a superficies of four hundred leagues, and contain five hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants. This country is in a state of the greatest fertility; it has mines of very good iron, and several which abound in mercury have been opened. Lastly, that nothing may be omitted, the territory near Nimeguen, and the portion of the country of Namur, situate on the right of the Meuse, contain twenty-seven square leagues, and twenty-seven thousand inhabitants.

The second zone is divided into three parts; it comprises the Austrian Netherlands, the country of Liege, and Dutch Brabant. This extent of territory is more rich and fertile than that between the Meuse and the Rhine.

The population of the Austrian Low Countries amounts to twelve hundred and thirty-five thousand individuals, and its superficies is five hundred and seventy square leagues. This country contains mines of iron and lead, and a quantity of coal: its manufactures consist of cloth and linen; and several substances used in the arts are also prepared; agriculture is carried to the greatest perfection: great quantities of rape seed and other oils are produced; its trade is very great; in short, this is the richest and most abundant country in Europe.

That part of the country of Liege which is to the left of the Meuse, excepting the canton of Hezebaye and some communes near the river, is not generally fertile, but the people are very industrious; much coal is explored, and a quantity of allum and leather manufactured; there is also a great demand for the lime of this country. The town of Liege in particular, contains several manufactories of very good fire arms, and nails for ship-builders and others: the people are very active and laborious. This territory contains an hundred and ten square leagues, and two hundred and ninety-five thousand inhabitants.

Dutch Brabant, and other of the Dutch possessions extend to two hundred and twenty square leagues, and have two hundred thousand individuals. This country abounds in pastures, and in some parts produces abundance of grain.

This vast territory being divided into numerous compartments, there is no part but what has its customs, excise duties, and tolls: here certain privileges are enjoyed, which do not exist elsewhere: the customs, idioms, and manners generally differ: industry prevails among these people more from the circumstances and prodigality of nature, than from a wise administration, and laws calculated to promote the interest and happiness of the people. Each prince has endeavoured to ruin his neighbour, by preventing importation, with more ardour than he has studied the interest of his people. For many centuries feudality has existed in all its force: the clergy have constantly given proofs of their dominion.

This people, amidst the riches of nature, are not permitted to enjoy her bounties: every thing is shackled in its commerce and industry; and whatever they have acquired to the present time is rather the fruit of their activity and genius, their natural inclination for the arts, and for the conception of great enterprises, than of the combined measures of their government.

Holland has deprived this territory of its commerce; England has ruined its manufactures; in short, it has been plundered of every thing except the riches of its soil, its happy situation, which facilitates its natural advantages, and its manufacture of linen and lace, because of these it could not readily be deprived.

Notwithstanding these restrictions, this country abounds in productions; its industry is excessive; and it has an extensive trade. To form an idea as to the degree of prosperity it may attain, if a free government were to give full scope to the activity of the inhabitants, let us examine its different sources of wealth.

You will have an exact picture of the fertility of the soil, when you know that the Dutch derive from this country a vast quantity of corn; that this necessary article is also sent into France, and exported to the country of Munster, the Dutchy of Berg, and the countries of Mark and Faim, which are on the right bank of the Rhine; the presence of the two armies did

not hinder this exportation, and the inhabitants supplied those armies with provisions.

Independant of this consumption, which was enormous, grain was used, the same as before the war, for making beer, which is the general drink of the inhabitants; a great quantity was also used for making the gin called Geneva, which is likewise in common use throughout the whole of the conquered country; in short, the inhabitants have, even now, a sufficient stock of provision to last till the month of Nivôse.

It is considered as a general average, that the country produces corn enough for the supply of three times its own population.

With respect to its industry, notwithstanding the restrictions and innumerable difficulties which the governments have never ceased to impose upon it, it is proportionably more extensive than in any other country.

At Aix-la-Chapelle we find manufactories of needles: these articles are as good, and as finely polished as those made in England: thirty mills are daily employed in polishing them.

In this town, and in those of Verviers, Neaut, Montjoie, Ensival, Franchemont, &c. they make common woollen cloth, and several other articles, which are equal in quality to those of England and France.

It is the activity of these inhabitants which has deprived England of two-fifths of her exports of serail cloth to the Levant.

At Stolberg several individuals manufacture brass wire and plates, which are exported to all the neighbouring states.

At Cologne manufactories have been established for iron stoves, so generally sought after in consequence of their solidity and elegance of form.

At Liege they make fire arms, which are in general request for their beauty and the excellence of their finishing: in this neighbourhood also, as well as in the course of the Meuse, they extract allum, so necessary for dying, and other arts.

In Austrian Flanders are manufactured common and damask cloths, and laces, which for beauty have never been equalled in any other country.

At Liege, Stavelot, and part of Guelderland, they prepare leather, the goodness of which is universally admitted.

At Malmedi they make cards and pasteboards, which are equal in quality to those of England.

In the country of Blankheim they cast iron, and by a very good process, prepare it for being converted into steel.

At Namur and its vicinity, brass wire is made, and copper caldrons, as good as those of England. This last article is very important.

As to commerce it is not what it used to be; it is confined in the interior, to the difficult conveyance of wrought articles from one country to the other, and externally, to whatever they may have in excess.

The former cannot prosper till the numerous duties on the frontiers are totally suppressed. The latter will be more considerable, when the same shackles are abolished, and the navigation of the rivers made free. The articles for exportation are needles, which are sent to France, Italy, Spain, the Levant, Germany, and the states of the North.

The serail cloths are particularly reserved for Smyrna and the ports of the Levant.

The broad cloaths are exported to Germany, Prussia, Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark.

The linen, laces, and flax are sent to all parts of the globe.

The coal and iron are destined for Holland and France.

The plates of brass are for Switzerland, Geneva, France, and all countries where clock and watchmaking is general.

The leather is dispatched to the Northern countries, and the caldrons to the neighbouring states.

From this enumeration, it is easy to conceive the resources of this country, and the riches which it contains; of those it may yet procure, and of all the means that may contribute to this end; and we may foresee the advantage which France will at a future time derive from a country unknown in the respects I have mentioned, and of the importance of which we do not seem to be sufficiently aware.

Examination of the Question relative to the Limits of the Rhine.

The question here naturally presents itself, Whether it is of importance to the republic to add these countries to its territory; whether this union ought to comprise the whole, or only a part of them, and in this case, what limits ought to be fixed upon?

This proposition requires a serious examination, and to be considered under every aspect. To treat of it completely, I ought to state some principles, and previously to acquaint you with some facts. They will tend to illustrate the subject, and place it in a fair point of view.

The French being able to give the law to a powerful enemy, ought to dictate it in the treaty of peace which they are about to conclude, with all the conditions that may ensure their weakness, and our own strength.

The treaty of peace ought to specify the limits; it should trace the direction of these barriers in such a manner that they cannot be easily overcome.

The articles of this treaty ought to prevent the sparks of war from being re-kindled, and should be adapted to the present as well as to the future.

As ambition, jealousy, and the spirit of competition, may tend to make this enemy, in certain times and places, project new enterprises against the French nation, this treaty ought to weaken his means of hostility, if not to entirely deprive him of such means.

The arrangement of these conventions should be so combined, that the execution of all the

clauses may turn to the profit and power of the Republic.

These data, the justice of which cannot be disputed, will serve to resolve the question that has been proposed.

There prevail in general three opinions respecting the conquered countries.

One is, that it is politic and just to abandon these countries, and resume our own frontiers, remaining satisfied with having repulsed the enemy from our territory.

The second is, to confine our boundaries to the course of the Meuse.

The third is, to fix them at the Rhine.

The first of these opinions is defended by the necessity of our making peace, the inconveniences which will result from a territory too extensive, and the necessity of preventing the enemy from every opportunity of attacking us, by leaving him no pretext for hostility; because, say the partisans of this opinion, he would never want the motives for such a measure, if he were deprived of a country whose value would be the subject of perpetual regret.

The second is founded upon the idea that, by the territory comprised between the Meuse and the Ocean, belonging to France, it would facilitate the preservation of the advantages expected from the opening of the Scheldt, and the navigation of the Meuse, secured by the treaty of peace with Holland.

That it is just for the French nation to be indemnified for her expenses in defending her liberty, to the detriment of those who wished to deprive her of it.

That this territory, on account of the richness of its soil, and the industry of its inhabitants, cannot be otherwise than profitable, in every respect, to the French nation.

Those who support this opinion, think that a greater extent of territory than that of which they speak, will be no addition to these advantages.

The third, in short, rests upon the consolidation of the republic, which can only take place by the extension of her limits to the Rhine;

On the impossibility of Austria, under similar limits, to form new schemes against the French;

On the indemnity justly due to the nation for the expenses of a war of three years;

On the obstacles which this arrangement presents to the house of Austria, whose power it is necessary to diminish;

It also rests upon the necessity of procuring an advantageous commercial and political balance to the nation; a balance which remains secured by the union of these countries, as we shall then be able to open more intimate commercial relations with the North, and with some of the circles of Germany, and to increase our maritime trade;

It is founded on the circumstance of the free navigation of the Rhine, the slightest restriction on which would make the parts of this river which are secured to us, of no effect, while the liberty of its entire course renders incalculable the profits of its navigation;

On the means of appropriating to ourselves the resources afforded by industry, the progress of the arts, and the exploring of some mines, privileged by their scarcity, of which we are, in France, deprived;

On the infallible opportunity which offers of possessing ourselves of several branches of commerce followed by the English, our most inveterate enemies;

On the goodness of disposition of most of the inhabitants between the Meuse and the Rhine, who have several times solicited their union with France, at the National Convention; and, lastly,

On the wish of the French nation, which is less anxious to make peace than to grant the most favourable conditions.

First opinion. The return to the ancient limits, impolitic and unjust.

I shall stop a little, in order to refute this opinion: it is the opinion of the partisans of Austria, and of those who are too easily alarmed about the future fate of France, in case her limits should be remote.

In admitting this opinion, we are gratuitously deprived of those advantages which France may expect to derive from the opening of the Scheldt, and the free navigation of the Meuse, the two great sources of wealth for the frontier departments.

The nation would degrade herself in the eyes of Europe, if she so easily consented to give up the fruits of her conquest; she would leave to Austria, naturally jealous of our prosperity, every means of doing us injury; for the latter may break off our commercial connections whenever she pleases, in order to profit by the first circumstances which may be favourable to her for overthrowing the edifice of our liberty, and avenging herself for the humiliation she has experienced from our armies during the last campaign.

This would be giving to our enemy the opportunity of recovering from the state of distress in which the war has involved him; of reinforcing and reanimating his forces; and would leave him the means of again, and more adroitly, concerting his operations, and combining his plan with more maturity, whenever he may be inclined, under the weakest pretext, and profiting by our dissensions and wants, to declare a new war against us.

Hence it is neither politic nor just for us to return to our former limits.

Second opinion. The withdrawing of the limits to the course of the Meuse insufficient and unsafe.

Let us now examine the second opinion. Although this may be in many respects, more proper to consolidate the republic than the first, and may be advantageous in several points of view; there are nevertheless those who regard

the course of the Meuse as an insufficient and unsafe limit.

They agree that the French nation would find, in the countries she would retain, an indemnity proportionate to the greatest part of her expenses which have been occasioned by the war, but it is not under this point of view alone that the boundary in question ought to be considered; it ought to be known whether we do not leave to Austria all the means of recovering the territory which we should reserve to ourselves, and whether such a measure would tend to produce a durable peace?

Those who have taken a survey of the countries in question, and have followed the course of the Meuse, ought to know that this river proceeds between two ranges of mountains which decline only towards Maestricht: that the heights which border on both shores vary but little from each other; and that this river is fordable at certain seasons of the year.

That Namur and Liege, the two principal towns situated on the left bank of this river, and which are the most frequented places of resort, are commanded in every direction.

It was from the position of Chartreux, that the suburbs of Mercœur, and of the town of Liege, were burnt and destroyed by the Austrians, though the French were in possession of the citadel on the left bank. From a similar position the town of Namur might be destroyed in a few hours.

The positions of the river Meuse, therefore, do not form obstacles strong enough to prevent the enemy from attempting a passage, and invading the territory we should retain; it cannot also in any way serve as a frontier proper for guaranteeing the security of the country which it leaves between it and the ocean; it is only useful for fixing such limits as will not be subject to dispute, without affording a rampart, a means of security, or sufficient points of defence.

The enemy, placed between the Meuse and the Rhine would always be able to collect his forces, to make a provision of corn, to procure iron in large quantities for the use of artillery, and to equip his troops with Limbourg cloth; nothing, therefore, can prevent him from taking all these precautions, while he is in the territory which affords such numerous resources.

Occupying the heights, he will be able to effect, through the whole extent of the line, the first passage which negligence or weakness might induce him to attempt.

The country between the Meuse and the Rhine is rich in population, and productions of every kind, in horses, industry, and mines; the courage of the French and their enthusiasm for liberty, that intrepidity which is acquired after several victories, the terror and want of courage which prevail among an enemy always vanquished, the ascendency caused by the conviction that we spill our blood for our country and not for a master, that we fight for ourselves, for our own happiness, and for that of our brothers, all tended to make the French soldiers successfully repulse the Austrian troops who have always been celebrated for their bravery.

The limits fixed by the course of the Meuse will not sufficiently ensure the liberty of the French people: the enemy, it is true, will prove less powerful, when declaring war against us; but he will yet have means sufficient to renew a war, whenever he may consider it consistent with his interest to attack us.

Third opinion. Advantages of the limits of the Rhine.

Let us now refer to the third opinion, against which there is a greater number of opponents, because it is, perhaps, the interest of a power with whom we have treated, to prevent it from being received in a favourable light.

Those who are in favour of this opinion are persuaded that by adopting the limits of the Rhine, Austria, and the Circles will not be able to form new enterprises. This river differs in a great degree from the Meuse; its current is more rapid, its bed is generally double as wide, it is likewise deeper; it is every where more difficult to navigate, and pass; its banks are sometimes steep, in other parts they admit of an easy landing.

By taking the Rhine for our limits, there is consequently a greater advantage than by stopping at the Meuse; but it is not from these considerations alone that it is necessary to adopt those frontiers.

I have already stated that the country between the Meuse and the Rhine would afford immense sources to an enemy who may occupy it; that he would find at all times, and in great abundance, every thing necessary for the support of a vast army. It is therefore to our interest to take advantage of circumstances which may injure our enemy; the advantage which would thereby result to us would be the greater, as the Austrian troops, being forced to occupy the right bank, could not maintain themselves long there without a considerable expense, which would soon oblige them to cease hostilities in that position.

From the Dutchy of Cleves to Mentz, the country in general is not very fertile, the inhabitants not cultivating a sufficient quantity of corn for their own use; it is not unusual to see them obliged to eat bread made of oats. This country is mountainous, arid, and intersected by ravines, or hillocks, which render the conveyance of necessaries difficult: some very small portions of good soil ought not to make an exception and render less exact the description which has just been given of almost the whole of the territory.

We know the difficulty which Austria has experienced to support the divisions of her army, which were posted on the right bank of the Rhine and its vicinity, the necessity which that army was under of returning from this river, in order to encamp in a more fertile country, the exhausted state of its resources, in consequence of the expenses which were necessary, for the precaution of eking out the small quantity of

corn, among the most important divisions of this army; we know that necessity induced some larger farmers in this country, to dispose of all the provisions that could be spared at this period of scarcity.

This country alone, therefore, cannot support a certain number of men who might be compelled, by a state of war, to reside in it for a length of time. Nobody is ignorant that the dutchies of Berg, the greatest part of the county of Mark, and that of Saim, and a part of the Dutchy of Westphalia, are annually supplied with their stock of provisions from the country of Cologne, from Guelderland, the Dutchy of Cleves, and the country of Juliers, which lie on the left of the Rhine. It is only, as may be perceived, with the greatest precautions, expenses, and trouble, that the Austrian troops are supported on the right side of the Rhine, and it is easy to be persuaded that the support of this army can only be the means of exhausting the power to whom it belongs.

Let us add, that being deprived of such a vast and populous territory, the armies of such a power will be greatly diminished, and consequently this will be a real cause of a constant and immediate decay.

For several years the ambition of the House of Austria has been evident; this last war is a convincing proof of the assertion. It was not so much with a view of reinstating our late king in his former power, as with that of acquiring some of the provinces of France, that it put itself at the head of the coalition; the project of the powers who formed it, is now no longer a mystery. To deprive this house of a country which served to nourish its ambition, to force it to be satisfied with a territory which policy would induce it to maintain, and the limits of which have been defined by nature, is to serve the interest of the nation. Our generosity towards such a great enemy ought not to make us lose sight of the happiness of our fellow citizens, of future generations. These motives alone are sufficient to fix the limits of France at the Rhine; but there are other more important considerations, which may yet be appreciated by the partizans of this opinion, and which are about to be disclosed.

It is of consequence that we should endeavour to acquire an advantageous balance, since on this does relative power at present depend. It is admitted that, till now, this balance has been to our disadvantage, though the nature and genius of the French might have made every effort to obtain it. The principal means of acquiring it are, the exportation of an excess of commodities and of manufactures, objects of the arts which have become necessary among a polished people; in short, commerce, and the certainty of a market for every branch of industry; the real value of such articles, and the profit on the workmanship, compose a mass of wealth which constitutes the riches of the people who are able to devote themselves to employments of activity and industry.

Now, it is easy to prove that France, by the proposed union, will obtain this advantage, since, to the objects which proceed from her industry and her soil, may be joined those procurable from this new territory.

I have already said that this country has an excess of articles of merchandize, two-thirds more than is required by its population. I have also observed, that the articles of industry particular to those countries, such as linens, laces, threads, and flax, cloths of Limbourg, Aix, &c. needles and thimbles, brass-work, fire-arms, hats, stoves, nails, oils, refineries, alum, &c. &c. are exported in great quantities to Russia, Prussia, Poland, the Islands, Denmark, Sweden, France, Germany, England, the Levant, Switzerland, Geneva, and Spain.

I have stated that pit-coal is exported to Holland, where it is preferred to that of England; that the country of Blankheim furnished a prodigious quantity of iron of a good quality; that the Palatinate contained very rich mines of cinnabar; that there was in the vicinity of Aix-la-Chapelle, a mine of oxide of zinc, which is exported to Sweden, Prussia, England, Denmark, and Germany: all these articles, of utility to foreigners, are inexhaustible sources of wealth, which would remain with the enemy, if we were to consent to leave him in the possession of such a fruitful country.

This important territory being retained by France, its industry, so multiplied and various, cannot fail to give the French a preponderance which must turn the balance in their favour.

Another motive not less interesting for the preservation of this boundary is, that we may add to these immense riches the profits that must arise from the free course of a river, the importance of preserving which is an object of the greatest consideration.

The Rhine, from the territory of France, passes through immense, fertile, and industrious countries, touching with one extremity the soil of liberty, and with its principal mouth the Ocean; two of its branches extending to the sea of Zuyder-Zee, receiving the Mein, the Necker, and other rivers, which proceed from the interior of Germany; it is the most interesting of rivers, the most proper for communication, and for the conveyance of a multitude of objects of commerce, which would flow into a part of France and into the new territory, where liberty would require them, for the interest of individuals.

Already assured, by our property, and by the treaty of peace with Holland, of a part of its course sufficiently extensive, shall we, by frivolous pretexts, deprive ourselves of views, the effects of which are incalculable, by consenting to give up the barriers, and to other interruptions which would impoverish us, and enrich our neighbours or our enemies? No, we ought to wish for the success of the French nation; we ought to accelerate and induce its success, while the means are in our hands.

But one of the grand causes which ought to induce us to take the Rhine for our frontiers,

is, that we should thereby appropriate to ourselves the branches of commerce, which are now possessed by England. Favouring with all her might the little views of political economy of the Electors or Princes who have possessions along the Rhine, she has supported them in the opinion that to increase their revenues, it was necessary to maintain, increase, and multiply the duties on the articles of exportation, she has excited a spirit of hatred and rivalry among them, so as to make them forbid, and proscribe the use of the respective products of industry in each others country; she has induced them to believe that these little means would serve to render the manufactories active, and to multiply the various branches of industry.

England, always active in acquiring certain markets for her manufactures of cloth, had cast her attention towards the countries bordered by the Baltic, as Russia, and some states of the North.

Well assured that the proximity of the province of Limbourg would soon deprive her of that part of her traffic with those vast countries, she has incessantly endeavoured to shackle the transportation of similar articles, by laying duties upon them, which augmented the price, and prevented them from reaching distant markets.

By uniting these Dutchies to France, they will immediately enjoy the liberty of exportation; they will instantaneously furnish the above mentioned states: the cheapness of the workmanship, the facility of conveyance, and the exemption from certain duties will soon establish a preference which will distance the English, because they cannot furnish similar articles at the same price, and the republic will directly enjoy this branch of commerce, to the exclusion of her enemies.

There will be several other objects gained, as well as the latter: the arts and industry being encouraged, will flourish with rapidity; most of the neighbouring nations will trade, in preference, with the united countries, and our commercial relations extending far and wide, will increase the wealth of the French nation.

Wish of the majority of the inhabitants that the limits should be fixed at the Rhine.

The determination of the limits by the course of the Rhine is still the wish of the majority of the inhabitants. You have frequently heard their desire of forming a part of the great family, expressed at your bar: their anxiety on this subject has been manifested by numerous addresses from the constituted authorities, which expressed the wish of the people: you are acquainted with the steps they have taken to facilitate an union which must prove of mutual advantage.

Malevolence has been exerted in vain to blacken their intentions, and calumniate their conduct. Without doubt there are to be found among them many enemies to the liberties of the people; enemies who were fostered by oppression, biassed by the prejudice of slavery, interested, perhaps, in supporting the ancient order of things. These very persons would in vain make us believe that their wish is that of their fellow-citizens: it is only necessary, in order to be convinced of the falsity of such an assertion to make a tour through the countries in question.

There is no doubt that facts have occurred which prove the inclination of the partisans of Austria, to induce the inhabitants of those countries to execrate the very name of the French: several agents of the Republic have been known to exercise a degree of despotism and injustice over those inhabitants, sufficient to induce them to revolt; but, animated with good-will towards us, they were capable of distinguishing the agents from the whole nation; their animadversion and contempt were directed against those agents, and their hearts still remained attached to France.

A great error prevails respecting these countries. It is generally supposed that the people are not so much enlightened as those of France; some are of opinion that the manners and climate there are so different, that our principles and our revolution can never be adopted by the people; that their union would be the source of troubles, the effects of which might extend even into the heart of our own departments.

They are thought to be entire strangers to our cause; yet the progress of the revolution is followed by them with astonishing activity; a great part of the French laws are executed; at the time of invasion, administrations were created similar to those of the departments and districts; tribunals, justices of the peace, and municipalities were established. The grand events of the revolution are celebrated there, the same as in France, by civic fêtes.

The Flemish, Dutch, and German idioms prevail: it may indeed be said that the Flemish and Dutch are the same, there is so great a resemblance between them: but the French is spoken sufficiently accurate, and it has become more general since the entry of the troops of the Republic. There is consequently no greater difference between those provinces and our nation, than there is between the departments of the South and those of the North: the customs and manners differ, it is true, but they are more congenial to the nature of a republican government than those of our own. Let us cast our attention towards Holland, she was a republic; she broke the chains of her slavery, while we supported ours even without a murmur.

This people has more than once manifested its love for liberty; but either for want of proper means, or through treason, it always failed in its attempts at revolution. Its efforts were taken for commotions, its opinion for that of a faction, its energy, for intrigue, it almost always failed, because princes interested in crushing truth, caused the ringleaders to be arrested and conducted to the scaffold; and by these tyrannical measures, insurrections were suppressed, which might have effected a revolution.

The inhabitants of Liege have often shewn their hatred of slavery. Impatient to see their

fetters broken, and indignant at the despotism of the Prince Bishop, they have dared, lately, to rise against oppression. They have improved upon the rights of the sovereignty of the people, and proclaimed their principles with courage; they shewed their heroism in defending them, when the great forces of a power, who, they supposed would support them, soon gave them reason to lose the hopes they had conceived: these however, were re-animated by the commencement of the French revolution. The Liegois wished it to be completed, that they might faithfully attach themselves to the Republic; they were influenced by the love of liberty, and by gratitude. They now ardently request to be united to France, or to enjoy her protection in support of their independence.

The majority of the inhabitants of the other countries are of the same opinion: they wish to associate with the French, that they may enjoy their future prosperity. Having too clear an insight into the advantages they had to expect from their union, calculating the effects of the liberty of commerce, and the consequences of the encouragement afforded to industry and the arts, they are convinced that they will gain every thing by becoming Frenchmen; certain as to the fate which awaits them, they exert every effort to prevent themselves from being deprived of their expectations. Profiting by the success of a revolution, of which they have not experienced the horrors, they will be anxious to apply the effects of this happy event to themselves.

Already a great number have joined with the soldiers of the Republic in repulsing the satellites of the coalition. Our troops are not more brave than these heroes of liberty.

There are none, not even the most thoughtless, but are favourable to this union: they say that every government established upon firm basis, and guided by justice and equality, must be agreeable to them, from these circumstances alone: aware of the necessity of submitting to wise laws, in order to avoid the horrors of anarchy, they are ready to enter into a compact that will secure to them their rights.

The abolition of religion would, undoubtedly, have been an insurmountable obstacle to the union, but as the people will have the privilege of exercising it, and as the reforms that may be made among the clergy will not deprive them of this consolation, nothing of this kind will occur to prevent the junction. The men who have devoted themselves to a religious life, are neither considered nor esteemed; they have lost the confidence of the people, and the general opinion is already against them. Let these people, therefore, continue to have their religion and their ministers, their ceremonies, and their creeds, and you will attach them to your principles, your liberty, and your fate.

England and Austria have secret emissaries amongst them, to corrupt the public opinion, to induce a detestation of the French, to spread despair amongst the inhabitants, to damp their patriotism, and prepare them for the restoration of the ancient order of things, to divide the opinions of those who take an interest in political events, to pervert the public mind, calumniate the national representation, to depreciate the assignats, and abolish all hopes of an union or eminent protection.

To these may be added the partisans of despotism and of the ancient government, individuals who are interested from the situations which they hold, in the re-establishment of things as they were before the war, those who are inordinately ambitious, and speculate on the chances of favour or protection from persons of credit; and those who are prepossessed in favour of dominion. But their whole number is not sufficient to prevent the union; they are not strong enough to inspire the friends of the French revolution with alarm; they must therefore submit to the vast majority who wish for liberty. How many there are who seem averse to this union, but will energetically exult in it, at the moment they see it realized!

Motives for carrying the union into effect. Indemnity for the expenses and misfortunes of the war.

At length, after so many successes, advantages, and victories over the coalition; when the French nation is exhausting herself, in order to carry on a war made against her by injustice, and treachery, from a hatred of liberty, and a jealousy of her future prosperity, from a combination of all the passions, to ruin and destroy her, will it be proper or politic to exact no indemnity from our enemies, to adopt no measure to relieve our finances, to increase our commerce, to pave the way for abundance, and to make us forget the considerable losses which they have occasioned us to sustain? Is it proper to devote ourselves so generously to weakness and poverty, when we have the certain means of preventing such alarming evils? We ought therefore to take the indemnity which offers, namely, the preservation of that country which is now occupied by our troops.

Our first object, on terminating the war, and pacifying the powers now in arms against us, is to consolidate the Republic; the happiness and prosperity of France are connected with this government. What nations will dare to make an attempt upon our safety, or our territory, while we possess such powerful means of resistance? What potentate will be hardy enough to attack us, when we shall have frontiers that can be so easily defended, and are, besides, so tremendous in their aspect.

But peace is not the only method of consolidating the Republic; we can also, when we have recovered from our exhaustion, attempt to new-model the edifice of our liberty; but with peace, an accession of territory, a greater number of troops, and additional wealth, the revolution cannot fail to be established, the Republic is ensured for ever, and public prosperity is certain.

Promises made to the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine.

Do not forget that you have flattered these people with hopes of the union: they rely upon your word: the representatives of the people who know your interests, have proclaimed it: your committees of government advised them to prepare themselves for the change, to form their opinions, and in short, to act, in every respect, as if they were to be united to France on the morrow. Zealous to fulfil your intentions, they have missed no opportunity of telling them with frankness, that they would soon be your brethren and your friends. Will you, then, at the time when you can carry your promises into effect, refuse an alliance with these people, to their injury, and your own disgrace? No, your loyalty will render the measure a duty, even when that duty would not be dictated by the general interest.

The wish of the French people.

This opinion is also supported by the wish of the French people; for their intentions are that you should employ every means to render them happy and tranquil; they have given you the power; their own will is known; they formally expressed it when they charged you with their interests; and you, on accepting the mandate, promised them implicitly to conform to it. Their ardent wish at present is to see the Republic consolidated, and its enemies weakened and defeated: every measure contrary to their interests fixes on you a responsibility, at the consequences of which you ought to be alarmed.

The people are no longer what they were. Heretofore curbed by the yoke of kings, they took no part in political events: but now, being more enlightened, guided by their own reflections, seeing things justly, instructed by the various, though sometimes regular events of the revolution, having always their misfortunes and sacrifices before their eyes, they judge impartially, and are not deceived about what is fit for them.

Now, they will have you take for your frontiers, the circles, the states of the North, and of Germany, and the course of the Rhine; they are anxious for this demarcation; they already entertain the greatest hopes from the adoption of the measure; the merchant speculates beforehand on the new branches of commerce which are about to be opened, the artist, on new processes, and the artizan on the facility of procuring several useful objects, of which he has been hitherto deprived. Consult the general opinion and you will be convinced of the truth of my assertions.

Manœuvres employed to prevent the demarcation of our limits at the Rhine.

Every manœuvre has already been employed to prevent you from taking this resolution. Several writings are circulated through the country, the object of which is to persuade the people that you have no right to extend your frontiers to this distance. The princes interested in preserving their possessions are taking every measure to oppose your plans. The powers who pretend to have some distant claim upon the electorates or principalities, also endeavour to put off a decision which could not but be contrary to their interests.

Austria, in her turn, perceiving that the vast territory of her empire would no longer join to that of the Republic, and that to attack you, she must be obliged to pass through a foreign territory, has redoubled her activity to prevent the adoption of a project which does such a serious injury to her preponderance, and plans of ambition.

But, it will be said, do you wish to deprive of their rights and possessions princes who rejoiced in your revolution, who hate the House of Austria, as well as yourselves, and who have an interest in constantly opposing the views of ambition and aggrandizement of this house? Is it not better to leave these princes in possession of their property as chiefs of the intermediate states, in order to counterbalance the power of Austria, than to despoil and annihilate their electorate?

It is known that they have only furnished their contingencies, through the imperiousness of circumstances, and in order that they might not break those conventions to which they had consented before our revolution.

But, in this point of view, have they conducted themselves less like enemies towards the French nation? Have they not attempted to deprive her of her liberty? Have they shewn themselves inclined for peace? Have they been the first to make proposals for accelerating this object? and when the most powerful states, united like them to the coalition, had already treated, are they excusable for pursuing a conduct so widely different?

Besides, the first object, in treating for peace is to consolidate the Republic: if she cannot be consolidated except by the detriment and loss of the vanquished power, every other consideration ought to be rejected.

Means of conciliating private interests.

The nation, however, in the midst of its successes, may be generous enough to grant some indemnity to the electors.

Their revenues are derived from their great possessions, in consequence of their title, and from the produce of indirect taxes: the direct tax being destined only for a more general use, as the repairing of roads, the construction of bridges, support of hospitals, &c. &c. is not a revenue for them. The first tax consists of custom house and excise duties, with others of a similar kind. They are very small, and the expenses of collecting them absorb almost the whole amount. Their principal income consequently proceeds from the produce of the vast possessions which they hold.

The French nation, therefore, in order that

these princes may not be entirely ruined, might leave them their possessions, and only deprive them of all exercise of pretended sovereignty, by abolishing the right of feudality.

When they are upon an equality with the other proprietors, they will submit to the laws of the republic, without preserving privileges and distinctions: by this means they will have an indemnity which will recompense them for the losses they have been obliged to sustain in consequence of the war.

Final motives for the limits of the Rhine.

If you do not profit by this circumstance, you will not again have such an advantageous opportunity of conferring a benefit on the Republic. The order of succession and pretensions of some princes will not always preserve that country to electors: powerful houses will lay claim to the right of succeeding the present Elector Palatine in his estates; estates which they cannot, as heirs only, acquire till his death, and which they cannot at present turn to their advantage.

We know what disputes arose about this succession, at the death of the last Elector, the conduct of the Emperor towards the contending parties, the arrangements they made among themselves, to oppose the latter in the sequestration which he put upon the succession. If you do not treat before the death of the Prince Palatine, who is very old, and without children, the Palatinate being transmitted with the country of Juliers, and other possessions, to this powerful house, will prevent you from reaping these advantages, will cause uneasiness to Holland, your ally, and dissipate the fruit of your victories.

There is another opinion prevalent, relative to the fate of the countries occupied by the French, which, without being developed and propagated, may nevertheless, when circumstances will permit, render our victories completely null and illusory; it is that of *independence*, whether these countries may form a complete body, or whether they are divided into states and provinces. This opinion, you need not doubt, will gain ground, whether you decide upon renouncing them, or again resign them to the despotism of their electors or princes, whose yoke they have for years desired to throw off; and in such a case can you promise yourselves any advantages? Will you then have those means which will render you the most powerful people in the universe. Shall we not feel the terrible shocks and troubles which will be produced by the crisis of this revolution? Will you be able to foresee its period and its effects? Are you capable of providing yourselves with neighbours who may be fit for you? Will the communication with these very necessary provinces be ensured to you. You may be well assured that these are powers, who, though they find no present interest in these countries, will nevertheless attempt to deprive you of them, in order to diminish a power whose increase of strength proportionally tends to their destruction.

In short, that nothing may be omitted relative to this grand question, is it not your interest to send the emigrants out of your territory, who make those countries their familiar resort, for the purpose of exciting dissensions, nourishing a hatred of the revolution, and opposing the general prosperity?

Result and conclusion.

I thought it my duty to enter into these details, and to submit to you the reflections which originated from my local knowledge, the exercise of my mission, and the love of my country.

I have proved that the limits most proper to establish a line of demarcation useful for the French nation, would be the course of the Rhine.

I have confirmed this opinion, by demonstrating that these limits would serve to strengthen the Republic, to ensure tranquillity, to weaken the power of Austria, and to put a check upon her views of ambition; that we shall find in this arrangement an indemnity proportionate to our sacrifices; that our commerce will be extended, our industry increased, that the balance will turn to our advantage, while we shall possess mines and manufactories of which we have hitherto been destitute.

I have stated that these limits would enable us to deprive the English of several branches of their commerce, and to injure their manufacture of cloth.

That the wish of the inhabitants has been declared, and the French nation herself demanded their opinion.

I believe, therefore, I have made it appear, that in every point of view, the course of the Rhine ought to be taken as the frontier of France.

Extract from Letters on the Peace and Commerce of Great-Britain. By Sir FREDERICK MORTON EDEN, *Bart.*

The state of the French colonies is such that it is probable a very advantageous intercourse may be carried on with them. The proprietors of Martinico and St. Lucia, who, during the last seven years, have sold us their sugars and bought our manufactures, will not easily be induced to abandon all connexion with our traders. Gaudaloupe cannot recover its former consequence without the fostering assistance of foreign capitals and foreign commerce. The calamities, which the once-flourishing colony of St. Domingo has experienced, will oblige her to relax that system of restrictions to which European powers have subjected their colonies. America will not supply her with food, nor will Great-Britain furnish her with those commodities which France, at present, is unable to manufacture, unles they receive either specie, or the staple produce of the island, in return.

St. Domingo still exhibits an awful example of the destructive effects of revolutionary excess, and civil warfare. In population, and in produce, this colony, I apprehend, now ranks below Jamaica.

A French Minister of France informs us that St. Domingo contained,

In 1779.....	32,650	whites
	7,055	people of colour
	249,098	slaves
Total population	288 803 *	
There were in 1790	30,831	whites, exclusive of European troops and seafaring people.
	434,429	negro slaves
Exclusive of	46,000	domestic slaves and negro mechanics.
And about	24,000	free people of colour.
	535,260 †	

The French colony, thus, appears to have contained, eleven years ago, about 530,000 inhabitants. Charmilly estimated them at 600,000.‡ It was, however, computed, in the year 1793, that the class of negroes alone had sustained a diminution of more than 100,000. Mr. Edwards says, that "since "that time the mortality has been still more rapid; "and, inculding the loss of whites by sickness and "emigration," he reduces the population of St. Domingo, in June 1796, to "two-fifths of the "w[illegible]e number of inhabitants (white and black) "which it possessed in the beginning of 1791." § According to this calculation upwards of 300,000 human beings have either been killed or driven out of this devoted country within the short period of six years It is said that many thousands took refuge in America, and that many have returned to St. Domingo. Civil war, however, again rages with exterminating fury. The victories, and the defeats, of Leclerc, will still further diminish the resources of the colony. Towns and plantations are burnt by the negroes, when they are successful; and when they are vanquished a stock more valuable than houses, or mills, is destroyed.

The benefit which the mother country derived from this colony during the last twelve years was very inconsiderable. The chief part of the produce which St. Domingo was able to export was consigned to America and other neutral states: the most authentic accounts from the island justify me in thinking that its whole exportable produce last season was not one-third of what it was in 1789. The average exports from the French part of St. Domingo, previously to the revolution, were rather more than 5,000,000l.‖ In 1791, they were upwards of 5,500,000l.** In 1800, (according to an official report of the minister of the interior, made in May 1801,)

	Livres.	Sterling.
The imports into France from all the French colonies in the East and West Indies were	1,483,800	or £61,825
The exports from France, to all the French colonies in the East and West Indies were	282,300	or 11,762
The imports into France, last year, (the 9th year of the Republic,) from all the French colonies were	2,077,000	or 84,000
The exports from France to all the French colonies	208,000	or 8,400

In 1788, St. Domingo imported French goods to the amount of more than 3,500,000l. in 580 vessels belonging to France, carrying 189,679 tons, exclusive of 98 vessels engaged in the African trade.* In 1800, I believe, (though I will not state this as a positive fact,) not a single French vessel cleared out from France for this island.

Produce cannot be raised without cultivators. The loss of 300,000, or even of 200,000, negroes, and of other agricultural stock, cannot be replaced for 10,000,000l. sterling. Such advantages would result to our colonies and our commerce from the revival of agriculture, and its concomitant blessings, that every humane and reflecting mind must wish that tranquillity were restored to St. Domingo. But the decrees of governors, black or white, will not, I fear, fill up the gaps in her population. The negroes who remain, many of whom have retired into the natural fastnesses which the country affords, will not be disposed to work double tides; the soldier will not, without coercion, once more become the *villein regardant*; the Maroon will not, till his instructors from Old France use stronger arguments than words, lay down his musquet and take up his hoe. The island will long exhibit marks of depopulation, unless the tutelary genius of the republic can furnish her with a Deucalion who may turn her pebbles into people, and an Amphion whose *ça iras* may rear the prostrate walls of the ravaged *Cap Français*.

Our commercial connexions with the United States of America are fixed on such solid foundations, that we have no reason to apprehend that the future political dissensions of Europe will affect them. For many years to come, the Americans, although an extensive sea-coast, good harbours, and a spirit of enterprise inherited from their forefathers, suggest to them the employment of a part of their capital in commerce, must continue to direct the largest portion of it to agricultural improvements. While we can supply them with better and cheaper goods than other nations can manufacture for them, or than they can manufacture for themselves, they will, from the strongest tie, that of interest, continue to be connected with us. Their intercourse with Great-Britain will be promoted by other circumstances: the consanguinity of the two people, the similarity of religion, language, manners, and taste in the two countries, will dispose them to form mutual attachments. The opinion, therefore, of a German writer seems to be well founded, that "the consumption of the manufactures of Europe will necessarily

* Necker, fur les Finances, tom. i. c. 13.

† Edwards' History of the West-Indies, vol. iii. p. 164.

‡ Answer to Edwards, p. 158.

§ Edwards' History of the West-Indies, vol. iii. p. 257.

‖ Ibid. p. 165.

** Ibid. p. 231.

* Edwards' History of the West-Indies, vol. iii. p. 238.

keep pace with the progress of cultivation in America, until, at some period yet extremely remote, the surplus hands not wanted for agriculture or commerce must seek employment in manufactures." He adds, "that as the commerce of the United States must necessarily be possessed by Britain, it will be that country which, in the end, instead of losing, will have gained, every thing by a revolution, from which we fondly predicted her ruin. If we were to form our opinion from that which personal animosities, and the recollection of civil discord, have generated in the minds of a few individuals of both nations, we might fancy that Britain and America would never be sincerely united. But such feelings are transitory: nations may be considered as combatants for hire, whose animosity never survives the event that occasions it."*

Our trade to North America is of the greatest importance, as it principally consists in the export of our home productions and manufactures. Its increase has been very rapid: and, whether it be measured by the tonnage of the shipping employed or by the value of the merchandize sent out, by years of war, or by years of peace, it will justify this conclusion, that our future intercourse with the United States will enlarge those sources of employment and of wealth, which that country has opened to British manufactures and merchants.

An account of the tonnage of British and foreign vessels cleared outwards from England and Scotland, to the United States of America, in 1789, and the eleven following years.

	England.		Scotland.		
Years.	British. Tons.	Foreign. Tons.	British. Tons.	Foreign. Tons.	Tonnage. Tons.
1789	58,717	26,917	13,961	2,030	101,625
1790	40,768	36,918	10,209	2,523	90,418
1791	43,508	52,603	11,820	3,203	111,134
1792	41,451	56,160	9,512	3,254	110,377
1793	7,054	56,000	1,510	4,747	69,311
1794	9,672	64,093	1,154	2,899	77,818
1795	2,113	90,327	—	3,015	95,455
1796	1,522	99,774	547	5,583	107,426
1797	3,640	73,513	641	5,362	83,156
1798	6,439	68,999	1,478	5,169	82,085
1799	11,401	74,186	2,866	4,497	92,950
1800	9,309	105,476	5,072	7,120	126,977

An account of the official value of imports into Great-Britain, from the United States of America, and of the exports from Great-Britain to the United States; distinguishing British from foreign merchandize; in the following years:

		Value of Exports.		
Years.	Value of Imports.	British Manufactures.	Foreign Merchandize.	Total Exports.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
1790	1,191,072	3,178,594	253,183	3,431,778
1791	1,194,282	3,929,771	295,676	4,225,448
1792	1,038,707	3,974,827	296,591	4,271,418
1793	904,040	3,272,725	141,956	3,414,681
1794	625,733	3,588,889	270,981	3,859,861
1795	1,352,136	4,892,572	361,546	5,254,118
1796	2,080,960	5,835,640	218,651	6,064,291
1797	1,175,512	4,871,316	185,506	5,056,822
1798	1,782,720	5,313,068	267,301	5,580,370
1799	1,818,941	6,696,221	360,337	7,056,558
1800	2,357,928	6,689,467	196,140	6,885,508

The export of British manufactures to the United States in the year 1800 amounted to more than a fourth of the export to all parts of the world.

It appears, from the following comparison, that the export to the United States, during the war, has exceeded the exports of British manufactures, during the same period, to all foreign Europe.

An account of the official value of British manufactures exported to foreign Europe, and to the States of America, in 1793, and the seven following years.

Years.	Foreign Europe. £.	States of America. £.
1793	3,531,046	3,272,725
1794	4,458,383	3,588,889
1795	4,222,782	4,892,572
1796	4,497,683	5,835,640
1797	3,732,830	4,871,316
1798	3,981,650	5,313,068
1799	4,543,608	6,696,221
1800	7,516,123	6,689,467
	£.36,484,105	£.41,159,898

Of the British manufactures exported to the United States more than two-fifths consist of woollens. That country now stands first in the list of foreign consumers of this production of British industry.

Of £.6,876,939 the official value of woollens exported in 1799, the export to

	£.
The States of America, was	2,803,490
Ireland	916,190
East-Indies and China	668,161
Portugal and Madeira	568,788
British and foreign West-Indies	552,726
Germany	427,053
British continental colonies in America	324,739
Russia	149,789

The proportion exported to the United States, in preceding years, will appear from the following account:

An account of the total official value of woollen manufactures exported from Great-Britain in 1790, and the nine following years, to the United States of America, and to all parts of the world.

Years.	United States. £.	All parts of the world. £.
1790	1,481,378	5,190,637
1791	1,621,796	5,505,034
1792	1,361,753	5,510,668
1793	1,032,954	3,806,536
1794	1,391,877	4,390,920
1795	1,982,318	5,172,884
1796	2,294,942	6,011,133
1797	1,901,986	4,936,355
1798	2,399,935	6,499,339
1799	2,803,490	6,876,939

Extract from Mr. Cobbett's *Letters to* Mr. Addington *on the Effects of the Peace, particularly with respect to our Colonies and Commerce.*

In my last letter, I endeavoured to show, that the West-India colonies, remaining in our possession, so far from having, by your peace, obtained "se-

* Wimpffen's Voyage to St. Domingo, Letter xxxix.

f" curity for the future," are, by that peace, placed in a state of continual alarm and dang r, which must lead immediately to their decay, and eventually to their ruin; a process, which, as I shall now attempt to prove, our *commerce* will also undergo.

That *very great commerce is a very great evil*, I, though perhaps somewhat singular in my opinion, am ready to avow. Mr. Pitt, in his speech of the 7th of June 1799, called the present war, "*a war "of finance*;" and Sir Wm. Eden (now Lord Auckland), in his letters to Lord Carlisle, published in 1779, observes, that, "*War is now become "a science of* MONEY. *That side must first quit the field "whose Exchequer first fails.*" Since the publication of these sententious sentences, his Lordship has had the mortification to see his country twice quit the field in disgrace before a bankrupt enemy. No, Sir, it is on the *warlike spirit* of a nation that her honour, security, and happiness, must chiefly depend; and this spirit is generally found to exist in an inverse proportion to the magnitude of her purse. When I cast my eye over the calculations of Messrs. Chalmers, Rose, and Pitt; when I perceive them deducing a proof of the increase of our greatness from the increase of our commerce and our wealth; when I see them recurring to the reign of Queen Anne, and stating, that then our shipping amounted to only *two hundred thousand* tons, and that now it amounts to *two millions* of tons—that our annual revenue then was not *three millions* of pounds, and that now it is *thirty-six millions* of pounds; tired with the triumphant comparisons of these arithmetical logicians, I turn to view the *conduct* and *character* of my country at the two epochs. At the former, I find her waging a long and arduous war for the preservation of the liberties of Europe. I find her explicitly declaring and honestly pursuing her object; and, having attained that object, having weakened the mighty and strengthened the weak, humbled the ambitious and exalted the humble, I see her retiring from the field, loaded with laurels alone; seeking for compensation neither in spices nor in sugars, but contenting herself with a barren rock, at once the emblem of her disinterestedness and the monument of her glory. If I become more minute in my researches, I trace her through a series of those solid and noble national acts, which are the indubitable proofs of opulence at home and consequence abroad: her piety she shows, not in attempts to rob, but in bestowing a *Bounty* on, the pastors of the church; she expresses her gratitude to her hero, not in air-built *Naval Pillars*, but in a real and princely mansion; with one hand she raises the dome of St. Paul, with the other she demolishes the works of Dunkirk.—Such was England, Sir, in the infancy of her commerce, what she is *now* let the treaties of Shelburne and Addington tell.

But, Sir, at the present day, the question, with us, is not, *whether very great commerce be a good, or an evil*; unhappily, we have no choice. Our wants are created; and they must be satisfied, or we cease to exist as an independent nation. The necessities of the state, during *any* peace that we can preserve with the Republic of France, will require the whole of our present revenue. Nine-tenths of that revenue arise, directly or indirectly, from our commerce. If, therefore, that commerce should now experience a considerable diminution, the measure, from which it will arise, must necessarily be an object of just condemnation, and must as necessarily be attributed to the imbecility, or to some quality more hateful, in the men, by whom it was adopted. That such diminution will take place, that it will be the precursor of the total ruin of our commerce, I am thoroughly persuaded; and, I now proceed to state the facts and reasons, on which this persuasion is founded.

Our commerce, exclusive of that with the East-Indies, which will, probably, continue undiminished, may be considered under three principal heads: I. With the Continent of Europe; II. With the West-Indies; III. With the United States of America.

I. *With the Continent of Europe* Buonaparté will, in consequence of the absolute power he possesses over all those states, which have hitherto afforded us the greatest commercial advantages, abridge our commerce, by every means that the ingenuity of a rival can invent, and that the malice of an enemy can employ. In the Mediterranean we never had much commerce; what we had, however, will be diminished. The port of Leghorn, which now belongs to Buonaparté's king of Etruria, will be open to us only so far as is convenient to France, who may, sometimes, think it not inconvenient to suffer a large quantity of British property to be deposited there, if our merchants should be found adventurous enough to make such a deposit. Our trade with the Ligurian Republic, with Naples, with the Island of Sardinia, and even with Constantinople, will be abridged, or not, as the interests of France may require.

In Spain and Portugal, with whom our commercial relations were of considerable importance, we shall have to support a competition with our enemy, and shall be hampered with partial restrictions. The latter of these kingdoms has already, through our pusillanimity, been compelled to throw open to all the world (that is to say, *to France*) those channels of commerce, which, for a century past, have been open to England alone.

With the borders of the Baltic, with Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, our commerce is very unimportant, and may not experience a very great diminution; but, with all the ports, through which we traded with Flanders, Holland, and Germany, the diminution will, after a short space of time, be immense. By your recognition, Sir, of the right of France to hold the keys of these countries, to retain the command of the *Rhine*, the *Meuse*, and the *Scheld*, you have banished for ever from the heart of Europe, the commerce and the influence of England. In my letters to Lord Hawkesbury, I stated, generally, my opinion on this subject, which opinion I find fully corroborated by a writer of great eminence, whose work I had not then seen, but which made its appearance, a few weeks previous to the signing of the Preliminaries of Peace. I allude, Sir, to the "*Financial and political facts of the eighteenth cen-"tury*," by John M'Arthur, Esq. who is a professed eulogist of Mr. Pitt and yourself. His work, agreeably to its title, takes a view of the revenue, the expenditure, the debts, the manufactures, and the commerce of Great-Britain, for a century past. In treating of the commerce, he takes occasion to insist upon the necessity of carrying on the war, till France can be induced to recede from her enormous encroachments. He insists—but, I shall give you his opinion in his own words:—"Should "the French succeed in their attempts to retain "their conquests, and to secure to themselves "the free navigation of the Rhine, the Meuse,

" and the Scheld,"—[which, Sir, thanks to your treaty, they have now done]—" they may, on the " return of peace, put in execution the vast pro- " jects, formed by the National Convention in " 1792, and which Buonaparté *has obviously in con- " templation.* A consideration of the outline of " these projects may create some apprehensions " in the minds of the generality of my readers; " yet, it is to be hoped, *for the commercial prosperity " of this country*, that the Chief Consul's views, in " his present arrangement of indemnities on the " banks of the Rhine, &c. and thereby attempting " to obtain the free navigation of those rivers, " *may be completely frustrated, before this country makes " peace.*"

In order to show the importance of our struggles to prevent the accomplishment of these ambitious projects, on the part of France, the author next points out the probable consequences thereof, to other nations, and to Great-Britain in particular.

"The French Republic," says he, " by joining, as intended, many of her navigable rivers and canals, to the Rhine, the Meuse, and Scheld, will be enabled to transport, at a cheaper rate than heretofore, the various bulky commodities of foreign growth and manufacture, and convey them to the centre of Germany; also from the Mediterranean Sea to the Bay of Biscay, to the British Channel, and to the North Sea. The consequence *obviously* resulting from such boundaries would be *to exclude the trade and manufactures of Great-Britain from the northern parts of Europe.* By joining some of the rivers and canals to the Scheld, the French would, in time of war, be able to transport, without interruption, naval stores, ammunition, and provisions of all sorts, from one place to another, in the *ci-devant* Belgic provinces, and thence into Holland.

" The river Meuse would also open an extended communication with part of Germany and Holland, and facilitate the transport of their various articles of commerce. The river Rhine would most effectually complete the interior communication with the rest of Germany and Holland.

" France, with three hundred navigable rivers, and a number of extensive canals, some of them already opening communications between the Mediterranean Sea and Atlantic Ocean, would, in accomplishing her ambitious plans, of securing the navigation of the three great rivers just mentioned, most *essentially militate against the commercial interests of this country*, and contribute to her own aggrandizement, population, wealth, and prosperity.

" The secret articles, and additional convention of the treaty of Campo-Formio, develop, in a striking manner, the ambitious views of the French Republic, with respect to the free navigation of these rivers. His Imperial Majesty consents to employ his good offices in the negotiation of the peace of the Empire, to obtain, 1. That the navigation of the Rhine, from Huningen to the territory of Holland, shall be free both to the French Republic and the States of the Empire, on the right bank. 2. That the possessors of territory near the mouth of the Moselle, shall, on no pretence, attempt to interrupt the free navigation and passage of ships and other vessels from the Moselle into the Rhine. 3. The French Republic shall have the free navigation of the Meuse; and the tolls and other " imposts, from Venloo to Holland, shall be abo- " lished.

" The treaty of peace, concluded at Luneville " on the 9th February, 1801, having regard to " what had been agreed upon by the deputation " of the Empire, at the preceding congress at Ras- " tadt, resolved, in conformity with the precedent " of what had taken place in similar circumstan- " ces, to stipulate in the name of the Germanic " body. Some of the principal objects stipulated " are the cession of the *ci-devant* Belgic provinces " to the French Republic in the most formal man- " ner. The Comté of Falkenstein, with its depen- " dencies, the Fricthall, and all belonging to the " House of Austria on the left bank of the Rhine, " between Zarzach and Basle, are to be given up " to the French Republic. The Duke of Modena, " as an indemnity for the countries which this " Prince had in Italy, is to have the *Brisgau.* " In conformity with the second article of the " treaty of Campo-Formio, the navigation of the " Adige, which serves as the limits between His " Majesty, the Emperor, and King, and the navi- " gation of the rivers in the Cisalpine Republic, " are to be free; nor is any toll to be imposed, " nor any ship of war kept there.

" France, by securing the unlimited freedom of " navigating the great rivers already noticed, it is " natural to expect that she will make every ef- " fort, on the return of peace, to promote an ex- " tensive inland commerce, by means of making " canals and rivers navigable. It will give many " years employment to at least, 50,000 disbanded " soldiers, and render her ultimately independent, " in peace or war, of many bulky commodities, " drawn from the Northern States of Europe; " more especially such articles as may be required " for the construction, repairs, and equipment of " ships in the navy and merchant service. In " process of time, it may be feared that France " may eventually, by dint of numbers, *even super- " sede Great-Britain in those two grand points, Navy " and Commerce*; the former of which may justly be " considered the palladium of the country. *There " are men who treat this matter lightly*, and lull their " apprehensions to rest, by an idea that these " things *cannot happen in our times*; but may the sun " of Great-Britain never set so long as there shall " remain a sun in heaven!"

Would to God, Sir, that you had participated in the sentiments of this writer! But you are, I am afraid, one of those men, " who treat this matter " lightly;" who lull their apprehensions to rest by a hope, that these things " cannot happen in " our time;" and who, entrenching themselves behind these selfish reflections, sacrifice the interest, the honour, and the safety of their country to the obtaining of popularity, and the preserving of their places.—I resume my quotation:

" Should France be suffered to retain the three " great rivers before mentioned,"—[which she *has now retained*]—" as the boundaries of the Repub- " lic, it will give her incalculable advantages; and " *in proportion as such an event would diminish our " commerce and manufactures, it would give vigour and " energy to those of the French.* They would open " the most extensive interior navigation with Ger- " many and Holland; they would be able to re- " ceive, in a direct manner, the productions and " manufactures of Germany, with which they have " hitherto been supplied through Holland, Bre- " men, and Hamburgh. It would open a more

"extended market for their wines, the growth of "Burgundy and Champaign, which would be con-"veyed at a much cheaper rate by interior water-"carriage, instead of being transported, as here-"tofore, by land-carriage to Rouen and Havre-de-"Grace, and thence carried by sea to the Nether-"lands and Holland; and, what is of far greater "consequence, in time of war they would be able "to send naval stores, ammunition, and provi-"sions, to the cities and fortified places situated "on these rivers, and carry on an extensive com-"merce from the sea-ports in the south and north, "without the protection of armed vessels.

"Should Buonaparté be successful in accom-"plishing the avowed designs of all the rulers of "France since the revolution," [which design he *has now* accomplished] "*it would not only militate* "*against the trade of this country to Germany*, but also "materially affect the interests of the Northern "Powers, from whom France formerly purchased "timber for her navy; also iron, flax, hemp, &c. "since it is obvious, that, were France to have the "exclusive and free navigation of the Rhine, the "Meuse, and Scheld, and joining to them by art "many rivers and canals, she could, in any future "war, receive at the several ports in the kingdom, "timber of all kinds, from the immense forests in "Alsace, Lorraine, and Burgundy; also flax and "hemp, the growth of the different countries si-"tuated on the borders of the Rhine, and of the "several rivers which are united to it. The "mines of iron, copper, and lead, of Luxemburgh "and Limburgh, and the iron mines and coal-pits "in the provinces of Namur, Liege, and other "places; the leather manufactories in the prin-"cipalities of Stavelo and Malmedy; and the ma-"nufactories of linen and woollen cloths, dispers-"ed in the countries annexed to France, in the "vicinity of these rivers, would all tend to increase "the wealth and power of that nation, to the pre-"judice of the other states of Europe. In short, "France would acquire such a gigantic prepondе-"rance in the scale of nations, that she might, on "a future day, become more formidable to the "liberties of all Europe than she was when in the "zenith of her glory and prosperity, in the reign "of Louis the Fourteenth, or than tyrannical "Rome in her best times. Indeed the strength of "France would become too great for any power to "resist.

"Can Great-Britain, then, seeing that her pow-"er depends upon the prosperity of her com-"merce, view with indifference, these momentous "and colossal attempts of France towards mono-"poly, and universal tyranny? Shall she succeed "in her designs of extending her territories and "line of coast; at the same time annexing, either "by direct or indirect means (and which, if per-"mitted, she will do), all the ports on the Conti-"nent, from Dunkirk to Hamburgh, together with "the enjoyment of the exclusive navigation of the "three great rivers before mentioned? If it be not "insisted upon that France relinquish her former "pretensions, and consent to some alienation of "these countries, which, according to the laws of "her own making, were, and are intended to con-"stitute the territory of the Republic, so as to cut "up by the roots, the vast objects and designs "constantly avowed by her successive revolution-"ary rulers, *there can be little security in peace either* "*for the commerce of Great-Britain*, or for the tran-"quillity of the continental powers, whose prox-"imity to the extensive boundaries of the Repub-"lic, will at all times particularly expose them to "the danger of further encroachments. Neither "can there be much confidence placed in her pre-"serving, for any length of time, the relations of "peace and amity. However painful and bur-"densome the alternative may be, namely, a vi-"gorous continuance of the war; yet surely the "evil will be compensated, if, by our energy and "exertion, we ultimately defeat the developed "views of France, *and thereby retain that weight in* "*the scale of Europe*, and influence among nations, "which, by the spirit and industry of ourselves "and our forefathers, we have, at the close of the "eighteenth century, so justly acquired."

We have *not* defeated the developed views of France, nor any one of those views; and we *shall not* retain that weight in the scale of Europe, which was the best legacy of our forefathers. Every encroachment, here represented as big with danger to the commerce and the consequence of Britain, you, in the name of your infatuated country, have sanctioned by the treaty of Downing-street; and, every evil, here predicted, will, most assuredly, ensue.

The copious extracts, which I have made from Mr. M'Arthur, leave me but little to add upon this part of the subject of my letter. It may not, however, be amiss, Sir, to state some few of the facts, which have already transpired in confirmation of that gentleman's predictions. From the French papers we learn, that measures are actually taking for turning to account the possession of the *Rhine*, the *Meuse*, and the *Scheld*. To prevent the free navigation of the latter river was, it must be remembered, at one time, the only ostensible object of the war. It was *then* truly said, that this river was well calculated to be the rival of the Thames; and, such is now the confidence of its becoming so, that houses in Antwerp have risen to double their former value, since the signature of the preliminaries of peace. Where the *capital* is to be found to awaken, from its long sleep, the commerce of that city, and to render it once more the emporium of Germany, is a question, to which you may easily find an answer *on the Royal Exchange of London*.

Precisely *when*, and *to what extent*, the diminution of our commerce with Flanders, Holland, and Germany, will take place, it is, at present, impossible to say; but that a diminution will take place, at no very distant period, and to a considerable amount, and that the evil will go on regularly increasing, I think no man, possessed of common sense, and a common regard to truth, will hesitate to allow.

II. *With the West-Indies*, Sir, the commerce of Britain will experience, first, an immense loss, and afterwards a regular decline, till the arrival of that fatal hour, when she shall there no longer possess a single inch of territory; which hour is, perhaps, less distant than our infatuation will suffer us to perceive.

In speaking of our commerce with colonies, I must necessarily enter into details with respect to *population* and *produce*, for these are the source of *exports*, and furnish the means of purchasing *imports*, and these are the materials and the criterion of commerce. I must, too, consider this commerce relatively with that of France, with that of our rival, the sworn foe of our prosperity and our existence. Without taking this view of the subject, to enter on it at all would be totally useless; for, the question is, not how much commerce and power we do, or shall, possess, but how much

France possesses, or will possess, more, or less than we. Not to render still more complex, a discussion, which must of necessity embrace objects so numerous, I shall here avoid supposing, that the commerce of the West-Indies will, for some years at least, be molested by military or naval operations, notwithstanding twenty-five sail of the line and twenty-five thousand men have sailed for St. Domingo, from the port of Brest, and notwithstanding you are *attempting* to send out a British fleet to follow them *à la guette*.

With a view to disengage this important subject from the entanglement, in which it has been involved, by the officious ignorance of the defenders of the peace, I shall endeavour to give a clear statement of the West-India commerce of Great-Britain and France:—1st. Previous to the breaking out of the French revolution; 2nd. at the close of the war; and 3rd. I shall give my opinion of what will be the state of it three years hence; for, I am not one of those, who are content to limit the duration of their national existence to less than six and thirty months.

A writer, Sir, who has at once *disguised* and *exposed* himself under the name of Philanglus, has filled several entire pages of the Porcupine news-paper with figures, ranged in solid columns. These materials have been collected, undoubtedly, from official sources; and, as far as they relate to the commerce of Great-Britain, I feel the less inclination to criticise them, because their only tendency, like that of the statements of Lord Hawkesbury, is to furnish a proof of what I acknowledge to be true, and of what is, indeed, notorious to all the world; to wit: *that the commerce of this country has been doubled during the war*. I should not have noticed this writer, whom, from his style, and his notions of commerce and politics, I take to be some pedagogue out of place, were it not confidently asserted, that *you*, Sir, have declared *his* defence of the peace to be *the best that has appeared*.

That the commerce of Great-Britain had regularly increased from the beginning to the end of the *war* is certain; but this would be a strange argument to use in defence of the *peace*, were it not, at the same time, endeavoured to be maintained, *that the peace would not, upon the whole, produce a diminution in that commerce* Here I and your defenders are at issue. With respect to one of the four principal heads, under which I have divided our commerce, I have already stated that this diminution must be immense, a statement which I have backed with the opinion of a writer of great eminence on the subject of commerce and finance: I now proceed to prove, that a like diminution will take place in our commerce with the West-Indies.

To reduce our resources even *to what they were before the war* would be certain ruin. Our *permanent necessities have doubled*; instead of three hundred millions, our debt is now six hundred millions. To attempt to support this debt upon our former resources would be like feeding a grenadier upon pap. With great kindness and care, the poor fellow might eke out a miserable existence, as long as he was suffered to lounge about his barracks; but his nerves would hardly be strong enough to support the fatigues of a field-day, much less to encounter the toils, the hardships, and the dangers of war.

Before the beginning of the late contest, the French commerce was, in the West-Indies, much superior to that of Great-Britain, as will appear from the following table, [See Table, No. I, in pages 845, 846.] on the statements of which I must here make some pervious remarks.

I have contented myself with stating the *exports* from the several colonies, because they are quite sufficient as a criterion of commerce, the imports and all other advantages ever bearing a proportion thereto. As far as relates to the old British colonies I have admitted the statements of Bryan Edwards; but, with regard to those of France, I have had recourse to better authority. The statements respecting the population, shipping, and exports, of these islands, are founded on those of Moreau de St. Mery, and of Monsieur J. M. de la Borde, both of whom were French colonists, one an inhabitant of Martinico, and the other of St. Domingo.

The only statement, Sir, in this table, which will, I imagine, give rise to any doubt or contradiction, is that which relates to St. Domingo. Edwards has stated its population at 535,260, and its exported produce at £5,500,000 sterling, while my statement makes a considerable addition to both. But, not to speak of the superior information of the writers, from whom I draw my facts, the misstatements of Edwards have, in the face of the British nation, long ago been exposed by Mons. de Charmilly, who has clearly proved the "*Historical Survey of the French Colony of St. Domingo*," to which Philanglus appeals as to "*high authority*," to be a tissue of misrepresentation, falsehood, and calumny. Mons. Charmilly divulged too many disagreeable truths to be listened to, at that time; but, I beseech you, Sir, to read his book, and you will, I am sure, agree with me, that the work of Edwards, instead of being quoted as indubitable authority, ought to be consigned to everlasting oblivion.

By means, which, in any times but the present, would have been the subject of parliamentary *inquiry*, at least; by means and by men, bearing a strong resemblance to those that lost us America, we lost St. Domingo, a colony worth more than all the other colonies we ever possessed. But, still the valour of our fleets and our army obtained us much that we preserved, 'till you and your colleagues once more reduced us to our former scanty limits. The state of our West-India commerce, at the close of the war, is exhibited in the annexed table. An increase had, indeed, been supposed to take place in the produce of our own colonies, as well as in those taken from the French; but, it is well known, that our old colonies do not admit of much increase, and it is more than probable, that all the increase, which was felt, arose more from the indirect trade with St. Domingo than from any other cause. For this reason, I have chosen to carry the same amounts through all my statements, except in that which relates to the French population of St. Domingo, which will receive a considerable addition (of which I shall speak more particularly hereafter) from the acquisition of the Spanish part of that immense island.

My statements, Sir, relative to the colony of Surinam, and that of Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo*, are founded on authority, on which you may place implicit reliance. The statement re-

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* These are the names of three rivers, at no very great distance from each other, in what was called Dutch Guiana, on the north-east shore of South America.

specting Surinam has been furnished me by a gentleman, who has long lived in that country, where he is a planter and proprietor. That which relates to the colony of Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo, was, if I am not misinformed, some few weeks ago, submitted to Lord Hawkesbury by a committee of West-India merchants and planters. I am persuaded that the correctness of neither will be called in question. [See Table, No. II. in page 847.]

Such, Sir, was the spectacle, which our West-India commerce presented at the moment, when you and your colleagues chose to put an end to the war, and, as the price of peace, to yield all the advantages we had gained; when you chose to take the superiority from our scale and place it in that of France, and thereby destroy, for ever, that source of riches and power, which the valour of our fleets and armies, under the favour of providence, had deposited in our hands, as a balance against the European acquisitions of our enemy.

It now remains for us to see what will be the state of this commerce, *in three years hence*, what will be the change, which your administration will have produced, and what will be the consequences of that change. The immediate loss to us, and the immediate gain to our enemy, will be immense; but the subsequent relative change must produce the utter ruin of our West-India commerce. We shall at once become a little power, and finally a power totally insignificant, in that part of the world, where, at the epoch of your unexpected and ominous elevation, we were the greatest, and, indeed, the only power; where every sail bowed obedience to our triumphant flag; where the commands of our sovereign were the universal law; where the earth teemed and the waters rolled for Britain, and for Britain alone. [See Table, No. III. in page 848.]

A summary of these statements will simplify the comparison:

		Population.	Tons of Shipping.	Seamen.	Value of Exports £. Ster.
Before War.	Gr. Br.	520889	297252	23061	5182912
	France.	963779	450936	37747	10631326
Before Peace.	Gr. Br.	956750	449894	35022	10467456
	France.	177168	65300	5180	1956484
3 Years hence.	Gr. Br.	520889	297252	23061	5182912
	France.	1316642	535957	43911	14071829

Thus, Sir, previous to the peace, our West-India colonies had a population of more than nine hundred thousand souls, a produce of nearly ten millions and a half, and employed nearly half a million tons of shipping, with more than thirty-five thousand seamen; while the population of the French colonies was reduced to less than two hundred thousand souls, her produce to less than two millions, her shipping to sixty thousand tons, and her seamen to the number of five thousand. In three years time, the West-India commerce of Britain, supposing her to retain, in full prosperity, all the colonies you have left her, will be reduced to a population of five hundred thousand souls, its produce to five millions, its shipping to less than three hundred thousand tons, and its seamen to twenty-three thousand in number; while the commerce of the enemy will be fed by a population of nearly a million and a half of souls, by a produce of fourteen millions of money, employing upwards of fifty thousand tons of shipping, navigated by more than forty thousand seamen! This contrast must pierce the heart of any man, not accustomed to anticipate with indifference the decline and disgrace of his country; and, if I thought you could contemplate it without shame and remorse, I should think my time ill-bestowed in presenting it to your view.

Now, Sir, as to *the correctness of my statements*, those which relate to the *past* will admit of little contradiction, or doubt. Those which relate to the *future* may be objected to on three grounds:

1. It will, probably, be urged, that the colonies of Surinam, and that of Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo, are not surrendered to the French, but to the Dutch;

2. That the future population of St. Domingo is over-rated, and that the colony will not so soon as three years, if it ever does, return to its former flourishing and productive state;

3. That the old British colonies may increase in population and produce, which will consequently occasion an increase of our commerce with them.

1. It is not the *nominal* possession of territory, of any kind, and particularly of colonies, that is *advantageous* to the possessor. Such possession may sometimes add to the honours of a sovereign, or state, but never to their riches, or their power. Our king was 'till very lately, stiled *King of France*, and the title of *King of the Indies* is still used by the feeble and abject Sovereign of Spain. Nor is it of any consequence of what nation the *inhabitants* of a colony consist. Those of the island of St. Thomas are almost entirely English and Scotch; divine service is performed according to the rites and ceremonies of the churches of England and Scotland, and in the English language; yet, the colony belongs *bonâ fide* to Denmark, which derives therefrom all the advantages that it yields. The government, of the colonies I am now speaking of, may, indeed, be, for some time at least, administered in the *name* of the Batavian Republic; but, can any man of common sense and common candour, after viewing the state of vassalage, in which that Republic has been left by us, affect to believe, that the commerce of all its colonies will not be rendered either directly or indirectly, subservient to the advantage of France? Holland has not one single characteristic of an *independent* state. French generals command in all her districts; her towns and fortresses are garrisoned by French armies; French proconsuls dictate the measures of her cabinet; France makes war and makes peace for her, answers for her conduct, stipulates for cessions in her favour, and alienates her territory. Can such a state be called independent? Can such a state be said to be the *sovereign* of any thing? *You*, Sir, ought to be the last of all mankind to attribute to her such quality; you, who have actively consented to; you, who have sanctioned and ratified her subjection, by receiving a portion of her dominions from the hands of her conqueror, without even the formality of her consent*.

Without the *real*, though, perhaps, not the nominal possession, of the colony of Surinam and of that of Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo, France would derive little benefit from those possessions in South America, which she has been so anxious to extend.

* Vide Parliamentary Debates, Nov. 2, 1801.

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TABLE, No. I.—*State of the West-India Commerce of Great-Britain and France, previous to the Commencement of the War, being an Account of the Population of the several Colonies, the Vessels cleared outward therefrom, in one Year, and of the Kind and Value of their Cargoes.*

	Colonies.	Population.	Navigation.			Sugar.	Molasses.	Rum.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Miscellaneous Articles, in value *.	Value.
			Ships.	*Tons.*	*Men.*	*lbs.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	£. Sterling.	£. Sterling.
British.	Antigua	30398	233	28663	2048	31867136	5910	716546		160510	52167	592596
	Barbadoes	78282	243	26917	1942	15329792	13489	415489		2705975	46324	539605
	Bahamas and Bermudas †	14622										
	St. Christopher's	22335	200	32155	1590	26379136	8154	334609		484640	39495	510014
	Dominica	26103	162	18126	1814	7985824	16803	63892	2032648	970816	51912	302987
	Grenada	24926	188	25764	2014	19661376	4300	670390	977244	2062427	69545	614908
	Jamaica	280000	674	135888	1344	90109376	6416	2543025	716240	1906467	247286	2136442
	Montserrat and Nevis	20720	122	10787	904	12347536	1313	289076		92472	1755	214141
	St. Vincent's	13303	122	12636	969	6295296	9656	88278	71008	761880	2691	186450
	Virgin Isles	10200	40	6516	436	8870736	2011	21417		289077	2440	166959
	Total	520889	1984	297252	23061	218845208	68052	5132222	3797140	9334024	513615	5182912
French.	St. Domingo	578623	1640	318015	26770	193485336	1986139		71154188	7384629	8486	7328801
	Guadaloupe	170955	398	65300	5180	61301314	626348		160348	88526	1389	1456484
	St. Lucia	32219	192	18536	1941	11061319	143034		300846	441062	976	383516
	Martinico	146444	333	38369	2903	52144018	239163		7555812	323518	2965	1184022
	Tobago	29325	142	10716	953	9801142	168144				640	276503
	Fr. Guiana and the Isle of Cayenne ‡	6213										
	Total	963779	2705	450936	37747	327793129	3162828		79171194	8237735	14476	10631326

* The Miscellaneous Articles consist of Taffia, Pimento, Ginger, Tobacco, Indigo, Cocoa, Hides, Fustic, Logwood, and some other articles of trifling import. Sugar, Molasses, Rum, Coffee, and Cotton are, and must ever remain, the principal objects of West-India commerce. The amount of the Miscellaneous Articles being, however, given in this Table, together with an account of the Population and Shipping, will render the whole sufficiently minute for every useful purpose connected with the present subject.

† These Islands produce no exports worth mentioning. They are, however, of great importance as naval stations in time of war; and, as the possession of them is greatly conducive to the prosperity of the commerce with our other Colonies, it is fair to include them here, as far as relates to population.

‡ This Colony, like our Bahamas and Bermudas, produced but little more than provisions for the settlers.

TABLE, No. II.—*State of the West India Commerce of Great-Britain and France, at the Close of the War.*

	Colonies.	Population.	Navigation.			Sugar.	Molasses.	Rum.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Miscellaneous Articles, in value.	Value.
			Ships.	*Tons.*	*Men.*	*lbs.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	£. Sterling.	£. Sterling.
British.	British Colonies	520889	1984	297252	23061	218845208	68052	6132222	3797140	9334024	513615	5182912
	Martinico *	146444	333	38369	2903	52144018	239163		7555812	323518	2965	1184022
	St. Lucia	32219	192	18536	1941	11061319	143034		300846	441062	976	383516
	Tobago	29325	142	10716	953	9801142	168144				640	276503
	Surinam	105877	309	35133	2796	26862964	268695		16003424	5013436	93121	1386355
	Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo	121996	333	49888	3368	18839286		287750	15966562	10841100		2054148
	Total	956750	3293	449894	35022	337553937	887088	6419972	43623784	25953140	511317	10467456
French.	St. Domingo †											500000
	Guadaloupe ‡	170955	398	65300	5180	61301314	626348		160348	88526	1389	1456484
	Fr. Guiana and the I. of Cayenne	6213										
	Total	177168	398	65300	5180	61301314	626348		160348	88526	1389	1956484

* The disproportion which appears between the Navigation and the Exports of the French islands, when compared with that of the British Islands, arises from the *double voyages* having been included in the statements relative to the former, and not in those relative to the latter.

† By circuitous routes, France still received something from this Island; I have therefore given her the advantages attendant on a produce of half a million sterling.—It is well known, that Great-Britain also still derived great commercial advantages from this Island, which are not reckoned upon in the above statements.

‡ This Island, owing to many causes, has greatly declined in every respect; but I chose, in this view of the subject, to give France the full amount of all the advantages she could possibly enjoy.

TABLE, No. III.—*State of the West-India Commerce of Great-Britain and France, three Years after the Close of* 1801.

Colonies.	Population.	Navigation.			Sugar.	Molasses.	Rum.	Coffee.	Cotton.	Miscel. Art in value.	Value.
		Ships.	*Tons.*	*Men.*	*lbs.*	*Gallons.*	*Gallons.*	*lbs.*	*lbs.*	£. Sterling.	£. Sterling.
British Colonies ..... Total	520889	1984	297252	23061	218845208	68052	5132222	3797140	9334024	513615	5182912
French Colonies before the war *	1088779	2705	450936	37747	327793129	3162828		79171194	8237735	14476	10631326
Surinam	105877	309	35133	2796	26862964	268695		16003424	5013436	93121	1386355
† Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo	121996	333	49888	3368	18839286		287750	15966562	10841100		2054148
Total	1316642	3347	535957	43911	373494479	3431523	287750	111141180	24092271	107597	14071829

* 125,000 are here added to the population of St. Domingo on account of the acquisition of the Spanish part of the Island.

† In this, as well as in the preceding table, I might have included Curaçao, St. Eustatia, and some settlements of less importance: but, not having the necessary authentic information at hand, I have chosen to omit them, rather than risk any inaccuracy in my statements. Besides, considered in the grand scale of commerce and dominion, they are of very little consequence.

to extend. The mouth of the river Surinam is the best naval station on the coast, and, as a cruising station, one of the best in the world. Unpossessed of the river Essequibo, she would hold but a slackened rein over the Spanish territory, which is another great object in the long catalogue of her meditated conquests Add to these considerations, the desire, which she must ever have, to prevent Holland from again becoming opulent and powerful, and the still stronger desire of acquiring opulence and naval power herself, and who can be idiot enough to believe, that she will leave the immense commerce of these colonies really in the possession of that conquered and subjected state? Say, however, that this commerce shall still be carried on by the rightful owner, that none but Dutch ships shall trade to the ports of these colonies, and that Holland alone shall receive their exports; still France will be the real and only possessor of all the benefits therefrom derived; for, while the fleets and the treasury of Holland are at her command, and at her absolute disposal, it matters very little, whether the fleets be stationed in the Texel, or at Brest, or whether the treasure be collected at Amsterdam, or at Bourdeaux; it matters very little to whom you *affect* to have surrendered her colonies, they are in fact surrendered to France, who now boldly and truly places them on the list of those commercial acquisitions, which are to eclipse and extinguish the commerce of Great-Britain.

2. It may be objected to my statements, *that the future population of St. Domingo is over-rated, and that it will not so soon as three years hence, if it ever does, return to its former flourishing and productive state.*

The *population* of the French part of St. Domingo has been greatly under-rated by Bryan Edwards, who estimated the white inhabitants at 33,000, at a time when he might easily have been informed, that the *white militia* alone actually consisted of 16,000 men, a circumstance that will fully satisfy any one capable of the least reflection, that the whole white population could not possibly have been less than from fifty to sixty thousand souls. To the French population before the war (and I shall hereafter prove that it will, in three years hence, supposing peace to continue, have experienced no diminution) I have added the present population of the Spanish part of the island, which your "*best* defender," Philangus, states, upon the authority of Edwards, at 20,000, and which I, upon the authority of Moreau de St. Mery, state at 125,000, of which only 15,000 are slaves; and which population is distributed thus:

		Inhabitants.
In the district of	Azua	500
——	Bani	1800
——	Moulins à Eau	2500
——	Jayna	2000
——	Santo Domingo	20000
——	Mont-de-Plate	600
——	Bayaguana	1000
——	Seybo	4000
——	Higuey	500
——	Samana, Savane-la-Mer	500
——	Monte Christ	3000
——	Cotuy	8000
——	La Vega	8000
——	St. Yago	27600
——	Hinche	12000
——	Banique	7000
In the district of	St. Jean de la Maguana	5000
——	Des Plaines	21000
		125000

This statement of Moreau was made from the actual census, furnished him by the Spanish Governor. The parts of a hundred were dropped in order to avoid encumbering the sentences, or the total would, probably, have amounted to a thousand or two more. By casting your eye on the population of *the City of Santo-Domingo* and its district, you will perceive whence has arisen the error of Bryan Edwards, and the consequent error of his humble imitator. They have mistaken the population of the *capital* for the population of the *whole colony!* And these are "high authorities;" these are writers, on whom a British minister has the weakness to rely for a defence of his measures!

Nor will the other objection, *that St. Domingo will not, so soon as three years, recover its former flourishing and productive state,* require any thing to remove it but a simple statement of facts.

Since incapacity, or something worse, lost us the possession of this island, and particularly since your disgraceful peace has restored it to the hands of our enemy, it has been much in vogue, to speak contemptuously of its value; to represent it as a colony, which was, indeed, *once* of some importance, but which is now in such a state of devastation as to leave the owner no hope of deriving any advantage from it, for many years, at least. I can remember, Sir, when different sentiments were entertained, and when a different language was held. I can remember when, soon after our landing on the island, Lord Hawkesbury (now Lord Liverpool) congratulated the House of Peers on the capture of a colony, capable of yielding an export produce of *ten millions* annually; and this congratulation took place after the far greater part of the ravages had been committed. But *now* behold! this colony of unexampled, and almost incredible resources, though it has been ever since on the return to peace and prosperity, is become "*the* "RUINED *and* RAVAGED *St. Domingo*;" a mere waste, a heap of rubbish, where a banditti of negroes are wandering about amongst the graves of their masters. But, not to leave any room for cavil on this score, I beg leave to quote the very words of your *defender* Philanglus: —"The French colony, thus, "appears to have contained, eleven years ago, "above 530,000 inhabitants. It was, however, "computed, in the year, 1793, that the class of "negroes alone had sustained a diminution of "more than 100,000. Mr. Edwards says, that "since that time the mortality has been still more "rapid; and, including the loss of whites by sick-"ness *and emigration*, he reduces the population of "St. Domingo, in June 1796, to two-fifths of the "whole number of inhabitants (white and black) "which it possessed in the beginning of 1791. "According to this calculation, *upwards of* 300,000 "*human beings have miserably perished in this devoted* "*country within the short period of six years.* Of the "cultivation and commerce of the island, we may "form an adequate idea from the same authority; "from which it appears, that the average exports "from the French part of St. Domingo previously to the revolution, were rather more than "£5,000,000. In 1791, they were upwards of

" 5,500,000*l.* In 1800, (according to an official " report of the minister of the interior, made in " 1801)

	livres	*sterling*
" The imports into France " from all the French co- " lonies in the East and " West-Indies, were,	1,433,800 or	£61,825
" The exports from France " to all the French colo- " nies, East and West- " Indies, were - - -	282,300 or	11,762

" In 1788, St. Domingo imported French goods " to the amount of more than 3,500,000*l. st.* in five " hundred and eighty vessels belonging to France, " carrying 189,679 tons, exclusive of 98 vessels " engaged in the African trade. In 1800, I be- " lieve, (though I will not state this as a positive " fact) *not a single French vessel cleared out from France* " *for this island.*"

Now, Sir, the inference, evidently intended to be drawn from this statement, is, that the whites and others who have *emigrated*, are dead, or at least, are lost for ever to St. Domingo; that *three hundred thousand* out of *five hundred thousand* blacks and mulattoes, have really died, or have been killed; and that the exports from the colony, in the year 1800, amounted *to only a certain portion of* 61,825*l. st.*; and that, *not a single ship did, in that year, clear out for the colony!*

I will not charge Philanglus with *wilful falsehood*, nor with *wilful misrepresentation*, for, from the simplicity of his manner, it is evident, that his misrepresentation proceeds from that ignorance, in which he, probably, participates with those, who ought to have been better informed, before they adopted a measure, so desperate as to accept of a defender in him. But, Sir, this circumstance does not render an exposure of his misrepresentation less necessary; for, we have lately learned by experience, that neither the improbability, nor the falsehood of a statement, operates to its discredit.

The devastation and the carnage, in St. Domingo, have been great; but have they been such as to warrant a belief, that 300,000 men have been actually killed by 200,000 survivors? There is, on the face of this statement, something too wonderful to obtain credit from any one, who has advanced beyond the history of Jack the Giant-killer. Philanglus does, indeed, drop a word about *emigration*; but he confines it to the *whites*, and makes no deduction, on that account, from the number of his *slain*. If Philanglus had been where I was, in the year 1793, he might have seen *ten thousand* blacks, whites, and mulattoes, land, *in one day*, and at one port, from vessels, coming from St. Domingo. Had he understood the subject, on which he was writing, he would have known, that the emigration began in the year 1790, and that it continued till Great-Britain and America entered into a treaty with Toussaint, in the year 1798; he would have known, that 80,000 of the inhabitants of the French colony emigrated to the United States, that the slaves were there hired out by their masters, that the whole population there increased, rather than decreased, in number; and that both masters and slaves have, since the autumn of 1798, been gradually returning to the colony. He would have known, that there was a very considerable emigration, of all colours, to Old France; that great numbers went to New Orleans, to the Floridas, to Cuba, to Porto-Rico, to St. Thomas, and elsewhere: so that Philanglus may rest assured, that a very great portion of " *the* " 300,000 *human beings, who have miserably perished* " *in that devoted country,*" are yet alive and merry; and, I dare say, I shall receive his unfeigned thanks for having thus wiped the tears from his philanthropic cheeks.

Some writers deal in slaughter, as a popular species of the sublime, and as an infallible cure for the obstinate drowsiness of their readers. Whether this innocent motive produced the statement of Philanglus is more than I can say, but that statement is certainly a most glaring exaggeration.—Mons. Jean M. de la Borde, who wrote in 1798, computed the mortality, occasioned by the revolution, in the French colony of St. Domingo, at *fifty thousand souls*, and the eventual loss of negroes, supposing the colony soon to return under the government of France, at *eighty-five thousand*; and these numbers were, by all the St. Domingo planters, whose opinions I had an opportunity of knowing (and they were not a few), thought to be much too high. There have been not many destructive battles in St. Domingo. Assassinations, murders, and most horrid acts of cruelty, have indeed been abundant; but 300,000 men are not, in this way, so soon and so easily destroyed. The fact is, that the far greater half of the depopulation proceeded from emigration to friendly or neutral countries, and the persons so emigrating are now, and have long been, returning. Like birds that the gun of the fowler has scared from their food, they have been scattered in every direction; but your friendly hand having removed the cause of their fear, they are now flocking back to their haunt, where, when they are all assembled, they will scarcely perceive the diminution in their numbers.

But, false as is the statement of Philanglus, with regard to the depopulation of this colony, his statement respecting *the diminution in its resources* is still more so. " Of the cultivation and com- " merce of the island," says he, " we may form " an *adequate* idea" from these facts, to wit, " that, " in the year 1791, the exports were in amount " upwards of 5,500,000*l. st.* and that, in the year " 1800, the imports of France, from all the French " colonies, were only 61,825*l. st.* and further, that, " in the same year, not a single French vessel " cleared out from France for that island."

To tell a lie in the words of truth is an art ascribed to the Society of Jesus, and were I disposed to join in the base calumnies heaped on that society, I should not scruple to rank Philanglus amongst the most finished of its pupils. He tells us, that, from the facts which he has stated, " we may " form an *adequate* idea of the *cultivation* and *com-* " *merce* of this island," which " *adequate* idea" evidently is, *that the colony did not, in* 1800, *export produce to the amount of* 60,000*l. st. and that not a single ship did, during that year, clear out for the colony.* This is the " *adequate idea,*" which the deceived and insulted British public are taught to form of the cultivation and commerce of the French colony of St. Domingo; and this is the writer, whom, report says, you and your colleagues regarded as *the best defender of the peace!*

Now, Sir, I beg you to listen to a few *truths*, and if you do not turn with scorn from Philanglus and his defence, you must have much less sense as well as less candour than I sincerely be-

lieve you to possess.—During the year 1800, during that year in which Philanglus would persuade you, *that the exports of St. Domingo did not amount to* 60,000*l. st. and that not a ship cleared out for the colony*; during that very year it appears, from the custom-house returns of the United States, that 642 vessels were entered inwards, and 428 were cleared outwards, for the "*ruined* and *ravaged* St. Domingo!" It also appears from those returns, that, during the same year, foreign produce, much of which came from St. Domingo, to the amount of 39 millions of dollars (upwards of eight millions sterling), was brought into the United States for re-exportation.—Besides this, the Danes, the Swedes, and the Hamburghers, carried on a considerable trade with the "*ruined* and *ravaged*" colony; nor was even Britain without her share; and, Sir, no trifling portion of those West-India imports and exports, boasted of in the House of Commons, on the memorable third of November last, ought to have been attributed to the "*ruined* and *ravaged* St. Domingo."

Of these facts I was in possession at the time when Philanglus began to *figure away* in the columns of the Porcupine. To stop him would have been an act of mercy, of which I thought him unworthy; and as to justice, I knew he would execute it on himself, were he but favoured with a sufficiency of rope. In the mean time, however, lest his ignorant spirit should resist the dictates of conviction, I provided me an instrument wherewith to give him the *coup-de-grâce*. This instrument is a letter from a merchant, who was in St. Domingo, in the year 1800, and who gives me the following account of the state in which the French colony then was.

"Dear Sir, "*Liverpool, Dec.* 21, 1801.

"In answer to your request about the state of St. Domingo, I have to inform you, that when I left it, *in the month of April*, 1800, I had resided at Cape François for about three months, prior to that time, and had occasion to go to Gonaïves and St. Mark's to purchase cotton, about 100 English miles distant from the Cape. The estates, every where, appeared *in good order, and most of the sugar works and distilleries were rebuilt*. All the estates had been restored to the proprietors, except those on the list of emigrants. From the best information I could get, *they made nearly one-third the quantity of produce they* FORMERLY *made*, and every one seemed to think, they could make full as much as formerly, only for the large army they had to keep up to guard such an extensive colony, and carry on a war against General Rigaud and his Mulattoes, who were then in great force in the south-west part of the island, but who are now subdued and returned to cultivate the estates. *During the three months* I was in the Cape, about *one hundred and thirty American vessels, loaded with produce, sailed from that port, and also a number of Danes and Hamburghers, and ten French ships*. In that time, I sold goods in the Cape to the amount of 102,000 Spanish dollars, and, much to the honour of the Blacks and Whites, *collected the whole* IN CASH *without any dispute*. I paid government duty on my inward cargo 10,500 *dollars*, and on my outward cargo of sugar, coffee, cotton, and fustic, 7,000 *dollars*, my ship carrying upwards of 400 tons; and I was allowed to bring away a quantity of dollars, as I had not room in the ship to take more produce. As to the police of the Cape, "I have seen none better any where; indeed all "colours seemed to be happy with each other, "for I never heard of a robbery, nor saw any of "the inhabitants intoxicated or quarrel in the "streets. The troops were well armed, cloathed, "and disciplined, and can, at a short notice, "bring into the field upwards of 100,000 able "men under General Toussaint Louverture, "commander in chief of the colony *in the name "of the French Republic*. The Custom-house, treasury, and the other public offices, were conducted the same as in all other French colonies. "I have been often in company with the general "in chief and many of the black and white officers, who always spoke with great respect of "the French nation, *and wished it was peace with "England, that the French might come and take possession of the Colony*. As to what state they are in "at this time is not in my power to say; but, "when I was there, produce and money were "plenty, provisions and dry goods very cheap, "and the colony in a prosperous state.

"This, Sir, is a rough sketch of what I know "of the island at that time. Since that the Black "army has taken possession of the Spanish part "of the island, and a Mr. Caze is made governor "of the city of St. Domingo. *He is a Frenchman "and came out from France, while I was in the colony, "as first aid-de-camp to General Toussaint*.

"I wish, Sir, it were in my power to give you "a more circumstantial account, but being always engaged with my commercial business "prevented me."

"I remain, dear Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"* * * * * * * *."

Not having taken the precaution to obtain this gentleman's liberty for so doing, and not having time to wait for a return of post from Liverpool, I do not think myself authorized to insert his name, to which, considering the insignificance of my work, he might, too, very properly object; but, should an occasion offer for him to state these facts *at the bar of the House of Commons* (and I am one of those, Sir, who hope, that such an occasion will yet offer), I pledge myself to the public, that his testimony there would be strictly conformable to the letter here submitted to your perusal.

This letter, Sir, firmly establishes the truth of all my statements relative to the French colony of St. Domingo. Here we find, that 130 American vessels, besides a number of Danes and Hamburghers, and ten French vessels, took in lading and sailed, *in the space of three months*, from the port of Cape François alone, which every one knows to have been the most ruined and ravaged part of "the *ruined* and *ravaged* St. Domingo." We further find, that many of the distilleries and sugar works were already rebuilt, that the plantations were in a prosperous state, and that the estates had been restored to all those proprietors, who had been wise enough not to place confidence in England. We find no want of that *capital*, of which your defender has represented the colony to be so destitute; we find cargoes, even British cargoes, paid for in cash; we find a profitable custom-house under proper regulations, and we find abundance of proof, that the produce of the colony, even in 1800, was full as great as that of Jamaica ever has been. Before facts like these

how quickly do the leaden columns of Philanglus dissolve into their native dross!

If such, Sir, was the state of the French colony of St. Domingo, in 1800, and such, I am persuaded you will now be convinced it was, it has certainly been growing better and better to this hour. What, then, will it be *three years hence*, when all the proprietors, except those who foolishly trusted to British wisdom and British perseverance, have returned, strengthened by the connections, which they, for the most part, have formed in the United States of America? When France shall, too, enjoy the inestimable advantages to be derived from the sole possession of the Spanish part of the island, which will greatly augment her population, strengthen her military defence, protect her navigation in time of war, extend her cultivation, and, above all, give her an ample, a regular, and never-failing supply of cattle of every description, a resource of which every other West-India colony is almost entirely destitute? Is it too much, Sir, to suppose, that, with all these additional advantages, and many more that could be mentioned, the French colony will, *in the course of three years*, attain to its former commercial importance? Most assuredly it is not, and those who attempt to hush the apprehensions, naturally excited by such a supposition, can be influenced by no motive but that of a desire to deceive the nation, and thereby to shelter ministers from the effects of its resentment.

3. The remaining objection which will probably be urged against my statement, is, *that the old British colonies may increase in produce and population, which will, consequently, occasion an increase in our commerce with them.*

The plantations in our old West-India colonies, Sir, like the fields of the mother country, will never be *exhausted*, while there are hands and capital to carry on their cultivation; but the progressive state of the former bears a strong resemblance to that of the latter, and leaves very little reason to hope for any considerable augmentation in produce; and, without an augmentation in produce, an increase of inhabitants would be an evil. Besides the state of the lands, however, there are two causes which will powerfully tend, not only to prevent an increase, but to occasion a decrease, in the produce and population of our old colonies; *I mean the migration of persons, and the transfer of capital, to the more favoured colonies of our enemy; and the vast advantages which the French planters and merchants will enjoy over those of Great-Britain, both in the field and in the market.*

The population and produce, Sir, of our Leeward Islands have *already* experienced a diminution; a diminution, indeed, which we felt not, because what we lost in St. Vincent's, Grenada, Barbadoes, and St. Christopher's, we found transferred, with ten-fold interest, to the colony of Surinam and that of Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo. These colonies are fertile beyond conception, and are capable of improvement to an incalculable extent. The progress of the latter colony, as exhibited in the following account, which your colleague, Lord Hawkesbury, knows to be authentic, will enable you to form some idea of the value of one of those numerous acquisitions, which were gained by the valour and the blood of our countrymen, and which you have surrendered into the hands of an enemy, whom they had beaten in every part of the world.

Account of the produce exported from the colony of Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo, since the establishment of a British custom-house there.

Years.	Vessels.	Hogsheads of Sugar.	Puncheons of Rum.	Bales of Cotton.	Pounds weight of Coffee.
1797 (from Aug.)	45	1,483	720	2,425	4,938,230
1798	202	6,472	1,803	14,738	4,506,345
1799	212	5,392	1,501	15,758	8,846,877
1800	333	10,513	2,615	33,806	15,966,562

If this colony, Sir, while regarded as mere conquest, while its tenure was so very insecure, increased, as we here see it did, more than one-third in its produce in the space of three years, what, with its vast extent may not be its produce when safely lodged in the hands of a power, which now commands the world? It was the migration of British subjects, and the transfer of British capital, that occasioned this prodigious increase. Both sought a more propitious soil. And, if the difficulties and dangers ever attendant on a state of warfare, were insufficient to restrain this inclination, what do you imagine will be able to restrain it in future? The mere circumstance of the colony having changed masters? O, no, Sir! The planters who removed their capital and their slaves from Grenada to Demerara, took into their calculation the possibility, and the probability, of a transfer of the colony. And, if even this did not obstruct their speculations, what is there to obstruct them now, when the adventurers have seen the golden mine, and have begun to rifle its treasures? That the considerations of country, language, manners, and laws, will operate but as a very weak impediment is clearly evinced in the instance of St. Thomas and many other colonies. Capital seeks for an increase, as water seeks the sea, and it will follow wherever that increase is to be found, whether at home or abroad, whether in the country of a friend, or in the country of an enemy.

Another cause of the decrease in the population and produce of our old colonies will be, the vast advantages, which the French planters and merchants will, as I before observed, enjoy over those of Great-Britain, both in the field and in the market. Their vessels will sail cheaper than ours, their slaves will be cheaper obtained; and, unless we open our West-India ports to the Americans, unless we, in this point, give up our Navigation Act, and with it those advantages, which are absolutely necessary to the preservation of any considerable portion of our naval power, the French colonists will purchase lumber, flour, pork, and all the articles of first necessity, at a price greatly inferior to that, on which ours will be able to obtain them *. Be you assured, Sir, that

* The idle notion of obtaining *provisions* from Canada, Nova Scotia, and God knows where, is now-a-days completely exploded. They must come from the United States, or the sugar-plantations must be turned into Indian corn-fields, and the food of the colonists must be confined to homony and mush.

one part of the plan of the rulers of France, is, *to make the interest of America coincide with the ruin of England*; and, in the prosecution of this plan, nothing can be imagined more effectual, than the granting to America, what she has so long and so anxiously sought for, those commercial concessions, which England will not, which England cannot grant her.

The produce of the French colonies, being raised at less expense, will, of course, be sold cheaper, than that of the British colonies; which circumstance, together with our exclusion from Flanders and Germany, and the opening of those countries to France, by the navigation of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, will leave us the British isles alone as a market for our West-India goods, which, as they will gradually become less profitable to the planter, will gradually cease to be raised; negroes, to the great joy of Saint *Wilberforce*, will cease to be torn from the bleeding bosoms of those tender fathers and mothers who now barter them for a bit of glass, the negro-driver will cease to lash, the African will cease to labour, and thirty thousand British sailors, who labour much harder, will cease to encounter the dangers of the sea. Blessed prospect! and all this, Sir, you will have satisfaction to reflect, is to be attributed to *you!*

ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND OF TRINIDAD.

This island lies on the north-east coast of South America, near the entrance of the River Orinoco (Oroonoko) in the 11° of north latitude, and 61° longitude west of London. It is the largest and southernmost of all the Leeward Islands, measuring in its extreme length from east to west 60 British miles, and from north to south 45 miles; containing 2,400 square miles superficial measure. It must be observed here, as one of the peculiar advantages of this island, that it is without the reach of the hurricanes so destructive in Jamaica and some other islands. Trinidad was discovered by Christopher Columbus, in his third voyage, July 31st, 1498, and so named from its appearance, at 13 leagues distance to the S. E. with three heads or mountains above all the rest. It was then inhabited by Caribs the greatest part of whom were destroyed, in 1518, when the Spaniards, for working the mines, made slaves of all the Indians they could take.

Sir Walter Raleigh, who was in the island of Trinidad in 1593, remarks upon it as being very proper for the cultivation of tobacco and sweet canes; also of the Spaniards having told him, that gold could be found in the island, chiefly in the beds of the rivers.

The Spanish accounts of Trinidad are very few, and remarkably deficient; Father Joseph Gumilla, from whom we might have expected a complete description of the island, has taken very little notice of it in his History of the Oroonoko *(Orinoco illustrado.)*

Abbé Raynal, in the *Histoire politique et philosophique des deux Indes*, says, "the design of the first settlement of this island was for the purpose of securing the conquest of the Orinoco."

Alcedo, in his *Dictionary of the West-Indies and America*, is the only Spanish author who has entered into some detail concerning Trinidad; he speaks with rapture of its fertility, its numerous and various productions; such as excellent grapes, an innumerable quantity of oranges of the most exquisite flavour; of seville oranges, citrons, lemons, &c. besides all the fruits peculiar to the West-Indies. It produces likewise coffee, and supplies the island of Margarita and several other places with mayze. The article of indigo is particularly noticed as growing wild in great abundance of the best quality, and the cocoa as being equally good with that of the province of Caracoa, which is esteemed the best of Spanish West-Indies; Gumilla says, that it was preferred by the traders to the cocoa of the Caraccas; but that the plantations, or cocoa walks, have been so neglected since the year 1727, that there are scarce any left now in the island; in short, these productions are such, that the discoverers, comparing it with the other islands, distinguished it by the name of The *Paradise*.

In this island there are three distinct *ridges of mountains*, the *northern*, *middle* and *southern*, which are mostly inaccessible, and covered with all kinds of incorruptible woods proper for ship-building.*

The rivers, several of which are considerable, have been traced and examined as to what distance they are navigable, and also with respect to the improvements they may be capable of by deepening their beds, new canals, &c.

The navigable rivers on the west coast or gulph, are the Caroni, Guaracara, Coura, and Siparia; those on the east coast are the Ortoire, Neg, Lebranche, and the Oropuche, all which abound with many kinds of fish; but those on the east coast are particularly frequented by sharks; by the lamentin (sea cow or manattee) weighing generally from 500 to 800 wt. sometimes 1600 wt. it is harpooned like the whale, and its flesh is very good fresh or dry: some of this species have been caught in the French Antilles, measuring 20 feet in length and 10 in breadth; you meet also with the pantouflier, or zigene, a dangerous and voracious monster, about 10 or 12 feet long, and thick in proportion; its head is shaped like a hammer, having large round terrific eyes, a wide mouth well armed with teeth, and more conveniently disposed for biting than those of the shark, whose body it most resembles. This fish is common in the French Antilles, and hath been often found at Guadaloupe, in the road of Basse-Terre.

The Caroni is the principal river of the island, being navigable from its entrance in the Gulph of Paria to the Aripo, a distance of nearly 20 British miles.

The Aripo, a branch of the Caroni, is navigable; which, by means of a canal to connect it with the Guaro, (a branch of the Oropuche also navigable to the sea); a communication might be opened from the west coast or Gulph of Paria to the east coast or Atlantic.

The Guanape, or Guanaba, a branch of the Caroni, is also navigable, but hath less depth of water than the Aripo.

Coura River, on the west coast is capable of being made navigable, to the distance of 5,000 paces.

The River Siparia is navigable to the distance of 3,000 paces, and might be extended to 7,000.

The Ortoire or Guataro, is the principal river on the east coast, having from its entrance to the Morne Orange (a distance of about 20 miles) two, four, and five fathoms; but the mouth of this river being shoal water, it would be requisite to cut a navigable canal of 2,600 paces from the Ortoire (between the

* The island, says Alcedo, is a continual forest of precious timber, such as cedars, walnut-trees of several sorts; palm trees of various kinds, guayacum tree, &c.

settlements of Guias and Thomazo) to the Bay of Mayaro, thereby giving the utmost facility of exportation to the productions of this immense tract of cultivable land. The anchorage in Mayaro Bay is safe, having good holding ground with a bottom of sand and gravel. You may embark or disembark in this bay at any time of the tide. The tide is perceivable in this river about the junction of the Moura.

The Neg or Nariva River runs parallel to the shore at a short distance from it, forming a canal of about five or six miles in length, with three, four, and five fathoms; it receives the waters of the Mangrove trees, which spread over all this part. The water of this river is black, and so much tainted as to render the sea frothy throughout the bay. There are two navigable channels, connecting the Rivers Neg and Ortoire, which greatly facilitate the draining of those rivers when inundated.

Lebranche, this river is navigable to the distance of 6,000 paces, the marshes at the entrance might be drained with facility.

The River Oropuche is navigable to the uppermost branch, called the Guaro (a length of 18 miles) from which a canal might be made to the Aripo, and thereby connect the two opposite streams of the Oropuche and Caroni.

Savanas, of which there are several in this island. Savana Grande, or Great Savana of Caroni, is a large tract of drowned land, part in Savana, although flooded in the rainy seasons. Notwithstanding the center of this marsh is level with the sea, yet a considerable portion of it might be successfully drained by making straight cuts to connect the inflections of the River Caroni; the narrow channels of which from becoming encumbered at the time of the inundations, overflow all the lands adjoining thereto.

The Laguna Grande, or the Great Lagoon, is another tract of marsh land, inaccessible.—These Savanas produce a great quantity of the Mangrove trees.

Marsh of Icaque, in this Savana, which is level with the sea, are two gulphs; one of which hath an elevation of seven feet, the other thirteen; mud and calcareous earth are continually gushing out of them. Two of the principal mouths produce detonations in the months of March and June, throwing up at the same time metallic particles, stones rounded by friction, and other heterogeneous substances.

The other marshes are those of Ortoire, Oropuche, and the Mangroves.

At Cape de la Brea (the western extremity of the Great Lagoon) is a lake of bitumen or pitch, situated 80 feet above the level of the sea, and very extensive; good water may always be found in some of the openings at two, four, and eight feet depth; there are also some small islands of the Mangrove trees. The sort of pitch which is best for the use of shipping, is found in the center of the lake; upon any pieces of it being cut out with an axe or otherwise, the chasms will fill up immediately.—The several branches of this lake are level throughout, extending towards the sea, but are all sustained by the main spring or focus. The village of la Brea is established upon one of these branches, but the pitch that is found near the sea has received more heat, and contains a greater quantity of heterogeneous substances. Father Gumilla tells us, that about 60 years ago, a little before he came to Trinidad, a spot of land on the western coast, near half way between the capital and the Indian village, did sink suddenly, and was immediately replaced by a small lake of pitch to the great surprise and terror of the inhabitants.

The western coast of the Isle of Trinidad, with the opposite coast of the Province of Cumana, form the extensive Gulph of Paria, named by Columbus, Golfo de Ballena, or Gulph of the Whale. There is good anchorage in this gulph on the coast of Trinidad, having from 3 to 10 and 16 fathoms water, mud bottom.

Chaguaramas Harbour lies on the north shore of this gulph, about three leagues west of Port of Spain; is capable of receiving the largest ships of war, having from 4 to 25 and 40 fathoms water, gravel and ooze bottom; the shores are bold and steep. When the British forces attacked the island in 1797, the Spaniards burnt in this harbour one ship of 80 guns, two of 74 guns, and one frigate of 32 guns.

The Careening Place (le Carenage) is shallow, having from two to four fathoms water, and therefore is suitable for merchant ships only.

Gaspar Grande,—on this island the Spaniards have constructed a battery of masonry to protect the harbour; it is ill situated, and without solidity.

Port of Spain (Puerto d'Espana) is situated on the north-east coast of the Gulph of Paria, having a jetty or quay of masonry, with a battery en barbette even with the water's edge for the defence of the town; here are also two other batteries on the east side.

The bay before this port is one of the safest and most extensive in the world; ships being able to anchor there in a superficial space of above 70 miles, with a depth of water from twelve to five fathoms only one mile off shore, and all good holding ground. Should they drive from their anchors, they go on shore in soft mud, and are got off without damage. A white half-moon battery, just above the town, on the brow of the hill, is a good mark for the bay, and may be seen a long way off: this battery, by large ships, should never be brought to the northward of N. N. E. and the best anchorage is in the north-west bight of the bay.

St. Joseph de Oruna, the capital town of the island, is situated seven miles east from the Port of Spain; on the road between these two places, is the village St. John.

Indian missions in this island, among the few caribs which remain of its first inhabitants, are those of Arima, Toco, Gayaro, Cumana, Monserat, Savana Grande, and Siparia.

The population of Trinidad, according to the account taken in July, 1797 (see the annexed table) amounted to seventeen thousand, seven hundred and eighteen souls, including all descriptions.

Near Cape la Brea, a little to the south-west, is a gulph or vortex in the sea, which, in stormy weather, gushes out, raising the water five or six feet, and covers the surface for a considerable space with panoleum or tar.

On the east coast in the Bay of Mayaro, there is another gulph or vortex, similar to the former, which, in the months of March and June, produces a detonation like thunder, having some flame with a thick black smoke which vanishes away immediately; in about 24 hours afterwards is found along shore of the bay, a quantity of bitumen or pitch, about three or four inches thick, which is employed with success.

Along the shore of Cocos Bay to the distance of about 50 paces, are found a great quantity of palm or cocoa trees, whose species is not natural to the island; a launch coming from the River Orinoco, laden with cocoa nuts, was wrecked in this bay, by

which accident these trees were planted and continue to multiply.

We shall conclude this short, but perhaps comprehensive account, considering the scantiness of our materials, with some observations on the Gulph of Paria, and the lands which surround it; and on the River Orinoco, a great part of whose waters are discharged in that gulph.

The *Gulph of Paria*, received at first the several names of Gulph of the Whale, Gulph Triste, and Fresh Water Sea; its length from east to west is about 30 sea leagues, and its breadth from north to south about 15: the lesser arm of Rio Orinoco, named Cano de Pedernales ("channel of the Pebbles") and an immense number of smaller branches of various widths, all flowing in a northerly direction from the main stream of the Orinoco, bring the tribute of their waters to this inland sea. It has two great issues into the Atlantic Ocean; namely, the northern mouth divided into four openings, three small ones on the eastern side, and a large one about two leagues broad on the west part, adjoining to Paria the Continent. To this Columbus gave the name of the Dragon's Mouth, as he had given that of the Serpent's Mouth, to the eastern issue of the gulph in the Atlantic, which is about three leagues broad, with a small island (called Soldier's Island) belonging to Trinidad in the middle of it.

On the north side the gulph is separated from the Atlantic Sea by a narrow neck of fertile land, which Columbus has named Paria, it is occupied by a few Indians, whose villages, chiefly along the coast, are thinly scattered; the Spaniards had lately in that part some settlements of French emigrants from the Antilles; but according to report these colonists have been lately expelled.

The west and south sides of the gulph are all low, swampy grounds, but especially the south side as far as the Cano de Pedernales, where the Orinoco might be said to begin, and which is the canal of communication with the main stream of the river; the length of this channel is about 50 leagues, and its navigation not difficult.

All the part belonging to the river is remarkable for its periodical overflowing; the Orinoco beginning to swell in April, increases progressively during five months, and rises on the sixth to its greatest height. In October it begins to decrease gradually till the month of March, during the whole of which it is at the lowest level of its diminution. These alternate variations are regular and even invariable.

This phenomenon, the cause of which is unknown, appears according to Abbé Raynal, to depend more on the sea than on the land: during the five months of the river's increase, the hemisphere of the new world, in some degree exposes only seas, and scarce any lands to the perpendicular action of the solar rays: during the following six months of the river's decrease, the immense Continent of America only is presented to that same action; the sea then is less subject to the active influence of the sun, or at least its shelving towards the eastern coast is counterbalanced, and broken in a stronger degree by the lands; it must therefore leave a greater freedom to the course of the rivers, which being in that case not so closely kept back by the sea, can be swelled only by the melting of the snow in the southern Cordilleras, or by the rains. Perhaps also it is the rainy season which determines the increase of the Orinoco; we shall add that this is the opinion of Father Gumilla, who seems to have examined this singular effect with great attention. "When some enlight-ened nation, concludes Abbé Raynal, shall be-come acquainted with the banks of the Orinoco, the phenomena of its course will be known, or at least they will be thoroughly studied."

The branches of the Orinoco, as numerous as they are intricate, form a multitude of islands of different sizes, which you find covered with palm trees; although their soil lies under water during six months of the year, and the tide covers it twice a day; they are inhabited by the Guaraunas, who have found the means of constructing commodious huts on high piles deeply driven in the mud, and sometimes to build them in the trees themselves, which at the same time supply them with food, drink, household furniture, canoes, &c. &c. These Indians are supposed to be about six thousand, their language is spoken by all the Spanish traders of Guyana; they are very expert fishermen, and trade in fish, nets, baskets, &c. made with the leaves of their palm trees.

The land capable of cultivation is divided into lots of 100 squares or 320 acres English statute measure. The whole number of lots is 2720 of which 1313 are suitable for the cultivation of sugar, 945 for coffee, 158 for cotton, and 304 for cocoa.

The annexed table will give a view of the population.

	Whites.	*Colour.*	*Slaves.*	*Indians.*	*Total.*
Men....	994	1196	4164	305	6659
Women.	590	1624	3505	401	6120
Boys....	301	898	1232	190	2621
Girls....	266	758	1108	186	2318
Total...	2151	4476	10009	1082	17718

By a report laid before Parliament on the 19th of May, 1802, it appears that about 400 lots of the land had been appropriated by the Spanish Government, but the portion of this land actually under cultivation was very small. The exports and imports were of very trifling amount.

SIERRA LEONE.

An account of the rise, progress, and present situation of this colony cannot be unacceptable to the readers of a work like this. The colony of Sierra Leone was established with the intention of producing *the abolition of the Slave Trade* by shewing that negroes were capable of enjoying liberty, without danger to the government under which they might live. How this position has been made out in practice the history of Leone will sufficiently explain.

The following account is taken, verbatim, from a report made to the House of Commons (by a committee appointed to examine the peti-

tion of the directors of the Sierra Leone Company), on the 25th of May, 1802. They petitioned for an aid of £10,000, which was finally granted. Vide Debate, p. 723.—The account, which is here given of the colony, forms an appendix to the report of the committee, who merely referred the house to it. This appendix, it must be observed, was drawn up by the petitioners, by men whose reputation as politicians and philanthropists was at stake, and part of whose *property* also was at stake, they being the principal holders of the shares of the company. If the colony met with no aid from government, it must fall at once, and with it all the schemes of these projectors; and, as the aid of government entirely depended upon its opinion as to the final success of the colony, it is to be presumed, that the directors have given an account full as favourable as the truth would bear, if not rather more so.

HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENT.—The Sierra Leone Company was instituted about one year before the commencement of the late war. Its capital was about £230,000 *.

The general object of the founders of it was the introduction of civilization into Africa. The principal means proposed for effecting this end, was the establishment of a secure factory at Sierra Leone, with the view to a new trade in produce, chiefly with the interior; but the reception into the settlement of near 1,200 blacks, who had taken part with Great Britain in the American war, in consequence of a proclamation from the commander in chief, and who had petitioned the government to be removed from Nova Scotia on account of the coldness of the climate, gave a new character to the undertaking. The want of a sufficient power and authority to control these colonists has proved, as will hereafter be shewn, a principal hindrance to the progress of the settlement, and a chief cause of the disappointments of the company †.

The Nova Scotia Blacks landed at Sierra Leone in March 1792. The rains commencing in the following May, and an almost universal sickness then taking place, no opportunity was afforded to the colonists of cultivating their lands, until the succeeding dry season.

The expense of an undertaking of such magnitude must, in any case, have been considerable. In the present instance, that expense was so much increased by various unforeseen difficulties experienced in the first two years, as to amount to more than £110,000 ‡.

In February 1793 the war broke out; which, as will hereafter be more particularly shewn, has proved one principal obstacle to the progress of the settlement.

It was the wish of the company to direct the labour of the colonists to cultivation on their own account; but most of them were at first indisposed to speculations of this sort, choosing rather to live in the town as long as they could by any means earn a subsistence there, than to engage in the work of cultivating their uncleared lots of land in the country.

The following circumstance has also hindered cultivation. The colonists drew lots for their lands. The lands of some, though fertile and contiguous to the town, fell into the hands of individuals who neglected to till them. These lands were forfeitable after a certain period; but the weakness of the government rendered them fearful of exercising their right of enforcing the forfeiture. The temper of the Nova Scotians was such from the first as to give a very extraordinary degree of trouble to the government.

The company established a plantation on their own account, and a garden of experiment. The object of these was chiefly to provide plants and seeds, and to encourage cultivation in others. A botanist was retained for two years in the settlement. His report is favourable to the hopes of the company.

In 1794 an expedition was made to the interior by two of the company's servants, who travelled three hundred miles inland, as far as Teembo, the capital of the Foulah kingdom, and in consequence a deputation of chiefs came from the king of that country to Sierra Leone, for the purpose of opening a trading communication with the company. The town of Teembo has about eight thousand inhabitants, and another town near to it contains upwards of four thousand. The people of that part are far more civilized than those on the coast. The children learn to read and write Arabic.

A factory was in consequence established by the company in the higher part of a river lead-

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* The shares were at £50 each. It was stated, in the debate, by Mr. Dent, that they had fallen to £5 each, and that, in fact, they were worth nothing at all. To this Mr. Thornton replied, that the object of the holders was not to gain money by the establishment.

† The Nova Scotia negroes were quiet enough in Nova Scotia, where they had no share in the government.

‡ Expended in the first two years and a half; viz.

In provisions, granted by the company to the Nova Scotians, about	£.20000
In providing shipping for the temporary accommodation of the colonists, and other shipping expenses	30000
In buildings	25000
In laying out lands, and in cultivation	5000
By the accident of the company's store ship taking fire	15000
Salaries of servants, expense of passage, &c.	12500
Expense of home establishment, act of incorporation, &c.	4000
	£.111500

ing to the Foulah country; but partly through disturbances which have arisen in that kingdom, and partly through other causes, no great intercourse with the interior has yet taken place.

Hopes were about this time entertained that some of the African chiefs might considerably enlarge their plans of cultivation, an interruption of the demand for slaves on the coast inducing some of them to employ their unsold slaves for a short time in cultivating the soil; but the revival of the slave trade frustrated that expectation. About the same time a neighbouring slave factory set on foot a cotton plantation, by the medium of the labour of slaves, which is still continued.

In October 1794, the colony was attacked and taken by a French squadron. All the moveable property of the company was either carried off or destroyed; several ships were captured, and every building belonging to the company was burnt. The company's loss on this occasion has been estimated at £.52,000.

This calamity, combined with the circumstances of expense already noticed, so greatly diminished the company's funds, as to lay them under a necessity of contracting their trade, and reducing considerably the scale of their establishment, which had been at all times so limited as scarcely to afford sufficient means of transacting the business, and attending to the various wants of an infant settlement. In consequence of this reduction, and of the sense of general insecurity produced by the war, and by the refractory tempers of the settlers, it now became more than usually difficult to induce a sufficient number of Europeans of good character, and of the requisite abilities, to undertake offices at Sierra Leone. A large portion indeed of that class of men who were most adapted for the company's service, were engaged in the army or navy, and these could not obtain leave of absence.

The trade of the company appears to have been successful, supposing it to have been burthened only with those charges which were strictly commercial, and to have been exempt from those very extraordinary losses by fire and French captures, which it has had to sustain.

The coast of Africa has been so peculiarly exposed during the war, as to make the expense of insuring cargoes very enormous, and in some cases it has been impossible to effect insurance at all. The company moreover have been obliged to send out armed vessels to Sierra Leone, and to detain them there for the sake of securing the settlement.

The company's expense in shipping has therefore been far greater than any commercial profits could be expected to compensate.

In the year 1798 the colony had made considerable progress, notwithstanding the powerful obstacles to its advancement, which shall hereafter be enumerated.

Freetown consisted of about 300 houses, laid out with regularity, and of many public buildings. One principal wharf had been erected by the company, and two others by individuals. The government house, which stands on high ground about one-third of a mile distant from the water, and commands the town and harbour, was protected by a pallisade, and also by six pieces of cannon.

The inhabitants of the colony were about 1,200. The heads of families were about 300. Of these about one-half were supported by their farms, many were mechanics, about fifteen were retail shopkeepers, 20 or 25 followed the business of fishing, 10 or 15 traded in small vessels of their own, 4 were employed as schoolmasters, 12 or 15 as seamen, and about 20 as labourers under the company. A few Nova Scotians resided among the natives, and a few acted as servants or mechanics at slave factories. The number of Europeans residing in the colony was from 20 to 30.

At the period now spoken of, about 3 or 400 native labourers, called Grumettas, worked in the settlement for hire, chiefly on the farms, which were increasing rapidly; some in the service of Europeans, some in that of the Nova Scotians. These native labourers were freemen, who came from neighbouring parts—They received monthly wages, the whole of which was their own. It was usual for most of them to return home for a short time, after remaining five or six months in the colony; but the place of those who went was always supplied by a succession of other labourers.

These Grumettas improved greatly in their dress; and scarcely any part of the money which they earned was expended in the purchase of spirits, to the use of which both the Africans in general and many of the settlers are much addicted.

Freetown was at this time a place of considerable resort. It is estimated that from one to two hundred natives visited the settlement every day for the sake chiefly of exchanging articles of African produce for British manufactures. Many of these natives came in canoes, some of them from a distance of 80 or 100 miles. The intercourse however from these more distant parts was exceedingly discouraged and interrupted by the general insecurity of the African coast, the natives not being able to put into an intermediate creek, on the occasion of any stress of weather, without imminent hazard of being seized and sold for slaves. Numerous instances have occurred of the seizure of canoes coming to the colony, and of the sale of the natives found in them. The company's government had also succeeded in some degree in extending its influence among the natives, whose confidence was strongly indicated by many circumstances, but particularly by the readiness with which they sent some of their children to the colony, and even to this country, for education.

The Nova Scotians, as has been already observed, began in an early period of the settlement to manifest a great spirit of turbulence and insubordination; and a party of them had on one occasion *made an attempt on the life of the governor*. This spirit received a considerable

check by the defeat of the attempt; but it again revived, and continued to increase so rapidly, as to threaten the overthrow of the colony.

The directors, anxious to repress the growing evil, obtained from the crown, in the year 1800, a charter of justice; and a captain of one of His Majesty's ships of war was charged with the delivery of it. Directions were also given, that a small force should be detached from Goree for the purpose of being stationed in the colony of Sierra Leone, and the commandant of Goree received instructions to extend such farther assistance as might be asked by the governor of Sierra Leone, and could properly be afforded to this colony.

The sum of £7,000, being a part of £20,000 voted in parliament for African forts, was granted to the company, for the erection of a fort; and an expectation was given of a further sum of £8,000 for the same purpose. £10,000 was about the same time received from government as a partial indemnification for the expense to which the company had been put in settling the Nova Scotians. £4,000 was also voted for the support of the civil government of the colony.

The directors of the Sierra Leone company about this time undertook to take the Maroons under their protection. They at first expressed a wish to decline receiving them, chiefly in consequence of their experience of the difficulty of governing the Nova Scotians. They were led to give their consent to a proposition made to them by the Duke of Portland on this subject, partly by an inclination to comply with the wishes of government, partly by an idea that the Maroons *might form some counterpoise to the Nova Scotians* (for which reason the directors were very desirous of planting them in a somewhat distant town), partly by an opinion that the Maroons and their children, if placed under the company's care, would have a better chance of civilization than if landed, as they were otherwise likely to be, in some part of Africa which was independent of the company.

The directors were promised payment of the actual expense incurred in settling them in Africa; and they meant afterwards to propose that some increase of the sum annually-voted in parliament should be made in consideration of the government being exempted from future expense on this account.

The Maroons arrived in October 1800, and *assisted in quelling an insurrection among the Nova Scotians, who, understanding that means were about to be taken for establishing the company's authority, had endeavoured to possess themselves of the government.* Several of the insurgents were *killed in this conflict*; many were taken and tried, of whom *three were executed*, and *several were banished.*—Some of the ringleaders *escaped among the natives.*

The governor and council employed their new power and authority in introducing a system of order, and were beginning to witness the happy effects of it; when a sudden and unexpected blow was aimed at the very existence of the settlement by some native chiefs in the neighbourhood, who had previously evinced no hostile intentions, nor alledged any cause of complaint against the colony.—About day break on the morning of the 18th November last, a body of natives, headed by two of the Nova Scotia insurgents, who had effected their escape after the insurrection of the former year, made an assault on the unfinished fort in which the government house was situated. After some loss of men had been sustained on both sides, the assailants were repulsed, and they have since been forced to withdraw from the situation they occupied in the immediate neighbourhood of the colony. A truce had been concluded, when the last accounts came away; but it was conceived that the chiefs engaged in the attack, who were entirely of the Timmaney nation, were endeavouring to gain over people of other nations to their cause, by exciting among them an apprehension of the consequences of the growing power of the Sierra Leone settlement.

About *sixty-five* additional British troops had arrived from Goree, and one of His Majesty's ships of war remained in Sierra Leone river, *for the purpose of protecting the colony.* Some friendly chiefs had sent a large force to Freetown; but the government, unwilling to burthen itself with the expense of maintaining them, and not wishing to employ in its defence allies of this description, unless there should be a strong necessity for it, had allowed them to return home.

No immediate danger to the settlement was apprehended; but a necessity is stated to exist for the maintenance of an European force, for the completion also of the fort, and for the enlargement of the annual expenses of the company's establishment. The sum of £4,000 per annum, which has been already twice voted in parliament, has been far from sufficient to supply the whole annual expense of protecting and maintaining the settlement.

OBSTRUCTIONS TO THE PROGRESS OF THE SETTLEMENT.—It appears from the preceding history, that the colony in the few first years after its establishment made some progress, in spite even of the war with France, and of the want of an efficient government; and that it acquired the respect and confidence of the natives, many of whom courted its friendship; but that the radical defect of the want of a sufficient power in the government created difficulties, of which it is not easy to calculate the extent, and with which, as no remedy was applied before October 1800, the colony may be considered as having had to struggle almost until the present period.

This weakness in the colonial government has led to two insurrections. It has tended to lower the company in the eyes of the natives, and thus to invite the attack on the settlement: it has encouraged the growth of immorality: it has retarded the progress of industry, cultivation, and civilization; and has made Europeans unwilling to enter into the company's employ. Those who have held the principal situations at Sierra Leone

have been compelled to give their chief attention to the redress of evils, the growth of which ought to have been prevented; and instead of being employed in adapting laws to the state of the settlement, and in devising measures for its benefit, they have been occupied in the preservation of its peace, and even of their very existence.

This defect has been done away by obtaining a charter of justice *, as well as a force which has been adequate to the maintenance of the internal order of the settlement. Many of the evils, however, which are to be traced to this cause still exist, and can only be gradually removed.

The directors will now proceed to enumerate the various other causes which appear to them to have obstructed the advancement of the settlement.

A second obstacle of its progress (an evil arising partly out of that which has been recently described, though requiring separate consideration) has been the unfavourable character of the Nova Scotia colonists. Forty or fifty heads of families have conducted themselves in an exemplary manner, and a few individuals have shewn an extraordinary degree of zeal for the maintenance of good order. A large portion of them, however, have proved to be idle, turbulent, and unreasonable; and there have been among them a few *desperate and designing individuals, who, though as ignorant as the others, have been allowed to take the lead.* The assumption of the supreme power had long been the object of those individuals; and the neighbouring natives, especially one or two of the more unprincipled chiefs, had been courted by them, with the view of effecting the overthrow of the European influence in the colony. The power of this Nova Scotian *party* was broken at the time of the late insurrection, when, as has been already noticed, several of them were killed in the conflict. Three were executed, and many more were banished. A large portion of the more unprincipled Nova Scotians have lately been *removed* from Freetown by *other causes.* The internal peace of the settlement is therefore no longer endangered by the number of disaffected Nova Scotians. The character of the Maroons is now become a subject of more importance; for the male adults among the Maroons are full as numerous as the remaining male adults of the other class of settlers †.

A third obstacle of the progress of the colony has been the insufficiency of its force to check the encroachments, or discourage the aggression of the neighbouring natives.—The only natives who come into immediate contact with the colony, are those of the Timmaney nation, from whom the lands occupied by the company were originally purchased; and whose country is of small extent, and thinly peopled. *The Timmaneys have the general character of being remarkably indolent, faithless, and ferocious; and their chiefs, who were also the principals in the late attack on the settlement, have proved to be rapacious, drunken, and deceitful; easily imposed upon by artifice and misrepresentation, and ready to promote any design, however flagitious, which promised to gratify their avarice or their passions.*

Under these circumstances, the want of a force adequate to the protection of the colony, led to many injurious effects. It produced a sense of insecurity, which was every way unfavourable to the promotion of industry. It fostered a disposition in the Timmaney chiefs, to harrass the colony with perpetual though groundless disputes; and to prefer unreasonable demands, which it was not always safe to refuse. It encouraged them likewise to encroach on the company's territory, and to interrupt the progress of cultivation, by assuming a right (which nothing but the weak state of the colony would have induced an acquiescence in for a moment) of commanding the free labourers belonging to other nations, who were employed on the farms at Sierra Leone, to quit the colony, on pain of being seized and sold as slaves; and it at length tempted them, when a large accession of force had left no hope of a compliance with their extravagant claims, to attempt seizing by surprize the yet unfinished fort, and extirpating the colony.

It may be proper to observe in this place, that the late attack on the settlement is the only act of hostility on the part of the natives, which the colony has yet experienced. No subject of dispute previously existed, so that it is not easy to state the real cause of this aggression; but it is not improbable that the measures taken for the defence and security of the colony, were represented by the company's enemies to be indications of a design to deprive the natives of their territory; and that the fears and jealousies thus instilled had united, with the hope of plunder, to produce the attempt to destroy the colony. Since the same causes will continue to operate, and since a party has been excited to make war upon the settlement, it is to be apprehended that

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* The charter creates the company's settlement an independent colony; authorizes the directors to make laws not repugnant to those of England; and to appoint a governor and council, who have a similar power of making laws, subject to the revision of the court of directors. It places the criminal jurisdiction in the hands of the governor and council; but it appoints a mayor's court for the determination of civil suits, and a court of requests for the recovery of small debts. It gives, both in civil and criminal cases, the right of trial by jury.

† The present population is no were clearly stated in the account. The Nova Scotia blacks were at first, 1,200 in number, the Maroons 550, the Europeans about 40, and the military are now about 100. The Nova Scotians appear to be greatly reduced in number, as also the Maroons. The Europeans and soldiers have died very fast; and the whole population can, at this time, contain scarcely 1,200 persons.

the seeds of future hostility may have been sown, and that a temporary combination may be formed against the company. If, however, a sufficient fort were erected, such a combination would be of small moment, and probably of short duration.

The chiefs of all the other neighbouring nations have hitherto manifested a friendly disposition to the company, and several are much attached to it, as appears from the circumstance of some of them having sent a number of men to its assistance, soon after the rumour of the war had reached them, and of others having promised aid should it be deemed necessary.

4thly. The climate of Sierra Leone has presented another difficulty with which the company has had to contend. It has, however, proved quite as healthy as was expected. It is true that the first British adventurers suffered greatly by sickness, and that *a large proportion of them died.* But the chief sufferers were *men of the lower class.*

Of the principal servants of the company who first went out, very few lost their lives. It may be inferred from this fact, that supposing any great mortality to take place at Sierra Leone, it may almost invariably be referred to want of accommodations, to a general inattention to health, or to excessive exertions; rather than to any insurmountable obstacle to the preservation of life, which is created by the climate. The European deaths at Sierra Leone will be found to have been very few, if those which happened a few months after the first settlement of the place, and those which followed the capture of the colony by the French, and those also which were occasioned by the late attack of the natives, are excluded from the account.—It may be affirmed, that, generally speaking, not more than about one white servant of the company has died in the colony in each two years, or, at most, about two servants in three years, out of the 20, 25, or 30 white servants who have been usually resident.

Out of about 50 soldiers, however, who lately were sent thither from Goree, the governor and council observe, not without some surprize as well as concern, that no less than *ten died* within *six months* after their arrival, and that *five women* and *two children* also died. But the governor and council state, that the men were, with only one exception, much given to liquor; and that no small part of the corps to which they belonged had been formed from the invalids of other regiments *.

On the whole it *seems reasonable to assume*, that, although the climate of Sierra Leone is *equal*, in point of healthiness, to that of the West-Indies, and although British subjects are not likely to be deterred by it from emigrating thither, it must be extremely desirable to limit, as much as possible, the number of British troops on such a station.

5thly. Another obstacle to the progress of the colony, has been the inexperience of the conductors of it in the earlier period of the undertaking; but a maturer, and therefore a better judgment, upon almost all points, may now be supposed to be exercised. The directors have no hesitation to admit, that the knowledge obtained by their experience has enabled them to correct their ideas on many points, on which in the outset of the establishment, they could form no precise judgment.

6thly. Another obstacle (which has been already briefly noticed) has been the too great limitation of the company's establishment, especially since the year 1794. It has seldom had in its employment in the colony a number of persons sufficient for the various duties of an infant settlement; and the salaries which it has given, have scarcely been sufficient to reward the heavy labour and the meritorious services of many of those whom it has placed in the higher situations.

This topic will again be touched upon, in speaking of the expense of maintaining, in the time to come, a sufficient establishment, and of giving due encouragement to the settlement.

7thly. The war has injured the company's affairs in many important respects; namely, by interrupting the communication between this country and the colony, and preventing the regular arrival of intelligence; by causing a frequent disassortment of the trade goods in the settlement, and an occasional scarcity of the supplies necessary for the colonial consumption; by creating an opinion of the insecurity of the place, and thus indisposing persons in Great Britain to enter into the company's service; by augmenting the price of British articles at Sierra Leone, and thus exciting discontent both among the colonists and the natives, who imputed the rise in the cost of European goods to the avarice of the company; by causing much expense in arming vessels, and in providing for military defence; by exposing, in a remarkable degree, the African coast to the men of war and privateers of the enemy, and thus occasioning the capture of many valuable cargoes belonging to the Sierra Leone company, some of which it was not possible to insure; by often calling the attention of the colony from its ordinary pursuits to the duty of providing against an apprehended attack; and by leading, in the year 1794, to the capture and destruction of the settlement. One principal impediment to the advancement of the colony may be considered as removed, by the establishment of peace.

8thly. The obstacles which the slave trade has presented, and which it still offers, to the progress of the settlement, are of the following kind:

It creates a strong and active interest in Africa, which is opposed to that of the Sierra

* These are pitiful shifts. The fact of the deaths could not be denied; it was on record at the war-office; but it was of a nature too hostile to the success of the petition to be suffered to remain unsoftened.—Yes, it is, indeed, "extremely desirable to *limit* the number of British troops on such a station;" and for *such a purpose.*

Leone company, and is industriously employed in misrepresenting their designs, and exciting jealousy in every quarter. To this cause may be traced much of the ill will, and consequent hostility, of the natives, and of the turbulence and insubordination of the colonists. It renders the European traders, in particular, the natural enemies of the company. It supplies the chiefs with the means of acquiring British articles, without their being at the trouble of collecting produce, or cultivating the soil. It interests the leading men in the maintenance of those superstitious practices, which, while they form a great obstacle to civilization, are, on the coast, the main source from which the slave trade obtains its victims. It gives to the slave factories a great superiority over the company, even in the traffic of produce, inasmuch as they are able to conduct a trade in both produce and slaves, at nearly the same expense at which a trade in produce alone can be carried on. It affords also to the slave factor an advantage, in respect to the means of recovering debts for produce, for he has only to seize and sell his debtor, or the family, or even townsmen of his debtor, in order to secure himself against loss; he can therefore generally gain some preference over the company, by affording a larger credit to the natives. The slave trade also renders the Africans, especially those who live near the coast, drunken, idle, and ferocious; and by the high profits which it presents, *it has tempted some settlers at Sierra Leone, and even a few individuals who had gone out in the company's employ, either to embark in the service of slave factories, or to enter on their own account into that traffic* *.

Many of these obstacles may now be said to have ceased. The slave trade still opposes its influence. The *climate* also, though *constantly improving* †, will continue to be unfavourable to those Europeans who are negligent of their health. Some of the Timmaneys moreover may be expected to continue to form designs against the colony, so long as the idea of its insecurity remains. On the other hand, the termination of the war has removed a chief impediment to the advancement of the company's views. The character of the Nova-Scotians, *supposing the government to be strong*, may be expected to improve, as may also that of the Maroons; who, on the contrary, if the ruling power should be weak, will possess a very dangerous influence.

On the whole, it appears, that the full establishment of the authority and power of the governor and council, together with the erection of a fort, and the maintenance of a force sufficient to secure the colony from any attempts of the Timmaneys, are the points on which the hopes of the success of the undertaking must principally rest. Unless the colony is likely to be rendered permanently safe, the directors are of opinion that it ought to be relinquished. It is indeed obvious, that the slow progress of African civilization in general is to be ascribed to the insecurity, both of persons and property, on that continent.

PROSPECTS OF BENEFIT FROM THE MAINTENANCE AND DUE ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE COLONY.—The directors will next proceed to state the benefits which, as it appears to them, may reasonably be expected to arise from the maintenance and due encouragement of the colony of Sierra-Leone. These shall first be considered under the three heads of—TRADE,—CULTIVATION,—and CIVILIZATION.

OF TRADE.—As a means of improving the property of the company, little mention need be made, since the company does not possess a capital sufficient for the conduct of any considerable undertakings. Independent merchants residing in the colony, may be expected to trade to advantage, in the productions of Africa. Of this, the success of some British settlers at Sierra Leone is a sufficient proof. Some new trade with the interior is likely to be introduced, but no confident expectation can be entertained of its being carried to any very considerable extent, within a short period, should the slave trade continue. The extension of the British trade with Africa must depend chiefly *on the creation of new exportable produce*, and consequently on the introduction of a new spirit of cultivation among the people of that continent, a point which is next to be considered.

CULTIVATION.—This subject may be regarded in three points of view; as applicable to the lands of the black settlers—to plantations attempted by Europeans—and to those which may be undertaken by the natives of Africa, on their own account. The Nova-Scotians and Maroons are not likely to employ their own lots of land in the production of any material quantity of articles of exportable produce, for though they have at different times cultivated ground to a considerable extent, no great dependence can be placed on their steady pursuit of any agricultural plans. Past experience affords better reason to hope for success from the efforts of Europeans. Mr. Ludlam, a member of the council at Sierra-Leone, now in England, as well as some other servants of the Company, have made experiments in cultivation, with a view to profit; and they were expecting to begin to reap an advantage adequate to the expense incurred, when the labour of their Grumettas was interrupted, in the end of the year 1799, by the interference of the native chiefs. Cultivation had indeed revived in a considerable degree during

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* This is a pretty satisfactory elucidation of the characters of those canting wretches, who have embarked in this philanthropic scheme.

† "Constantly *improving!*" From what cause? There has been nothing done on the *earth* to change it, unless we are weak enough to believe, that such change has been produced by the clearing of about 300 acres of land.

the last year, but the recent disturbances have for the present frustrated the hopes to which this circumstance had given birth.

Mr. Ludlam, on whose accuracy as well as knowledge of this subject much reliance may be placed, has stated to the court, "that the difficulties of constantly superintending his plantation, which was situated on the summit of a mountain, about three miles from his ordinary place of residence, as well as the hazard which must attend the experiment in the present insecure state of the colony, would, in his judgment, be greater than could be compensated by any returns which he could reasonably expect; but that if his plantation were so situated as to admit of his frequent inspection, and if the colony were secured from future attack, he would continue to cultivate his present coffee field, in confidence of a profitable return."

Some time may possibly elapse before the opinion of the security of Sierra-Leone can be such as to encourage plans of cultivation at a considerable distance from the town, and an apprehension may also be entertained, in consequence of what has already happened, of the recurrence of some difficulty in procuring labourers. The probability, however, is, that if the settlement were rendered sufficiently secure (a point which is for the present assumed) the influence of the colony would be so preponderating as to prevent the chiefs from unjustly calling off their Grumettas, and that native African labourers might, in process of time, become subjects to the Sierra-Leone government. It may be remarked, that the Maroons and the Nova-Scotians would probably supply, as they have hitherto done, a part of the necessary labour, in the event of any future interruption of the accustomed labour of Grumettas; and that there is usually in the settlement, a body of Crewmen (men coming from a distant part of Africa) who, though preferring employment on the water, might be induced, by an advance of wages, to assist for a time in cultivating the soil. At present, cultivation among the natives is almost entirely confined to the raising of rice, which in some places is produced in considerable quantities. How far they may be induced, by an example of successful cultivation at Sierra-Leone, to engage in the growth of other articles of exportable produce, is questionable, at least while the slave trade continues. In case of the abolition of that traffic, there seems little room to doubt, that such example, aided by a variety of other powerful motives, would have its full effect.

Coffee, which in 1796 was discovered to grow in the mountains of Sierra-Leone, is the principal article of cultivation, when considered with a view to commercial profit; the quality of that produced in the colony, as far as a judgment has been formed from samples of no great magnitude, has been pronounced excellent; *but* it is yet to be ascertained, whether the quantity of produce is equal to the quantity usually obtained from an equal number of plants in the West-Indies, although there does not appear any reasonable ground of doubt. The long red pepper and ginger have proved very profitable articles; *but* the demand for them being very limited, they cannot be cultivated to any great extent. Considerable efforts have been made to establish cotton plantations in the colony, *but* without success, owing principally to a worm which has destroyed it. It has nevertheless proved a very productive article of culture in the neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone. The soil is favourable for sugar, and the sugar-cane grows in much perfection; *but* the labour and expense attending the cultivation of this article are so considerable, that sugar is not likely to be produced in an early period of the settlement, except in such quantity as may be wanted for the colonial consumption. Black pepper has not yet been tried in the colony; and of its success, supposing the means of cultivating it attainable, the court can only judge from the nature of the soil and climate in Sierra Leone, compared with that of the countries where it is found to thrive, and on this ground, hopes may be entertained of its proving a productive article. Cinnamon grows well in the colony; *but* more experience is required to determine whether it will ultimately succeed. Rice is the staple of the country, and *if much new industry were exerted*, might be produced in large quantities for the purposes of exportation, and for the supply of the English markets, *on the occasion of any future scarcity*. On the whole, there is strong *reason to hope* that much new exportable produce *might* be created by the cultivation of the soil at Sierra-Leone, and its neighbourhood*.

CIVILIZATION.—The probability of success in promoting civilization in Africa, by means of the settlement at Sierra-Leone, depends partly on the character of the present settlers, and on the change it is likely to undergo; and partly on the effects to be produced in the neighbouring countries by the efforts and the example of the settlement. These points shall be separately considered. The Nova-Scotians have not improved in morals since their residence in the colony. This is to be attributed chiefly to the weakness of the colonial government, which, tempting them to continual opposition, placed them in a constant state of hostility with the Europeans at the head of that government. This circumstance naturally led them to cherish those vices and bad habits, which it was the endeavour of the government

* Such are the prospects of advantage, which are to induce the British government to bestow £10,000 a year on this colony, exclusive of the expenses of the military, and the loss of lives amongst British troops.—The possibility of raising rice to feed England, "on the occasion of "*any future scarcity*," is a most curious argument. This rice, this *possible* rice, will be sure to cost the nation forty times as much per pound as the rice of Carolina.

to eradicate, and to instil into their children such prejudices against the Europeans, as counteracted all endeavours to promote a love of right principles, and orderly and virtuous conduct. The Nova-Scotians are now much awed by the Maroons, and look up to Europeans for protection. They are also impressed by the punishment which has followed insubordination in the colony, and by the great additional strength which the government has lately acquired. Add to this, the worst members of that body are no longer in the colony, and the heads of families which remain are most of them orderly, and some of them exemplary, in the discharge of their social duties. More benefit, therefore, may now be expected from the Nova-Scotians, than has hitherto been experienced. The Maroons are active and intrepid, prodigal of their lives, confident of their strength, proud of the character of their body, and fond, though not jealous, of their independence. *They universally harbour a desire of going back, at some period of their lives, to Jamaica**, and therefore may with more difficulty be induced by prospects of future benefit to labour for the improvement of their habitations or plantations. These circumstances render them a people not easy to be governed, and to be brought into that state of society which would best promote the civilization of Africa. The suppression of polygamy among them has been hitherto deemed an experiment *too hazardous to be tried*, and no fair opportunities have yet occurred of ascertaining how far they will submit quietly to such restraints of the civil power as are most repugnant to their inclinations and habits. But there are favourable points in their character. Though they do not desire instruction for themselves, they are glad to have it communicated to their children, who appear to possess very good capacities. They have no jealousy of Europeans; on the contrary, they appear to be cordially attached to them, and wish to see an increase of the number of white colonists. They are generally disposed to labour for hire; many of them shew a great desire to acquire a knowledge of handicraft trades; and some of them, who have turned their attention to such trades since their arrival at Sierra-Leone, have become far more expert workmen than could have been expected. This desire will probably be stronger in their children, who will be brought up in habits very different from those which were formed and confirmed in their parents by their situation in Jamaica. But even though the improvement of the settlers within the colony should proceed more slowly than there is reason to hope, great and extensive moral benefit may be expected from the maintenance of the Sierra-Leone settlement. It need scarcely be remarked how much civilization is forwarded by promoting regular industry and good order, by affording complete protection, by facilitating the fair acquisition of property, and by securing the quiet enjoyment of legitimate influence and power. In order to appreciate the effects likely to be produced by the settlement at Sierra-Leone, conducted according to the principles proposed by the Sierra-Leone company, it will be necessary to take a view of some peculiar circumstances in the state of the neighbouring parts of Africa. The state of society in Africa affords to any individual of superior knowledge and activity, ready means of raising himself to a state of wealth and power. Whoever can possess himself of a few slaves, may become the head of a town. Success in the cultivation of rice, or in the trade between Europeans on the coast and the natives of the interior (and in trade or cultivation almost every headman is engaged) will enable him to increase the number of his domestic slaves, and consequently his strength and influence. Many freemen then seek his protection, and put themselves under his government. In this way some of the most considerable towns in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone have arisen in the course of a single generation. A feeble-minded or debauched successor, by selling, under a variety of pretexts (most of which the superstitions of his country supply) those whom in policy as well as in justice he ought to protect, destroys, in a still shorter period, the power which has been thus raised. The free people desert him, and possibly his town falls a prey to some enterprizing chieftain in the neighbourhood. It will be immediately seen, that the plans of the Sierra Leone company have been expressly calculated to remove the evils which thus impoverish and depopulate the coast. The example of a secure and permanent establishment, and of the successful cultivation, even though to a small extent, of new and valuable articles, would powerfully illustrate, enforce, and support the principles of sound policy for African chieftains, and those principles would be carefully instilled into the children, who might be educated under the company's care. Nor are the advantages and effects of such a system merely conjectural. A remarkable proof exists in the neighbourhood of Sierra-Leone, of the very great advantages of a permanent though very imperfect system of government, and of the abolition of those African laws, which make slavery the punishment of almost every offence. Not more than 70 years ago, a small number of Mahomedans established themselves in a country about 40 miles to the northward of Sierra-Leone, called from them the Mandingo country. As is the practice of the professors of that religion, they formed schools, in which the Arabic language and the doctrines of Mahomed were taught, and the customs of Mahomedans, particularly that of not selling any of their own religion as slaves, were adopted. Laws, founded on the Koran, were introduced. Those practices, which chiefly contribute to depopulate the coast, were eradicated; and, in spite of many intestine convul-

* This is one proof, amongst ten thousand that might easily be cited, of the falsehood that has been circulated respecting the attachment, which the negroes retain for Africa.

sions, a great comparative degree of civilization, union, and security was introduced. Population, in consequence, rapidly increased, and the whole power of that part of the country in which they are settled has gradually fallen into their hands. Those who have been taught in their schools, are succeeding to wealth and power in the neighbouring countries, and carry with them a considerable portion of their religion and laws. Other chiefs are adopting the name assumed by these Mahomedans, on account of the respect which attends it; and the religion of Islam seems likely to diffuse itself peaceably over the whole district in which the colony is situated, carrying with it those advantages which seem ever to have attended its victory over negro superstitions. If the establishment of even Mahomedan power, and the institution of Mahomedan schools, have produced these beneficial consequences, what may not reasonably be expected from the influence of British power and Christian education in the same region? But the most important subsidiary assistance will be afforded to the influence of the colony on the neighbouring nations, by giving instruction in England to some African children, who are either most promising in themselves, or most important from their African connections. About twenty-four such children are now under education in this kingdom, who will carry back to their own country minds considerably enlightened, and will be particularly well instructed in the Christian religion. Several of these are the sons of chiefs; and if the colony should be firmly established, the general and warm desire of the leading men in Africa to have their children educated by the Sierra-Leone company, affords the strongest reason to believe that a large proportion of the kings and headmen of the surrounding countries would receive their education either in England or at Freetown, and would value the friendship, and in a good measure adopt the views, of the Sierra-Leone government. As the governments in Africa are in a great degree hereditary, these youths would succeed to power; and there would be a fair prospect of their carrying into effect in the countries which they would respectively govern, plans more or less similar to those inculcated in England, and pursued in the colony.

Having considered the present state and prospects of the colony under the heads of trade, cultivation, and civilization, there remains one view of the subject which ought not to be omitted; viz. The advantages, in a national and political view, of maintaining the present settlement at Sierra-Leone. The river Sierra-Leone is in many respects an important station to a commercial nation. Its harbour is safe and commodious, and at all times easy of access; while there is no other river, for a vast extent of coast, into which ships of large burthen can enter. Wood and water of the best quality are to be procured with very little trouble. It is situated in the vicinity of rivers, from whence an abundant supply of rice and fresh provisions may be always drawn; and it is comparatively healthy, as has been proved by the experience of all the King's ships which have visited it. The nation which possesses Sierra Leone, may command, to a very considerable degree, the trade of a large part of Africa, and will enjoy a very paramount influence throughout the whole line of coast from Gambia to Cape Palmas.

No other situation on the whole coast, from the Mediterranean to the equator, an extent of not less than 3,600 miles, possesses all these advantages. Should the colony be abandoned, there will be no British station between Gibraltar and the Gold Coast, and no convenient and safe British harbour between the same place and the Cape of Good Hope.

EXPENSE OF GIVING SECURITY TO THE COLONY, AND MAINTAINING ITS ESTABLISHMENT.—The directors are of opinion, that until the fort is so nearly finished as to be a post of security from its own strength, a force of 200 men, half European soldiers, and half Maroons and Nova-Scotians, will be requisite for the protection of the colony. When the fort becomes a place of security, 50 Europeans, added to 100 black settlers, and such of the company's servants as would take arms in case of emergency, will probably be sufficient. The fort is at present in a very imperfect state. Its completion is indispensable to the security of the colony, and will require an expenditure of seven or eight thousand pounds, in addition to the £7,000 already granted by government. The Court of Directors conceive, that besides the pay of European troops, and every charge connected with them, which they wish to be defrayed by government, an annual sum of not less than £10,000 will be necessary for the due support of the establishments of the company at home and abroad, and for all contingent expenses. Much of the disappointment which has been experienced may be traced, as has been already shewn, to the inadequacy of the establishment hitherto maintained, and to the too rigid economy which the Directors acting on the behalf of the Proprietors have deemed it necessary to enforce, especially during several of the last years. It is important that premiums should be granted to those who take the lead in the cultivation of the soil; that the charge of a few small experiments, of a hazardous kind, should be borne by the company; that plants should be collected at some expense; that journies into the interior should occasionally be taken; that a free passage home should be afforded to those servants of the company, to whose constitution the climate of Africa may prove particularly unfavourable: that the income of the principal servants should be such as to induce men of experience and ability, as well as of the best moral character, to accept of employment under the company, and that in general the salaries of all their servants should be sufficient to induce married persons to go to Sierra-Leone with their families. The expenses of an establish-

ment at Sierra-Leone materially differ from those incurred in most other foreign settlements; the chief difference is in contingencies, and arises from the peculiar objects in view; these expenses may in some measure be calculated from the experience of ten years; and there would, therefore, be no great danger of the estimate being exceeded by the expenditure.

The directors conceive the sum which has been mentioned of £10,000 to be an ample one; but it is only on the supposition of a liberal allowance being afforded, that they entertain any confident hopes of effecting the great objects, with a view to which the annual sum of £4,000 has been already granted *.

OBJECTIONS TO THE ABANDONMENT OF THE COLONY, AND TO THE MAINTENANCE OF IT ON A VERY CONTRACTED SCALE.—If the settlement at Sierra Leone is abandoned, not only the hope of accomplishing those great objects which have been already spoken of, must be renounced, but much expense and difficulty must also be incurred in consequence of the government having to provide for the present colonists.—The Nova Scotians, while in America, brought some expense, and the Maroons imposed a heavy charge on the British government. The expense of transporting these two bodies of colonists to Sierra Leone, as well as settling them there, has been considerable. They are now placed in a climate congenial to them. The right of the company to the land occupied by the settlers, is undoubted. The soil is fruitful. The lots of ground have been laid out. Between one and two square miles of country have been cleared; roads have been cut, and many buildings erected. To remove the colonists from their present situation, would probably therefore be deemed inexpedient. Indeed, in whatever part of Africa they may be supposed to be planted, some obstacles to the comfortable settlement of them must be apprehended. Attempts were made by the Sierra Leone company to provide for the Maroons a situation somewhat distant from Freetown, but the difficulties were such as at length to leave the governor and council without any other alternative than that of placing them on the territory already belonging to the company. It may moreover be doubted whether the Maroons would readily acquiesce in any new plan which might be devised.—If it is assumed that the colonists are to maintain their present position, it cannot admit of doubt that sufficient means of protection ought to be afforded them, and the measures which in consequence of the late hostilities of the natives are become necessary for the security of the settlers, must, even according to the lowest calculation, involve the government in a very considerable expense; for it will be absolutely necessary to complete the fort, and to retain, for the present, all the British troops now at Freetown, consisting of near 100 men, and to support also some civil establishment. It will probably also be difficult for the government to induce any large or valuable part of those white servants, who are now in the company's employ, to remain in the settlement, even though these 100 men should be retained, and the fort should be directed to be built, provided the present civil establishment, which costs much more than the sum now annually voted in parliament, should be reduced.—It is the clear opinion of the directors, that there is now no medium between the measure of totally abandoning the place, and that of rendering it secure by the expenditure of a sum which shall at least be nearly equal to that which has been proposed. Moreover the permanent maintenance of some British force appears to the directors to be highly desirable, if not necessary, with a view to the good government of the Maroons; for there will otherwise be much danger, lest the British authority and influence within the settlement should not be sufficiently predominant. The Maroons, if unawed by any British force, may not improbably deem themselves superior both to the Nova Scotians and the Europeans, may be disposed to disobey the civil power, and may also involve themselves in offensive war against the natives. They would probably be successful in merely offensive operations, and by selling their captives as slaves, they would find a constant motive for the continuance of hostilities. Africa, according to this supposition, instead of receiving that compensation for injuries sustained through the slave trade, which the Sierra Leone company has wished to bestow upon her, would be plundered of her inhabitants by a body of men, who have been cast upon her shores by Great Britain, and whose right to land there is derived from a grant of territory originally made to the captain of a British man of war, in the name of His Majesty; a grant consented to by the Africans in consequence of their reliance in the good faith of Great Britain, and of their persuasion of the benevolent designs of the society which was party to the transaction.—The Maroons, it may be remarked, were originally Africans of the Coromantine nation. Their ancestors having been carried off as slaves to Jamaica, fled after a time from their masters, and lived in the mountainous parts of that island. Proving formidable to the people of Jamaica, they were deemed inconvenient neighbours, and were removed from the island. While they resided in Jamaica, no means were taken to soften the ferocity of their disposition, and to improve their minds, by affording religious and moral instruction to them and to their children. May it not be inferred from these considerations, that the British

* The estimate subjoined to this account, allows £3,750 for the civil officers, £3,750 for the judiciary, £1,300 for general contingencies, and £1,500 for additional garrison expenses, sending information on extraordinary occasions, objects of civilization, maintaining schoolmasters in the native towns, printing books in the native languages, surveys, travels, &c.—The expense of the military is not included in this estimate, nor of the school at Clapham, for the genteel education of young blacks.

government is under some obligation both to prevent the savage and warlike spirit of the Maroons from being turned against the Africans and to introduce among them some system both of suitable civil government and of christian education, even though there should be some doubt of the full success of the attempt, and though a more than ordinary degree of expense should attend it?—If it is admitted that the Maroons have that sort of claim on the British government which has been spoken of, and if moreover it is allowed, as it probably may, that the Nova Scotians now in the colony, who are the more meritorious of the body, have a fair title to be considered, the question which will remain for determination will then be, whether it is not desirable to combine the attempt to govern and to civilize these colonists with another and still greater object, that of forwarding, by a moderate additional expense, the cultivation and the civilization of the continent of Africa? and whether also the work which has been already begun through the voluntary efforts of the Sierra Leone company, may be considered as a ground on which the Parliament of Great Britain ought to proceed, or whether any change of plan may be deemed necessary?

This statement was signed by;—*H. Thornton*, chairman. *Charles Grant*, deputy chairman. *Teignmouth. W. Wilberforce. T. Babington. Thomas F. Forster*, jun. *Joseph Hardcastle. John Inglis. John Kingston. Samuel Parker. Edward Parry. Grenville Sharp. George Wolff.*

EVIDENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE STATEMENT.

Mr. Zachary Macaulay, secretary to the said company, and formerly a governor of the colony, being desired to state such further particulars in addition to, and in confirmation of the above-named statement, as came within his knowledge; observed, that the greatest number of Grumettas, or free labourers, whom he remembers to have been employed in the colony at any one time, was from three to four hundred. A greater number might have been easily obtained if a demand for more had existed in the colony—the facility of obtaining them continued till the chiefs of the neighbouring nation interfered to prevent their resorting to the colony. He did not include the Croumen in this number, who, though occasionally employed on shore, are chiefly occupied in ships on the coast, and in managing small craft. Their number did not at any time exceed sixty. They come from the coast between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, a distance of about three hundred and fifty miles to the southward of the colony.—Of negro children, there have been generally from 150 to 300, of whom from 20 to 30 were native Africans, at the schools within the colony; and the number now in England for the purpose of education is 25.—The children educated in the colony have been instructed in writing and reading English, arithmetic, and the principles of religion. They have shewn considerable facility in learning.—Those who have been educated in England have been instructed with much more effect than those educated within the colony, owing in some degree to parents in the latter case frequently interfering with their education.—Being asked, upon what authority does the account of the Mandingoes rest, as stated in the paper delivered in? Mr. Macaulay replied: upon the information of many of the Mandingoes themselves, who were in the habit of frequently visiting the colony, sometimes to the number of 40 or 50 at a time—upon the information also of many Europeans who had been among them: it was also a matter of general notoriety.—The Mandingoes appeared, in point of acquirements, far superior to the other natives: they read the Arabic language. The extent of their country is about 900 square miles, and the number of its inhabitants about 48,000, which is about six times the usual average population of the sea coast of Africa in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, that being reckoned not to exceed eight persons to a square mile. This calculation, however, is necessarily a loose one.—With reference to the Foulah country, his information was derived from various authentic sources, but particularly from the narrative of two servants of the company, who travelled into the interior, whose journals he had perused with care, and with whom also he had had much conversation.—Civilization in Africa, has been observed by him, to be generally in proportion to the distance of the situation from the coast.—The harbour of Sierra Leone, formed by the river of the same name, is perfectly safe and commodious, has good anchoring ground, and sufficient depth of water for vessels of all burthens. The most dangerous winds are those which blow from the land, against which the shore forms a perfect protection.—There have occasionally ships of war called at the settlement, and the officers have expressed themselves fully satisfied with the goodness of the harbour, particularly Captain Ball of the Dædalus, and Commodore Cornwallis of the Sheerness. Captain Ball was there in the month of January 1798. Captain Ballard of the Pearl, Captain Nash of the Hornet, and Admiral Thompson, and several others, have also been there. The depth of water is sufficient to enable a frigate of 44 guns to lie within a furlong of the town.—With respect to the fort at *Thornton Hill*, when finished, it may be considered as a secure protection against any attempt either on the part of the natives or the colonists, and it also commands with effect the harbour; but being commanded by an adjacent hill, it would not be a defence against an European enemy with numbers considerably superior to the garrison, making a landing with artillery, and occupying the position alluded to. This position is too extensive to be fortified at present without considerable expense, probably double the expense of the projected *fort on Thornton Hill*.—The climate resembles much that of the West Indies, where the witness lived for some years, and may *reasonably* be expected

to improve in proportion as cultivation takes place. It is believed to be already considerably ameliorated. The thermometer varies throughout the year from 70 to 95, the average about 80. The rainy season, which is thought on the whole most unhealthy, begins about the latter end of May, and ends in October. An European, not exposed to excess of labour, and who is careful to guard against the effects of moisture, may enjoy there a good state of health. The Nova Scotians suffered in a considerable degree on their first settlement, from causes not strictly attributable to the climate. The Maroons suffered in a much less degree. Latterly it has suited both as well as the natives.

Mr. Thomas Ludlam, who is at present a member of the council at Sierra Leone, and formerly acted as governor, confirmed the evidence of Mr. Macaulay in every material particular.

Mr. Macaulay further stated, that rice may be had from the natives at from £7. to £8. per ton. The quantities grown in the Mandingo country, where they are more industrious, is greater in proportion than what is found in any of the neighbouring states. The land on this part of the coast of Africa is generally of equal fertility with the land in Jamaica. The expense of clearing the land is, upon an average, about £3. per acre; the usual crop of rice per acre is about half a ton. The expense of cultivation, after clearing the ground, is not very great, the planting of rice being attended with little labour. The great disadvantage attending the culture of rice with a view to export, at present, is the want of machinery for the purpose of cleaning it.

Mr. William Greaves stated, that he lives at Clapham, and has the care of the Africans now in England for education, as their schoolmaster. He has had other boys under his care, but at present is charged solely with the education of the children in question. They were placed under his care about two years-and-an-half ago. Their ages are from 10 to 17. He instructs them in reading, writing and arithmetic; and one of them, who is the most forward, in mensuration. Almost all of them can speak and read English tolerably well. Pains are taken to give them information on general subjects; as, history, geography, natural philosophy, and mechanics. He had not observed any inferiority of capacity, allowance being made for the deficiencies under which they laboured when they came under his care. They converse together in their own language, but more frequently in English. Three of the children having learned to read and write, have been put out to learn boat-building; and it is proposed to place the others, as they get forward, to learn different trades. They also learn various useful arts within the school.—They retain a strong attachment to their own country; but do not appear impatient to return home till their education is completed, being sensible of the advantages to be derived therefrom. The children shew a great disposition to adopt the principles of the christian religion; and several of them have written letters to their parents in Africa, expressive of their opinions on this subject. Books have been prepared, principally on religious subjects, for the use of the children, with the native language of some of them, called "The Susoo "Language," on one side, and the English on the other; which the children now read.

Mr. Macaulay, and Mr. Ludlam fully confirmed the evidence of Mr. Greaves: and added, that this is the first attempt made to reduce to writing the Susoo language; which is not a written language in Africa, and the orthography of which has been collected only from the sounds. As now printed, it is perfectly intelligible, not only to the boys now in England, but also to the natives of the Susoo country, when read to them in Africa.—Some of the books prepared as above described, have been sent out recently to the colony; and it is hoped by these means, with proper assistance, education may be much facilitated amongst the native Africans.—They further stated, that all the children had come for education to this country at the desire and consent of their parents, or other friends. The intention of the company has been to continue them in England for seven or eight years, in order the better to prepare them, on their return to Africa, either to fill offices under the company, or to promote civilization in any other way, by means of the advantages which an European education will naturally give to them in in their intercourse with their own people. Many of them also will succeed to power, being children of the chiefs of the country.

John King, Esquire, under secretary of state, having been examined; stated, that the Maroons were removed from Jamaica by the governor to Nova Scotia, without any order from government at home, and attempts were made to settle them there. The general expense attending their subsistence (exclusive of their removal) upon a rough calculation, was nearly one shilling a day per head, which, as the number removed was about 550, amounted to not less than £10,000 a year.—In consequence of the heavy expense thus incurred, and the difficulty in settling them, application was made to the Sierra Leone company for their removal to Africa, which was complied with.—Mr. King was of opinion, that if the colony of Sierra Leone were to be given up, very great difficulty must necessarily arise in finding a proper place for the Maroons; and even if one were found, which he considered to be a matter of considerable doubt, much expense must be incurred in removing them to it.—With reference to the Nova Scotians, they also were removed to Africa at the public expense—they were moreover a considerable expense to the public previous to their removal to Sierra Leone; and in the event of the colony being abandoned, he conceived nearly the same difficulty and expense would occur in disposing of them, as in disposing of the Maroons. He farther conceived, that it would not be consistent with the general views which led to their removal to the coast of Africa to leave them there without the protection of an European colony.

An Account of the Territorial Revenues and Commercial Duties collected within the Islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, previous to the Occupation of the Fort Valette by the French, in the year 1798.

	Scudi.Tari.Gr.	*£. s. d.*
Estates allotted to the grand master	81756 8 13 -	8175 13 5½
Estates belonging to the treasury, or *commun tesoro*	9721 7 15 -	972 3 3½
Estates of different foundations, become the property of the government	78328 7 5 -	7832 17 2
Estates belonging to the respective *langues*.....	10884 4 12 -	1088 8 9
Estates formerly belonging to the college of the Jesuits	6189 8 0 -	618 19 4
Interest of money lent by government upon mortgage ..	1756 1 1 -	175 12 2
Customs.....	100000 0 0 -	10000 0 0
Excise on wine	50000 0 0 -	5000 0 0
3½ per cent. on the sale of real property	8000 0 0 -	800 0 0
	346637 1 6	£34663 14 2

Essay on those Articles of the Treaty of 1794, *between Great-Britain and the United States of America, which relate to the Rights of Neutrality at Sea. By* ALEXANDER HAMILTON, *Esq. Lieutenant-General of the American Army, and formerly Secretary of the Treasury of the United States* *.

The seventeenth article, which respects the capture and detention of the vessels of the parties on just suspicion of having on board enemy's property, or contraband of war, has been the object of intemperate censure—with how much justice it shall be the business of this paper to examine.

The principal complaint, is not, that the article exposed our own property to loss by capture, for this is not the case, but that it does not protect enemy's property on board our vessels. The defence of the article will rest upon the proofs which shall be exhibited, that it is in conformity with, and supported by, the clear and acknowledged law of nations—that law which pronounces that enemy's goods on the high seas are liable to capture, and as a necessary mean to this end, that neutral ships are there liable to examination or search.

The law of nature (as heretofore observed) applicable to individuals in their independent or unsocial state, is what, when applied to collections of individuals in society, constitutes the natural or necessary law of nations. An individual in a state of nature, for reparation of injuries, or in defence of his person and property, has a right to seize the property of his enemy, and to destroy his person.

Nations always succeed to the rights that the individuals who composed them enjoyed in a state of nature: and hence it is that by the law of nations from the earliest annals of society, the goods or property of one enemy has been considered as liable to be seized and applied to the use of another. This right must be so used as not to injure the rights of others: subject to this limitation it is perfect, and an interruption of it by another is an injury. As in a contest between two individuals in a state of nature, no third has a right, without becoming a party in the controversy, to protect the property, or defend the person of either of the parties: so in a war between two nations, no third nation can act out of its own jurisdiction, consistent with the duties of neutrality; or, without becoming a party in the war, protect the property of, or defend either of the parties. Though nations are, in respect to each other, like individuals in a state of nature, the resemblance is not in every particular perfect. Individuals, in a state of nature, have not only the inferior dominion or private ownership of property, but the entire and perfect dominion over it. In society the latter right belongs exclusively to the nation, while the former belongs to the several members that compose it. Immoveable things, such as lands, which are denominated the territory of a nation, are the immediate and special objects of this perfect dominion or paramount property. Moveable things are the proper objects of inferior dominion or private ownership, and are no otherwise the objects of the national or paramount property, than as they happen to be within its territorial limits. The perfect dominion, or jurisdiction of a nation, in respect to property, extends over, and is bounded by, the lands thereof and the waters appurtenant to the same.

As soon, therefore, as moveable things pass out of these limits, they cease to be under the dominion or jurisdiction of the nation, the private property of whose members they may be.

This private property, in moveable things, may be enjoyed within the territory of a nation, by those who are not members thereof. Hence, in a war between two nations, a member of one of which owns moveables within the territory of a third or neutral nation, such moveables or property are not liable to seizure by reason of the war; because, being within and under the exclusive jurisdiction of a third nation, it would be an injury to the right of such nation to go there and seize the same. So long as such moveables remain within a foreign territory, they are objects of its dominion and protection; but as soon as they are carried out of the same, they cease to be any longer under its jurisdiction or protection.

In a war between two nations, all the members of each are enemies to the other, and all the property of the several members, as well as the strictly national property, is liable to seizure. In general the character of the owner, whether enemy or friend, decides whether property is liable to capture by reason of war; but the validity of

* This essay, which I regard as a most able performance, is no where to be found in England: for this reason I have thought proper to give it a place here. It is of importance from its intrinsic merit, and also from its origin. The other works to be consulted on this subject will be found enumerated in my edition of Martens's Compendium of the Law of Nations, p. 341.

the capture depends not only on the goods being enemy's property, but likewise on the fact that the place of capture is one in which the right may be exercised without injury to the rights of a neutral nation. Hence the property of an enemy is liable to capture only within the respective territories or jurisdiction of the belligerent nations, or in a place not within the territory or jurisdiction of any nation. In either of these places the right may be exercised without injury to the rights of neutral nations—The limitation of this right, so far as respects enemy's property found within the territory of one of the parties on the breaking out of war, has before been discussed and placed, I flatter myself, on solid principles.

The main ocean not being within the territory, or subject to the exclusive dominion of any nation, is a place, where enemy's goods may lawfully be captured. An impediment by any third nation to the exercise of the right of capture on the ocean by either of the belligerent parties, would be an injury.

As the goods of an enemy, within the territory of a neutral state, are under the protection thereof, the law of nations, for the reasons that have been stated, will not permit us to take them; in like manner, we have no right to take them if they are on board a ship, whilst the ship is in a neutral port, whether the ship itself is a neutral one, or belongs to an enemy, because the port is a part of the territory. When the goods of an enemy are on board the ship of an enemy, and the ship is in the main ocean, there is no doubt of our right to capture both the goods and the ship, because they are then in a place which is not the territory of any nation. But when the goods of an enemy are on board a neutral ship, and the ship is in the main ocean, though we have a right to take the goods, we have no right to take the ship, or to detain her any longer, than is necessary to obtain possession of the goods—for the ocean itself is no territory—and neutral ships, as they are moveable goods, cannot be parts of the neutral territory; and consequently are no more under the protection of the neutral state, than the same goods would be, if they were passing through an unoccupied country in neutral carriages, or on neutral horses.

A neutral ship (says Rutherford in his institutes, whose reasoning on this question I adopt) may indeed be called a *neutral place*; but when we call it so, the word *place* does not mean territory, it only means the thing in which the goods are contained. Though the goods of the enemy had been on board a ship belonging to the enemy, we might have said, in the same sense, that they were in a neutral place, if they had been locked up there in a neutral chest. But no one would imagine, that such a neutral place, as a chest, can be considered as a part of the territory of the neutral state, or that it would protect the goods. Notwithstanding, a neutral chest is as much a neutral place as a neutral ship.

A ship, though a moveable thing, is under the jurisdiction of a nation whilst it continues in one of its ports—but as soon as it is out at sea, only the private ownership, or inferior dominion, of the ship remains, and it ceases to be under the dominion or jurisdiction of the nation. The case will be the same, if, instead of supposing the ship to be the property of a merchant, we suppose it to be the property of the nation.

For though we cannot well call the property which *the nation* has in such a ship, by the name of private ownership: yet, when the ship comes into the main ocean, the jurisdiction or paramount property ceases, and the right that remains is an inferior kind of property, which has the nature of private ownership. If the jurisdiction, which a neutral state has over the ships of its members, or even over its own ships, ceases when the ships are out at sea; the goods of an enemy, that are on board such ships, cannot be under the protection of the nation, in the same manner as if the ships had been in one of its ports, or as if the goods had been on its land *.

Notwithstanding a neutral nation, when its ship is in the main ocean, has no jurisdiction over the ship itself, as if it was a part of its territory, yet the nation, or some of its members, which is the same thing, will continue to have the inferior sort of property, or ownership in it. This species of property will protect the ship from capture, though the enemy's goods on board her may lawfully be taken.

But here a difficulty occurs—This inferior kind of property, called private ownership, to distinguish it from the jurisdiction over things, is an exclusive right; those who have such ownership in things, whether private or public persons, have a right to exclude all others from making use of such things; and by this means, the rights of others are often hindered from taking effect.

Wild beasts, birds, and fishes, are, till they are catched, in common to all mankind: and I, in common with others, have a right to take them, and thereby to make them my own—But I cannot hunt, or shoot, or fish, without perhaps sometimes using the soil or water of another man; and as I have no right to use these without his consent, he may justly hinder me from doing any of these acts, as far as his right of property extends. Thus by private ownership I am prevented from taking such things, as I should otherwise have a right to take, if they did not happen to be in such places as he had an exclusive right to. In like manner, though I have a right to take the goods of my enemy, when they are out at sea, yet may not the effect of this right be prevented by the inferior property or ownership, which a neutral nation, or its members, have in the ship in which the goods are? If the law of nations is nothing but the law of nature applied to the collective persons of civil societies, instead of saying that the law of nations has decided otherwise, we should disclose a natural reason why it should determine otherwise. When I have merely a right to acquire property in a thing that is common to all mankind, but cannot do it without the use of what is already the property of some other man; this man neither does me an injury, nor encourages or protects others who have injured me, by excluding me from the use of what belongs to him. But when we have a right in war, upon account of the damage which the enemy has done us, to take goods of the enemy, and these are in a neutral ship: if the neutral state, though it has property in the ship, should make use of its right of property to protect the goods

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* The jurisdiction here spoken of is relative to property, and altogether distinct from what is termed personal jurisdiction, which respects the relations between the society and its members—This latter species of jurisdiction is not confined to the territorial limits of a nation.

against us, this protection makes it an accessary to the injury, which is the foundation of the claim upon the enemy to obtain reparation of damages, and consequently is inconsistent with the notion of neutrality.

But whilst this answer removes one difficulty, it brings another. If a neutral nation makes itself accessary to the damages done by the enemy, by protecting such enemy goods as she has a right to take for reparation of damages, when these goods are out at sea in one of its ships: why might the same nation, without becoming in like manner an accessary, protect the same goods when the ship is in one of its ports, or when the goods are on land within its territory? A law of nations, which is natural as to the matter of it, and positive only as to the objects of it, will furnish an answer to this question.

Every state has, by universal acknowledgment and consent, by the law of nations, an exclusive jurisdiction over its own territory. As long, therefore, as a state keeps within its own territory, and exercises its jurisdiction there, the protection in question is not a violation of our rights—but when its ships are in the main ocean; as they are then in a place out of its territory, where, by the law of nations, it has no jurisdiction, this law will allow us to take notice of the protection, which it gives to the goods of an enemy, and to consider it as an accessary to the damages done by the enemy, if it gives them protection.

In respect to the right of examination or search, if the end is lawful, and the examination or search a necessary mean to attain this end, the inference is inevitable, that the examination or search is likewise lawful.

If the question, whether enemy goods are seizeable on board a neutral ship, were really doubtful; yet the right to search neutral ships must be admitted for another reason. All agree that arms, ammunition, and other contraband articles, may not be carried to an enemy by a neutral power—without searching vessels at sea, such supply could not be prevented. The right to search, therefore, results, likewise, from the right to seize contraband goods. Again, the state of war authorizes the capture of enemy ships and goods—But on the main ocean, which is the great highway where the ships and goods of all nations pass; how are the ships and goods of an enemy to be distinguished from those of a friend? No other way than by examination and search. Hence then the right of search is deducible from the general right to capture the ships and goods of an enemy.

It would undoubtedly disembarrass the commerce of neutral nations were passports and ships' papers received, in all cases, as conclusive evidence of the quality and property of the cargo. And did treaties, in fact, effectually secure an exemption from rude and detrimental inquisitions upon the ocean, they would become objects of inestimable worth to the neutral powers. But, notwithstanding the existence of stipulations in our other treaties which aim at giving some force to similar credentials, can it be said, that our ships have been visited with less ceremony, by one party, than by the other? And may not the experience of other nations, as well as that of our own, be appealed to, in proof of the opinion, that these stipulations, however exact and positive, are too little regarded by that class of men, to restrain and govern whose conduct they are instituted?

The right of search ought to be used with moderation, and with as little inconvenience as possible to the rights of nations not engaged in the war. And the law of nations, on the other hand, requires the utmost good faith on the part of the neutral powers. They are bound not to conceal the property of the enemy, but on the contrary to disclose it when examination shall be made; in confidence of this impartiality, the law of nations obliges the powers at war to give credit to the certificates, bills of lading and other instruments of ownership, produced by the masters of neutral ships, unless any fraud appear in them, or *there be be good reason for suspecting their validity*. The right of search is always at the peril of those who exercise it; the right, notwithstanding, must be acknowledged to be indubitable.

The reasoning employed to prove that all neutral ships, on the main ocean, are liable to search, and enemy goods on board them to capture, is supported by the ablest writers on public law, and their decision is believed to be unanimously in its favour.

The Italian states were the first among modern nations, who cultivated the interests of commerce, and before the passage of the Cape of Good Hope, Venice, and Genoa, distributed the manufactures of Asia throughout Europe. They, therefore, first defined the rights of navigation. Their maritime regulations are collected in a work called "Con-"solato del Mare;" I do not possess the collection, but find the following quotation from it in Grotius*.

"If both the ship and freight belong to the "enemy, then, without dispute, they become law-"ful prize to the captor; but if the ship belong to "those that be at peace with us, and the cargo "be the enemy's, they may be forced by the "powers at war, to put into any of their ports, "and unlade; but yet the master must be *satisfied* "*for the freight of them.*"

Grotius, that learned, and persecuted friend of liberty, whose life and great talents were dedicated to the service of mankind, and who displayed so much ability and learning in defending the freedom of the seas, and of commerce, is clearly of opinion, that enemy goods are not protected by neutral bottoms; he even goes farther, and allows that *such property* occasions great presumption, that the vessel is, likewise, enemy property†. Bynkershook is of the same opinion‡. Puffendorff‖ and Heinecius § agree in this law, and Vattel who is the latest writer, is explicit in his opinion; "without searching neutral ships at sea," says he, "the commerce of contraband goods cannot "be prevented—There is then a right of search-"ing. Some powerful nations have, at different "times, refused to submit to this. At present a "neutral ship refusing to be searched, would, from "that proceeding alone, be condemned as lawful "prize."—"Effects belonging to an enemy, found "on board a neutral ship, are seizable by the "rights of war; but by the law of nature, the "master is to be paid his freight, and not to suf-

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* Grotius. Book 3. chap. 1. sect. 5. Note.

† Grotius. Book 3. chap. 4. sect. 8—Book 3. chap. 6. sect. 6.

‡ Bynkershook, quest. jur. pub. lib. 1. cap. 13 and 14.

‖ Puffendorff.

§ Heinecius de navibus, cap. 2. sect. 114, 115, 116.

"fer by the seizure. The effects of neutrals, "found on board an enemy ship, are to be re- "stored to the owners, against whom there is no "right of confiscation."

Other authors of respectability might be quoted; but those already named will be acknowledged as the ablest, and their authority the most decisive of any that can be cited—so strong, clear, and uninterrupted, are the authorities of the writers on public law in relation to these points, that the advocates of an opposite rule, may be challenged to produce a single authority of approved respectability in support of their opinion.

Admitting that it was the law of nations that enemy goods might be seized in neutral ships, it is alleged by Cato and other writers, who have appeared on the same side, that the treaties which have been formed between nations have annulled this law, and established another in its stead, equally extensive and binding on the whole civilized world.

In discussing this allegation, we should remember, that all nations are in a state of equality, and independent of each other. No law, other than the necessary or natural law of nations, is binding on any nation without its consent, expressly or tacitly given. A law among nations cannot, like a civil or municipal law, be annulled, or enacted by a majority, or any portion short of the whole. By agreement between two or more nations, the operation of a law already in existence, may be suspended so far as respects themselves; but such agreement works no change of such law, in relation to the rights or duties of other nations. The same is true of any rule of action, established by convention between two nations; such rule is obligatory on the parties that form the contract, but is wholly without effect and nugatory in respect to all other nations. Unless then all nations have concurred in the design to annul this law, it must still exist; and treaties, containing opposite stipulations, can be considered in no other light, than as exceptions to the same, in which certain nations have seen it their interest to agree.

Though one nation may have agreed with another to suspend the operation of this law, and to substitute the rule that free ships make free goods, and enemy ships enemy goods, there may have been some peculiar reason that induced the parties to form this convention with each other, that would not apply in respect to any other nation.

A nation may advance its interest perhaps by forming such a treaty, with one nation, and injure it by forming it with another—Because a nation has, in some instances, or for a limited time, formed stipulations of this sort, it cannot from thence be inferred, that it has thereby, in any sense, expressed its consent to a total repeal of a law, the operation of which it has agreed to suspend only for a limited time, and in respect to a particular nation. Commercial treaties, in which we discover these stipulations, though not always, are commonly limited in their duration. This limitation is a strong argument against the doctrine which these treaties are cited to establish. For so many years, say the parties, we will suspend the operation of the law. When the treaty expires by its proper limitation, or is dissolved by war, the rule of the treaty ceases, and the law is again in force between the parties, and prescribes to them, in common with other nations, their rights and duties in this respect.

The law of nations, that authorizes the capture of enemy goods in neutral ships, requires the restoration of neutral goods captured in enemy ships. The treaties, which stipulate that free ships make free goods, stipulate also that enemy ships make enemy goods. I have discovered no instance of the former stipulation, that has not been accompanied by the latter; though I have found instances of the latter stipulation unaccompanied by the former. This is the case in the treaty of peace, commerce, and alliance, between Spain and England, concluded at Madrid in 1667. Those, therefore, who contend that the law of nations has been repealed in one instance, must also insist that it has been repealed in the other. If the number of stipulations is to be received as evidence, the proof is stronger of a repeal in the latter than in the former case. But will any one seriously maintain, that a nation would have a right to confiscate the goods of a neutral power found on board an enemy ship, without an express stipulation on the part of such neutral state consenting to the same? Would England or Spain, for example, have a right to confiscate American property, captured in a French ship? Would America, if at war, have a right to confiscate the neutral property of Spain, Portugal, Denmark, or Russia, found on board an enemy ship? Has any nation ever confiscated property under this circumstance? If not, the inference is clear, that these stipulations are exclusively relative to the parties who form them, and that the rights of other states remain under the protection of the law of nations.

But, according to Cato, this reasoning may be just, yet inapplicable; for he maintains that *all nations* have consented to the establishment of this conventional law. "As far back as 150 years," says this writer, "and ever since, I find that the "commercial nations have stipulated in their "treaties, that free ships shall make free goods, "that full credit shall be given to ship's papers, "and that armed vessels shall not come within "cannon shot of a neutral ship, but send their "boats on board with only two or three men at "most, to examine papers, but *not to search*, and "that the treaties (by which is understood all the "treaties) for 150 years back, relative to this ob- "ject, are drawn in the words of the treaty, be- "tween the United States and France."

Struck with the fulness of this assertion, I have carefully examined such collections of treaties, as I have been able to procure, and going back to the year 1645, I have given a patient search to all the public conventions between Great-Britain and the several powers of Europe since that period. I find, that since that epoch, Great-Britain has concluded commercial treaties with Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Dantzic, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia.

In the treaties with Holland and with France, she has agreed to the stipulation, that free ships should make free goods, and enemy ships, enemy goods. In *Chalmer's* Collection of Treaties, a similar stipulation is contained in the 23d article of the treaty of alliance, concluded in 1564, between Oliver Cromwell and the King of Portugal; but in other collections, in which that treaty is found, it does not contain a stipulation that free ships shall make free goods; and it has been denied,

from a reputable quarter on the part of Great-Britain, that she has ever acceded to this principle, except in the instances of her treaties with Holland and France; neither of which exist any longer, the former having expired long since, and the latter being dissolved by the present war. Her treaties with Spain, Dantzic, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, do neither of them contain this stipulation. On the contrary, the 12th article of the treaty with Sweden, and the 20th of the treaty with Denmark, each of which is now in force, and has been so for more than a century, as likewise the 14th article of the treaty with Dantzic, declares, that "lest the enemy's goods and merchandize should be concealed under the disguise of "the goods of friends, it is stipulated, that all ships "shall be furnished with passports and certificates, by which it shall be manifest to whom "the articles, composing the cargoes, belong:" and the two first of these treaties, moreover, declare it "to be injurious to protect the property of "enemies," and establish special guards to prevent the same.

In relation to the full credit to be given to ships' papers, and the manner of boarding neutral vessels—in the treaties with Spain, France, and Holland, it is stipulated, that full faith shall be given to the passports, and that the boarding shall be by two or three men only. But the treaties with Portugal and Russia are destitute of any stipulation on this subject, except that in the latter it is agreed*, that "the searching of mer-"chant ships shall be as favourable as the reason "of the war can possibly admit, toward the most "favoured neutral nation, observing, as near as "may be, the principles of the law of nations "that are generally acknowledged†." In the treaties with Dantzic, Denmark, and Sweden, passports are required for the purpose of distinguishing, according to the solemnities of those treaties, the enemy property on board the ships of the parties; and it is stipulated, that credit shall be given to such passports, except in cases of just and urgent cause of suspicion, when, say these treaties, the ship ought to be searched; an exception, that fully recognizes the right to search, essentially does away the security intended by the passports. But neither of these treaties contain any regulation relative to the manner of boarding neutral vessels.

This research, though made with care, may have been imperfect; the result thereof is, that there are only two, possibly three, of these eight nations, with whom Great-Britain has ever agreed to the stipulation, that free ships shall make free goods; only three of them with whom she has stipulated, that full credit shall be given to passports or ships' papers, or with whom the manner of boarding is settled. Instead, therefore, of that uniformity and universality in the stipulations in the commercial treaties, concluded within the last 150 years, so confidently asserted by Cato, we see that in five instances out of eight, of treaties concluded between Great-Britain and the principal powers of Europe, within that term, they have on each of these points, given their sanction to a law directly in opposition to the assertion of this adventurous writer.

"Yet," says Cato, "the principles of the armed "neutrality, by the general consent of the great "community of the civilized world, changed the "law of nations."—It is a singular logic that proves the agreement of nations by their disagreement, and their consent to a principle, by their drawing forth their fleet to dispute it. The armed neutrality, with those who understand its history, will not be relied on by way of proving a change in the law of nations, brought about by universal consent.

It will not be denied that this league, which was aimed principally against Great-Britain, failed to accomplish its purpose, and that it expired with the American war. Nothing has been heard of it during the present war; and it is notorious, that Russia and Holland, before its conquest, were under agreements incompatible with the views of that association. The northern powers of Europe, under the countenance of France, united to support the principles of the armed neutrality; but the league did not include all the neutral powers; and of the powers engaged in the war, at that period, Spain consented to observe the principles contended for by the confederacy, on condition that Great-Britain would agree to them, who, so far from agreeing, openly resisted them.

On the same principle, by which it is contended that this association introduced a new law of nations, might the armed leagues between certain nations to prohibit all commerce whatever with an enemy, be appealed to in proof of an alteration of the law of nations in this respect. England and Holland entered into such a league against France, in the year 1689; and other instances are mentioned by Grotius; yet no one has ever imagined that thereby any change was wrought in the law of nations.

The objection that has arisen from the dissimilarity between this article, and those relative to the same subject in our other treaties, is equally defective with those already considered. The objection proceeds from an opinion, that the law of nations has been changed, and that the stipulations in our other treaties are evidence thereof. The observations that have been offered on this subject, are equally applicable to this objection, and it is therefore unnecessary to repeat them.

Not only reason, and the authority of jurists, but likewise the practice of nations, where they have been unrestrained by particular conventions, may be appealed to in support of this doctrine.

The practice of France, of Holland, even subsequent to particular stipulations, regulating this subject between themselves, has, in respect to other powers, been conformable to the law of nations—The ordinances and maritime decisions of France may be consulted to show what her practice has been, and that of Holland is evident by the convention of 1689, between her and England. The practice of Spain is understood to be the same; and, in an instance that occurred during the American war, she carried the law to its utmost rigour, in assigning as a cause of condemnation of a neutral Tuscan ship, her forcible resistance of the right of search. Her capture of American ships, during the present war, on suspicion of their cargoes being enemy property, affords additional evidence, of her practice and opinions on this subject. In respect to Great-Britain, from the general notoriety of the fact, it seems, in some sort, unnecessary to add, that she has immemorially adhered, in her general practice, to the law of nations in its widest interpretation on

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* Treaty of 1776, article 10.

† Treaty with Dantzic of 1706, article 20.

this subject. In a few instances, and perhaps for special reasons, as was the case in respect to the treaty with Holland, concluded in 1667, she has entered into opposite stipulations; but, at this time, unles it may be with Portugal, Great-Britain has no such treaty with any nation.

So undisputed was the law on this subject, and so uniform the practice of nations in cases, not governed by a conventional rule, that congress, in the commencement, and through the greater part of our revolution war, authorized our ships of war and privateers, to capture enemy property on board neutral ships, and our admiralty courts uniformly restored neutral property found on board enemy ships. This practice continued years after the conclusion of our treaty with France, which contains a stipulation, that free ships shall make free goods, and enemy ships enemy goods; no person, during that period, having supposed that thereby the law was altered in respect to other nations.

Towards the close of the war, to favour the views of the armed neutrality, in which league the United States were not a party, but whose opposition to Great-Britain they naturally approved; congress, in an ordinance on the subject of captures, ordained that neutral bottoms should protect enemy goods—but here they stopped. Thus far the authority was indubitable, because it was exercised only in abridgment of their own rights. Being engaged in war, they could not, by their own act, enlarge their rights, or abridge those of neutral ships; the extent of both being defined and settled by the public law of nations. They, therefore, never authorized the capture and condemnation of neutral goods found in enemy ships, nor could they have authorized the same, without a manifest violation of the rights of the neutral powers.

It is finally alleged that the article, if sound in its principles, is defective in those provisions which are requisite to protect and secure the neutral rights of the parties; inasmuch as it does not contain an explicit stipulation for the payment of freight on enemy goods, nor for the payment of damages for the detention or loss of neutral ships taken without just cause. I do not recollect to have met with any precise stipulation on these points, in the commercial treaties between other nations.—None such, if my recollection be right, are found in any of our other treaties; and I think it would be somewhat difficult to form such as would afford to the parties a more satisfactory security than that which arises from the law of nations, a neutral ship is entitled to freight for enemy goods captured on board her; but this right, if so admitted, may be forfeited by the irregular conduct of the neutral, by the possession of false or double papers, by the destruction of papers, or by those fraudulent concealments and evasions, which are inconsistent with fair and impartial neutrality. A ship taken and detained without just cause, is, together with her cargo, at the risk of the captors from the moment of capture; and in cases of partial or total loss, or of damages by detention, the owner is entitled to full and complete indemnification. But in case the neutral ship is under such equivocal and doubtful circumstances, as afford probable cause to believe that either the ship, or cargo, is enemy property, a situation not to be reconciled with an open and fair neutrality, *in such case*, though on trial both ship and cargo should turn out to have been *bonâ fide* neutral property, yet the captors may avail themselves of her equivocal situation and character, in mitigation, if not, under very peculiar circumstances, in total discharge of damages. No stipulation, therefore, without these exceptions, would have afforded to the parties adequate security against such irregularities, and with them, its want of precision would have left the subject as it now stands, to be regulated by the known and approved provisions of the law of nations.

These provisions being well understood, the article concludes with a stipulation against delays in the admiralty, and in the payment and recovery of the damages it shall decree.

This examination, I flatter myself, has fulfilled its object, which was, to prove, that the article relinquishes no right that we possessed as a nation, that it is agreeable to, and supported by, the law of nations. A law in relation to this subject, coeval with the origin of maritime commerce, and the principles whereof have immemorially operated among nations.

It was desirable that a stipulation, similar to that contained in our other treaties, should have been obtained. But the time was unfavourable to the attainment of this object: and, as with great propriety has been observed by Mr. Jefferson, in behalf of our government—"Since it depends on the will of other nations as well as our own, we can only obtain it, when they shall be ready to consent." By the 12th article, the parties agree to renew the negotiation on this point, within the compass of two years after the conclusion of the present war; when perhaps the restoration of peace, and other circumstances, may prove more propitious to our views.

The objections to the treaty, for not containing the principle, "that free ships make free goods," as being the relinquishment of an advantage, which the modern law of nations gives to neutrals, have been fully examined, and, I flatter myself, completely refuted.

I shall, however, add one or two reflections by way of further illustration. A pre-established rule of the law of nations, can only be changed by their *common consent*. This consent may either be express, by treaties, declarations, &c. adopting and promising the observance of a different rule, or it may be implied, by a course of practice or usage. The consent, in either case, must embrace the great community of civilized nations. If to be inferred from treaties, it must be shown that they are uniform and universal. It can, at least, never be inferred, while the treaties of different nations follow different rules, or the treaties between the same nation and others, vary from each other. So also as to usage. It must be uniform and universal, and, let it be added, it must be continued. A usage, adopted by some nations, and resisted by others, or adopted by all temporarily and then discontinued, is insufficient to abolish an old, or substitute a new rule of the law of nations. It has been demonstrated, that no consent of either description has been given to the rule, which is contended for in opposition to the treaty.

The armed neutrality, so much quoted, is entirely deficient in the requisite characters. Its name imports that it was an armed combination of particular powers. It grew up in the midst of a war, and is understood to have been particularly levelled against one of the belligerent par-

ties. It was resisted by that power. There were other powers, which did not accede to it. It is a recent transaction, and has never acquired the confirmation of continued usage. What is more, it has been virtually abandoned by some of the parties to it—and among these, by the principal promoter of it, the politic and enterprising Catherine. It is, therefore, a perversion of all just ideas, to ascribe to such a combination the effect of altering a rule of the law of nations.

In most important questions, it is remarkable, that the opposers of the truth are as much at variance with each other, as they are with the truth they oppose. This was strikingly exemplified when the present constitution of the United States was under deliberation. The opposition to it was composed of the most incongruous materials—the same thing is observable in relation to the treaty. And one instance of the contrariety applies to the rule cited above.

While some of the adversaries of the treaty complain of the admission of a contrary principle by that instrument, as the abandonment of a rule of the present law of nations; others, conceding that there is no such rule yet established, censure that admission as a *check* to its *complete* and *formal establishment*, and as a retrograde step from this desirable point.

The objection in this form is more plausible than in the other, but it is not less destitute of substance. If there has been any retrograde step, it was taken by the government prior to the treaty—authentic documents, which have been communicated by the executive to congress, contain the evidence of this fact.

Early in the year 1793, some British cruisers having stopped vessels of the United States, and taken out of them articles which were the property of French citizens, Mr. Genet, the then minister of France, in a letter of the 9th of July of that year, made a lively representation upon the subject to our government, insisting, in a subsequent letter of the 25th of that month, in which he recurs to the same point, that the principles of neutrality established, that friendly vessels make friendly goods; and in effect, that the violation of this rule by Great-Britain was a violation of our neutral rights, which we were bound to resent.

The reply of our government, is seen in a letter from our secretary of state to that minister, of the 24th of July—It is in these terms—"I believe," says Mr. Jefferson, "it cannot be doubted, but "that by the general law of nations, the goods "of a friend, found in the vessel of an enemy, "are free, and the goods of an enemy, found in "the vessel of a friend, are lawful prize. Upon "this principle, I presume, the British armed "vessels have taken the property of French citi-"zens found in our vessels in the cases above "mentioned; and, I confess, I should be at a "loss on what principle to reclaim them. It is "true, that sundry nations, desirous of avoiding "the inconveniences of having their vessels stop-"ped at sea, ransacked, carried into port, and "detained under pretence of having enemy goods "on board, have, in many instances, introduced, "by their special treaties, another principle be-"tween them, that enemy bottoms shall make "enemy goods, and friendly bottoms friendly "goods; a principle much less embarrassing to "commerce, and equal to all parties in point of "gain and loss; but this is altogether the effect "of particular treaty, controuling, in special "cases, the general principles of the law of na-"tions, and, therefore, taking effect between "such nations only as have so agreed to controul "it."

Nothing can be a more explicit or unequivocal abandonment of the rule, that free ships make free goods, and *vice versa*, than is contained in this communication. But this is not all: in the letter, from Mr. Jefferson to our minister in France, of the 26th of August, 1793, instructing him to urge the recall of Mr. Genet, the subject is resumed, the position asserted in answer to Mr. Genet, insisted upon anew, and enforced by additional considerations: among other suggestions, we find these, "We suppose it to have been long "an established principle of the law of nations, "that the goods of a friend are free in an enemy's "vessel, and an enemy's goods lawful prize in "the vessel of a friend. The inconvenience of "this principle has induced several nations, lat-"terly, to stipulate against it by treaty, and to "substitute another in its stead, that free bot-"toms shall make free goods, and enemy bot-"toms enemy goods. We have introduced it into "our treaties with France, Holland, and Russia; "and French goods, found by the two latter na-"tions in American bottoms are not made prize "of. It is our wish to establish it with other "nations: but this requires their consent also, "is a work of time, and, in the mean while, they "have a right to act on the general principle, "without giving to us, or to France, cause of "complaint. Nor do I see, that France can lose "by it on the whole—for though she loses her "goods, when found in our vessels, by the nations "with whom we have no treaties—yet she gains "our goods when found in the vessels of the "same, and all other nations; and we believe the "latter mass to be greater than the former."

Thus, then, stood the business, antecedent to the treaty. Great-Britain, adhering to the principle of the general and long established law of nations, captures French property in our vessels, and leaves free our property in French vessels. We acquiesce in this practice, without even a remonstrance or murmur. The French minister complains of it, as contrary to the principles of neutrality. We reply, that, in our opinion, it is not contrary to those principles; that it is fully warranted by the general law of nations; that treaties, which establish a different rule, are merely exceptions to that law, binding only on the contracting parties; that having no treaty of the sort with Great-Britain, we should be at a loss on what ground to dispute the legitimacy of her practice. We do not simply forbear to oppose; we do not offer to France as an excuse for our forbearance, that it is inconvenient to us, at the moment, to assert a questionable right at the hazard of war; but we tell her peremptorily, that, in our opinion, no such right exists, and that the conduct of Great-Britain, in the particular case, is justified by the law of nations; neither do we wrap the motive of our forbearance in silence, nor content ourselves with revealing it confidentially to France alone; but we publish it, without reserve, to the world, and thus, in the presence of Great-Britain, and of every other nation, make a formal renunciation of the pretension, that "free ships "shall make free goods, and enemy ships enemy "goods:" no counter declaration is heard from either house of congress.

It was impossible to give a more full sanction to the opposite principle than was given by this conduct, and these public and positive declarations of our government. It was impossible more completely to abandon the favourite ground. It is puerile to attempt to discriminate between the force of this species of renunciation, and that of an admission of its propriety by treaty. The conduct of a government avowed and explained, as to motives, by authentic public declarations, may assert or renounce a pretension as effectually as its compact. Every nation, with whom we had no contrary stipulation, could say to us as well before as since the treaty with Great-Britain, "your government has explicitly admitted that "free ships do not make free goods, and you "have no right to complain of our not observing "that rule towards you." Candour, therefore, would oblige us to say that the treaty has left this point where it found it; that it has only not obtained from Great-Britain a concession in favour of an innovation upon the law of nations, which it is desirable to establish, but which cannot be claimed as matter of right. Though, therefore, it may not have the merit of strengthening, it has not the demerit of weakening the ground.

The difference in our position, in this respect, before and since the treaty, amounts to this, that before the treaty the government had abandoned the ground through one organ, Mr. Jefferson; by the treaty, it continued the abandonment through another organ, Mr. Jay; if we consider the organ as the voluntary cause in each case, (the presumption of which is equally fair in both cases) and if there be any blame, it falls more heavily on Mr. Jefferson than on Mr. Jay; for the former sounded and made the retreat, and the latter only did not advance from the disadvantageous post to which he had retreated. In other words, Mr. Jay did only not recover the ground which Mr. Jefferson had lost. And we know that, in general, it is a far more difficult task to regain than to keep an advantageous position.

But, in truth, no blame can justly be imputed in either case. The law of nations was against the rule which it is desired to introduce. The United States could not have insisted upon it as matter of right; and, in point of policy, it would have been madness in them to go to war, to support an innovation upon the pre-established law. It was not honourable to claim a right, and suffer it to be infracted without resistance. It is not for young and weak nations to attempt to enforce novelties, or pretensions of equivocal validity. It is still less proper for them to contend, at the hazard of their peace, against the clear right of others. The object was truly not of moment enough to risk much upon it. To use a French proverb, *The play was not worth the candle.* In every view, therefore, it was wise to desert the pretension.

So also, in the midst of war, like that in which Great-Britain was engaged, it were preposterous to have expected, that she would have acceded to a new rule, which, under the circumstances of her great maritime superiority, would have operated so much more conveniently to her enemy than to herself. And it would have been no less absurd to have made her accession to that rule the *sine qua non* of an arrangement, otherwise expedient. Here again, *the play would not have been worth the candle.*

The importance of the rule has artfully been very much magnified, to depreciate proportionably the treaty, for not establishing it. It is to be remembered, that if something is gained by it, something is also given up. It depends on incalculable circumstances, whether, in a particular war, most will be lost or gained. Yet the rule is, upon the whole, a convenient one to neutral powers. But it cannot be pretended that it is of so great a value, as that the United States ought to adopt it as a maxim, never to make a treaty of commerce, in which it was not recognized. They might by this maxim forego the advantages of regulating their commercial intercourse in time of peace with several foreign powers, with whom they have extensive relations of trade, by fixed and useful conventional rules, and still remain subject in time of war to the inconveniences of not having established, with those powers, the principle to which they make that sacrifice.

Though, therefore, it be a merit to a certain extent in a treaty to contain this principle, it is not a positive fault or blemish, that it does not contain it. The want of it is not a good cause of objection to a treaty otherwise eligible.

Let me add, too, in the spirit of Mr. Jefferson's letter, that however it may be our wish to establish the rule with other nations besides those with whom we have already done it, this requires their consent also, of course their conviction, that it is their interest to consent; and that, considering the obstacles which lie in the way, the attainment of the object must be "*a work of time.*" It pre-supposes, in some of the principal maritime powers, a great change of ideas, which is not to be looked for very suddenly. It was not, therefore, to have been expected of our envoy, that he was to have accomplished the point at so premature and so favourable a juncture.

The assertion, that he has abandoned it, is made in too unqualified a manner. For while he admits the operation for the present, of the general rule of the law of nations, he has, by the 12th article, engaged Great-Britain in a stipulation, that the parties will, at the expiration of two years after the existing war, *renew* their *discussion*, and *endeavour to agree* whether in any, and what cases neutral vessels shall protect enemy's property. It is true, it will be in the option of Great-Britain then, to agree or not, but it is not less true that the principle is retained with consent of Great-Britain in a *negotiable* state. So far, perhaps, some ground has been retrieved.

I confess, however, that I entertain much doubt as to the probability of a speedy general establishment of the rule, that friendly ships shall make friendly goods, and enemy ships enemy goods. It is a rule against which, it is to be feared, the preponderant maritime power, to whatever nation this character may belong, will be apt to struggle with perseverance and effect, since it would tend to contract materially the means of that power to annoy and distress her enemies, whose inferiority on the sea would naturally cause their commerce, during war, to be carried on in neutral bottoms. This consideration will account for the resistance of Great-Britain to the principle, and for the endeavours of some other powers to promote it; and it deserves notice, that her last treaty with France was severely assailed by some of the chiefs of opposition, for containing a stipulation in favour of that principle. The motive for consenting to it, in this instance, probably was, that the sti-

pulation was likely to be rendered, in a great degree, nugatory by the relative situation of the two nations, which, in almost any war in which one of the two was engaged on one side, would probably render the other a party on the opposite side.

If these conjectures be right, there is a reflection which lessens much the value of stipulations in favour of the rule; that so long as one or more of the maritime powers disavow it, there will be a strong temptation to depart from a scrupulous observance of such stipulations, as we, in relation to France, have experienced in the present war.

In the course of the arguments against the 17th article, for virtually admitting the right of search in time of war, the objectors have had the temerity to cite the opinion of *Vattel*, as being opposed to that right; and a mutilated quotation has given an appearance of truth to the assertion. It has been heretofore shewn, by passages extracted from his work, that his opinion, so far from denying explicitly, supports the right to search. But it may be useful to examine the part of it which has been tortured into a contrary inference.

After affirming the right of search (B. 3. chap. 7, S. 14.) he proceeds thus, "but to avoid inconve-"niences, violence, and every other irregularity, "the manner of the search is settled in the trea-"ties of navigation and commerce. According "to the present *custom*, credit is to be given to "certificates and bills of lading produced by the "master of the ship." Hence it is alleged the right to search is turned into the right of inspecting the ship's papers, which, being entitled to credit, are to preclude further scrutiny.

But what immediately follows, destroys this conclusion; the words "unless any ground ap-"pear in them, or there be very good reasons for "suspecting their validity," are subjoined to the clause just quoted. This admits clearly, that the ship's papers are not to be conclusive—But that, upon just cause of suspicion, the papers may be disregarded, and the right of search may be exercised.

Who is to be the judge of the credit due to the papers and of the just cause of suspicion? Manifestly the officer of the belligerent party, who visits the neutral vessel. Then, what does the whole amount to? Merely this—that the ship's papers are entitled to a certain degree of respect and credit; how much is left to the discretion of the officer of the belligerent party!—who, if he be not satisfied of the fairness and validity of the papers, may proceed to their verification, by a more strict and particular search, and then if he still sees, or supposes he sees, just cause of suspicion, he may carry the vessel into a port of his own country, for judicial investigation—In doing this, he acts at his peril, and for an abuse of his discretion exposes himself to damages and other punishment.

This is the true and evident sense of Vattel, and it agrees with the doctrine advocated in these papers, and, I will add, with the treaty under examination.

The 17th article admits, that the vessels of each party for *just cause* of suspicion of having on board enemy's property, or of carrying to the enemy contraband articles, may be captured or detained, and carried to the nearest and most convenient port of the belligerent party, to the end that enemy's property, and contraband articles on board may become lawful prize. But so far from countenancing any proceeding without *just cause* of suspicion, or from exonerating the officer of the belligerent party from a responsibility for such proceeding, it leaves the law of nations, in this particular, in full force, and contemplating that such officer shall be liable for damages, when he proceeds without *just cause* of suspicion, provides that all proper measures shall be taken to prevent delay in deciding the cases of ships or cargoes brought in for adjudication, or in the *payment or recovery of any indemnification adjudged or agreed to be paid to the masters or owners of such ships*. Besides which, the 19th article stipulates, in order that more abundant care may be taken for the security of the respective subjects and citizens of the contracting parties, and to prevent their suffering injuries by the men of war and privateers of either party, that the commanders of ships of war and privateers, shall forbear doing any damage to those of the other party, committing any outrage against them; and that, if they act to the contrary, *they shall be punished*, and shall also be bound in their persons and estates, *to make satisfaction and reparation for all damages, and the interest thereof, of whatever nature the said damages may be*. And further, after establishing that the commanders of privateers shall, before they are commissioned, give security to satisfy all damages and injuries, it adds, that in all cases of aggression their commissions shall be revoked and annulled.

These provisions not only conform to, and corroborate the injunctions of the laws of nations: but they refute the assertion, that the treaty is altogether deficient in precautions for guarding neutral rights; since those above mentioned are among the most efficacious. It is not presumable that any stipulations have been or can be made, which will take away all discretion from the marine officers of the belligerent parties; for this would be a total surrender of the rights of belligerent to neutral nations, and so long as any discretion is left, its right or wrong exercise will depend on the personal character of each officer: and abuses can only be restrained by the penalties that await them. Those stipulations of treaties, then, which re-inforce the laws of nations as to the infliction of penalties, are the most effectual of the precautions which treaties can adopt for the security of neutral rights; and, in this particular, the treaty with Great-Britain is to the full as provident as our other treaties. In one point I believe it is more so; for it expressly stipulates a revocation of the commissions of the commanders of privateers, for the aggressions they may commit.

Is not the passage last cited from Vattel a true commentary on those stipulations, for regulating and mitigating the right of search, which are found in our own and other treaties? Do they not all intend to reserve to the belligerent party a right of judging of the validity and fidelity of the papers to be exhibited, and of extending the search or not, according to the circumstances of just suspicion which do or do not appear? and, if this be their true construction, as it certainly is their construction in practice, which our own experience testifies, to what, after all, do they amount, more than without them the laws of nations, as universally recognized, of themselves pronounce? What real security do they afford more than the treaty with Great-Britain affords?

It is much to be suspected, that there will always be found advantages essentially nominal, operating or not according to the strength or weakness of the neutral party; which, if strong, will find abundant foundation in the acknowledged laws of nations on which to rest the protection of its rights.

It has been said to be just matter of surprize, that these precautions should have no place in a treaty with Great-Britain, whose conduct on the seas, so particularly suggested and enforced every guard to our rights that could be reasonably insisted on. Observations of this kind assume constantly the supposition, that we had it in our power to fashion every provision of the treaty exactly to our own taste, and that the ideas of the other contracting party were to have no influence even upon the minor features of the contract. But this supposition is absurd; and a treaty may still be entitled to our approbation, which adjusts acceptably the great points of interest, though in some of its details it falls short of our desires. Nor can any well informed man sincerely deny that it was to have been expected, that an adjustment of the particulars in question, would fall short of our ideas. It may be answered, that we were then at liberty not to make the treaty; so we were; but does it follow that it would have been wise to split on such points?—upon a just estimate, their intrinsic value is very moderate.

The eighteenth article of the treaty, which regulates the subject of contraband, has been grievously misrepresented; the objections used against it with most acrimony, are disingenuous and unfounded! Yet while I make this assertion, which, I flatter myself, I shall be able to prove, I shall not pretend to maintain that it is an article completely satisfactory. I even admit that it has one unpleasant ingredient in it, and I am convinced that our envoy must have consented to it with reluctance.

But, while candour demands this concession, it equally admonishes us, that, under the circumstances of the moment, the points in this respect to be adjusted were peculiarly unmanageable—that the position of the other party rendered an arrangement, entirely agreeable to us, impracticable; that without compromise nothing could have been regulated; that the article made no change for the worse in our prior situation, but in some particulars made our ground better; and that estimating truly the relative circumstances of the parties, there is no probability that any thing more acceptable could have been established.

I will add, that a degree of imperfection, which may fairly be attributed to this article, is far from being of such importance, as, on solid calculations, ought to defeat the treaty—No clear right is abandoned, no material interest of the nation injured.

It is one thing, whether every part of the treaty be satisfactory—another, and a very different thing, whether in the aggregate it be eligible or not, and ought to be accepted or rejected. Nations could never make contracts with one another, if each were to require that every part of it should be adjusted by its own standard of right and expediency. The true question always is upon the collective merits of the instrument; whether, upon the whole, it reasonably accommodates the opinions and interests of the parties. Tried by this test, the treaty negotiated with Great-Britain, fully justifies the acceptance of it by the constituted authorities of our country, and claims the acquiescence of every good citizen.

The most laboured, and at the same time, the most false of the charges against the eighteenth article is, that it allows provisions to be contraband in cases not heretofore warranted by the laws of nations, and refers to the belligerent party, the decision of what those cases are.—This is the general form of the charge. The draft of a petition to the legislature of Virginia, reduces it to this shape. The treaty "*expressly* "admits, that provisions are to be held contra-"band in cases other than when bound to an in-"vested place, and *impliedly* admits, that such "cases exist at present."

The first is a palpable untruth, which may be detected by a bare perusal of the article. The last is an untrue inference, impregnated with the malignant insinuation that there was a design to sanction the unwarrantable pretension of a right to inflict famine on a whole nation.

Before we proceed to an analysis of the article, let us review the prior situation of the parties. Great-Britain, it is known, had taken and acted upon the ground, that she had a right to stop and detain, on payment for them, provisions belonging to neutrals, going to the dominions of France. For this violent and impolitic measure, which the final opinion of mankind will certainly condemn, she found colour, in the sayings of some writers of reputation, on public laws.

A passage of this kind, from Vattel, has been more than once quoted, in these terms, "Commo-"dities, particularly used in war, and the im-"portation of which, to an enemy, is prohibited, "are called *contraband* goods. Such are military "and naval stores timber, horses, and *even pro-"visions in certain junctures, when there are hopes of "reducing the enemy by famine.*" Heineccius * countenances the same opinion, and even Grotius seems to lean towards it †.

The United States, with reason, disputed this construction of the law of nations! restraining the general propositions which appear to favour it, to those cases in which the chance of reducing by famine was *manifested* and *palpable*, such as the cases of particular places, *bona fide*, besieged, blockaded, or invested. The government accordingly remonstrated against the proceeding of Great-Britain, and made every effort against it which prudence, in the then posture of affairs, would permit. The order for seizing provisions, was, after a time, revoked.

In this state our envoy found the business, pending the very war in which Great-Britain had exercised the pretension, with the same administration which had done it, was it to have been expected that she would, in a treaty with us, even virtually or impliedly have acknowledged the injustice or impropriety of the conduct? Here was no escape, as in the instance of the order of the 6th of November, 1793, in the misconceptions of her officers. The question was to condemn a deliberate and unambiguous act of the administration itself. The pride, the reputation, and the interest of that administration forbade it.

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* Law of Nature and Nations. B. 2. c. 9. s. 291. Navibus ob vect.

† Book 3. chap. 1. and v. 3. chap. 1. and 10.

On our side, to admit the pretensions of Great Britain was still more impossible.—We had every inducement of character, right, and interest against it. What was the natural and only issue out of this embarrassment? Plainly, to leave the point unsettled; to get rid of it; to let it remain substantially where it was before the treaty. This, I have good ground to believe, was the real understanding of the two negociators; and the article has fulfilled that view.

After enumerating specifically what articles shall be deemed contraband, it proceeds thus, "And whereas the difficulty of *agreeing* on the "*precise cases*, in which alone *provisions* and *other* "*articles*, not generally contraband, may be re- "garded as such, renders it expedient to pro- "vide against the inconveniences and misunder- "standings which might thence arise: it is fur- "ther agreed, that whenever any such articles, "so becoming contraband *according to the laws of* "*nations*, shall, for that reason, be seized, the "same shall *not be confiscated*, but the owners "thereof shall be *speedily* and *completely indemnified*; "and the captors, or, in their default, the go- "vernment under whose authority they act, shall "pay to the masters or owners of such vessels, "the full value of all articles with a reasonable "mercantile profit thereon, together with the "freight and also the demurrage, incident to "such detention."

The difficulty of agreeing on the precise cases in which articles, not generally contraband, become so, from particular circumstances, is expressly assigned as the motive to the stipulation which follows. This excludes the supposition that any cases whatever were intended to be admitted or agreed. But this difficulty rendered it expedient to provide against the inconveniences and misunderstandings which might thence arise; a provision, with this view, is therefore made, which is that of liberal compensation for the articles taken—The evident intent of this provision is, that in *doubtful* cases, the inconveniences to the neutral party being obviated or lessened by compensation, there may be the less cause or temptation to controversy and rupture—the affair may be the more susceptible of negotiation and accommodation. More than this cannot be pretended; because it is further agreed, "that "whenever any such articles, so become con- "traband, *according to the existing laws of nations*, "shall, for that reason, be seized, the same shall "not be confiscated, but the owners thereof shall "be speedily and completely indemnified," &c.

Thus the *criterion* of the cases, in which articles, not generally contraband, may, from particular circumstances, become so, is expressly the *existing law of nations*; in other words, the law of nations at the time the transaction happens. When these laws pronounce them contraband, they may, for that reason, be seized; when otherwise, they may not be seized. Each party is as free as the other to decide whether the laws of nations do, in the given case, pronounce them contraband or not, and neither is obliged to be governed by the opinion of the other. If one party, on a false pretext of being authorized by the laws of nations, makes a seizure, the other is at full liberty to contest it, to appeal to those laws, and, if it thinks fit, to oppose, even to reprisals and war. This is the express tenour of the provision—there is nothing to the contrary; nothing that narrows the ground; nothing that warrants either party in making a seizure, which the laws of nations, independent of the treaty, permits; nothing which obliges either party to submit to one, when it is of opinion the law of nations has been violated by it.

But, as liberal compensation is to be made in every case of seizure, whereof difference of opinion happens, it will become a question of prudence and expediency, whether to be satisfied with the compensation, or to seek further redress. The provision will, in doubtful cases, render an accommodation of opinion the more easy, and, as a circumstance conducing to the preservation of peace, is a valuable ingredient in the treaty. A very different phraseology was to have been expected, if the intention had been, to leave each party at liberty to seize, agreeably to its own opinion of the law of nations, upon the condition of making compensation—The stipulation would thus have been: "It is agreed, that whenever "either of the contracting parties shall seize any "such articles so *becoming* contraband, and which "shall, for that reason, be seized;" this makes, not the opinion of either party, but the fact of the articles having *become* contraband by the laws of nations, the condition of the seizure.

A cavil has arisen on the term "*existing*," as if it had the effect of enabling one of the parties to make a law of nations for the occasion. But this is a mere cavil.

No one nation can make a law of nations; no positive regulation of one state, or of a partial nomination of states, can pretend to this character. A law of nations is a law which nature, agreement, or usage has established between nations; as this may vary from one period to another by agreement or usage, the article very properly uses the term "existing," to denote that law, which at the time the transaction may happen, shall be then the law of nations. This is a plain and obvious use of the term, which nothing but a spirit of misrepresentation could have perverted to a different meaning.

The argument against the foregoing construction is in substance this (viz.) it is now a settled doctrine of the law of nations, that provisions and other articles, not generally contraband, can only become so when going to a place besieged, blockaded, or invested—cases of this kind are fully provided for in a subsequent part of the article; the implication therefore is, that something more was intended to be embraced in the antecedent part.

Let us first examine the fact, whether all the cases of that kind are comprehended in the subsequent part of the article. I say they are not—the remaining clause of the article divides itself into two parts. The first describes the case of a vessel sailing for a port or place belonging to any enemy, without knowing that the same is either besieged, blockaded, or invested; and provides, that, in such case, the vessel may be turned away, but not detained, nor her cargo, if not contraband, confiscated, unless after notice she shall again attempt to enter: the second describes the case of a vessel, or goods, which had entered into such port or place before it was besieged, blockaded, or invested, and declares that the one or the other shall not be liable to confiscation, but shall be restored to the owners thereof. These are the only cases described or provided for. A third, which occurs on the slightest reflection, is not mentioned; the case of a vessel going to a

port or place which is besieged, blockaded, or invested, with notice of its being in that state when she commences her voyage, or previous to her receiving notice from the besieging, blockading, or investing party. This is left to the operation of the general law of nations, except so far as it may be affected in respect to compensation by the antecedent clause. Thus the fact, which is the foundation of the argument, fails, and with it, of course, the argument itself.

But had this been otherwise, the conclusion would still have been erroneous—the two clauses are entirely independent of each other, and though they might both contemplate the same cases in whole, or in part, they do it with an eye to very different purposes.

The object of the first is to lessen the danger of misunderstanding, by establishing this general rule, that wherever articles, not commonly contraband, become so from particular circumstances, according to the law of nations, they shall still not be confiscated, but, when seized, the owners of them shall be indemnified.

The object of the last is to regulate some special consequences with regard to vessels and goods going to, or which had previously gone to places besieged, blockaded, or invested; and in respect to which the dispositions of the laws of nations may have been deemed doubtful or too rigorous. Thus it is held, that the laws of nations permit the confiscation of ships and goods going to places besieged, blockaded, or invested; but this clause decides, that if going without notice, so far from being confiscated, they shall not even be detained, but shall be permitted to go whithersoever they please. If they persist after notice, then the contumacy shall be punished with confiscation. In both instances the consequence is entirely different from every thing in the antecedent clause.

There, there is seizure, with compensation. Here, in one instance, seizure is forbidden, and permission to go elsewhere is enjoined. In the other instances, the offending things are confiscated, which excludes the idea of compensation. Again, the last part of the last clause stipulates in the case, which it supposes, the restoration of the property to its owners, and so excludes both seizure and compensation. Hence it is apparent the objects of the two clauses are entirely foreign to each other, and that no argument nor inference whatever can be drawn from the one to the other.

If it be asked, what other cases there can be, except those of places besieged, blockaded, or invested? and if none other, what difficulty in defining them? why leave the point so vague and indeterminate? One answer, which indeed has already been given in substance, is, that the situation of one of the parties prevented an agreement at the time; that not being able to agree, they could not define; and the alternative was to avoid definition—The want of definition only argues want of agreement. It is strange logic to assert, that this or that is admitted, because nothing is defined.

Another answer is, that even if the parties had been agreed that there were no other cases than those of the besieged, blockaded, or invested places, still there would have remained much room for dispute about the precise cases, owing to the impracticability of defining what is a besieged, blockaded, or invested place. About this there has been frequent controversy; and the fact is so complicated, puts on such a variety of shapes, that no definition can well be devised, which will suit all. Thence nations, in their compacts with each other, frequently do not attempt one; and where the attempt has been made, it has left almost as much room for dispute about the definition as there was about the thing.

Moreover, is it impossible to conceive other cases than those mentioned above, in which provisions and other articles not generally contraband might, on rational grounds, be deemed so? What if they were going expressly, and with notice, to a besieging army, whereby it might obtain a supply essential to the success of its operations? Is there no doubt that it would be justifiable in such case to seize them? Can the liberty of trade be said to apply to any instance of direct and immediate aid to a military expedition? It would be at least a singular effect of the rule, if provisions could be carried without interruption for the supply of a Spanish army besieging Gibraltar, when, if destined for the supply of the garrison in that place, they might, of right, be seized by a Spanish fleet.

The calumniators of the article have not had the candour to notice that it is not confined to provisions, but speaks of provisions and other articles. Even this is an ingredient which combats the supposition that countenance was intended to be given to the pretension of Great Britain with regard to provisions, which, depending on a reason peculiar to itself, cannot be deemed to be supported by a clause including other articles, to which that reason is entirely inapplicable.

There is one more observation which has been made against this part of the article which may deserve a moment's attention. It is this, that though the true meaning of the clause, be such as I contend for, still the existence of it affords to Great Britain a pretext for abuse which she may improve to our disadvantage. I answer, it is difficult to guard against all the perversions of a contract which ill faith may suggest. But we have the same security against abuses of this sort, which we have against those of other kinds, namely, the right of judging for ourselves, and the power of causing our rights to be respected. We have this plain and decisive reply to make, to any uncandid construction which Great Britain may, at any time, endeavour to raise, "The article pointedly "and explicitly makes the existing law of nations, "the standard of the cases in which you may "rightfully seize provisions and other articles "not generally contraband. This law does not "authorize the seizure in the instance in ques- "tion; you have consequently no warrant under "the treaty for what you do."

The same disingenuous spirit which tinctures all the conduct of the adversaries of the treaty, has been hardy enough to impute to it the last order of Great Britain, to seize provisions going to the dominions of France.

Strange, that an order issued before the treaty had ever been considered in this country, and embracing the other neutral powers besides the United States, should be represented as the fruit of that instrument!* The appearances are, that a motive no less imperious than that of impending scarcity, has great share in dictating the measure, and time, I am persuaded, will prove that it

* As reasonable would it be to place to its account the similar order which was issued before the mission of an envoy was thought of.

will not ever be pretended to justify it by any thing in the treaty.

The course thus far pursued in the discussion of the 18th article, has inverted the order of it, as it stands in the treaty. It is composed of three clauses; the two last of which have been first examined—I thought it adviseable, in the outset, to dispose of an objection which has been the principal source of clamour.

The first clause of that which remains to be examined, enumerates the articles, which it is agreed, shall be deemed contraband of war. These are, "all arms, and implements serving for the pur- "pose of war, such as cannon, musquets, mor- "tars, petards, bombs, grenadoes, carcases, sau- "cisses, carriages for cannon, musquet-rests, ban- "doliers, gunpowder, match, saltpetre, balls, "pikes, swords, head-pieces, cuirasses, halberts, "lances, javelins, horse furniture, holsters, belts, "and generally all other implements of war; as "also timber for ship-building, tar, or rosin "copper in sheets, sails, hemp, and cordage, and "generally whatever may serve directly to the "equipment of vessels, unwrought iron and fir "planks only excepted."

All which articles are declared to be just objects of confiscation, when attempted to be carried to any enemy of either party.

It is well understood, that war abridges the liberty of trade of neutral nations; and that it is not lawful for them to supply either of two belligerent parties with any article deemed contraband of war; nor may they supply any article whatever to a place besieged, blockaded, or invested. The former case includes a special catalogue of articles which have an immediate reference to war—The latter extends to all kinds of goods and merchandize. The penalty in both cases is confiscation.

These positions have not been disputed. The only question which has been or can be raised, must respect the enumeration of the articles which are to be considered as contraband.

In comparing the enumeration in the present treaty, with that of our former treaties, we find the differences to be these. Our former treaties include "*horses*," and one of them "soldiers," which our present does not; but our present includes "timber for ship-building, tar or rosin, copper in "sheets, sails, hemp, and cordage, and generally "whatever may serve directly to the equipment "of vessels, unwrought iron, and fir planks only "excepted," which are not to be found in our former treaties.

It is alleged that the including of these articles is an extension of the list of contraband beyond the limit of the *modern* law of nations; in support of which allegation, it is affirmed, that they have been excluded by the uniform tenour of the treaties which have been formed for more than a century past.

Though this position will not, upon careful examination, appear correct; yet it is so far founded, as to claim an acknowledgment, that the article under consideration has, in this instance, pursued the *rigour* of the law of nations. It was to this, I alluded, when I observed that it contained one unpleasant ingredient.

It is a fact, that far the greater proportion of modern treaties exclude naval stores or articles for ship-building; yet this is not universally the case.

By the third article of the treaty of alliance and commerce between Great Britain and Denmark, in 1670, the parties agree "not to furnish the "enemies of each other with any provisions of "war, as soldiers, arms, engines, guns, ships, or "other necessaries for the use of war, nor to suf- "fer the same to be furnished by their subjects." An explanation of this article was made by a convention, dated the 4th of July, 1780, which, after enumerating as contraband, the usual catalogue of military implements, adds, in the precise terms of our article, "as also timber for ship-building, tar, "rosin, copper in sheets, sails, hemp, and cor- "dage, and generally whatever may serve directly "to the equipment of vessels, unwrought iron, "and fir planks only excepted."

In a series of treaties between Great Britain and Portugal, down to the year 1703, I do not discover that there has ever been a regulation of the articles which are to be treated as contraband, between these powers.

And between Sweden and Great Britain, the 11th article of a treaty, entered into in 1661 (and still in force unaltered, though a subsequent commercial treaty was made between those powers as late as 1776) subjects to confiscation equally all articles called *contraband*, and *especially money, provisions, &c.* The specification not being complete, naval stores are left upon the open ground of the law of nations; but money and provisions are superadded—This latitude would bear little doubt as to the intention to include naval stores*.

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* An opinion has been propagated that Sweden armed in concert with Denmark, in order to maintain the neutral right of carrying corn and flour to France, in opposition to the convention of March, 1793, between Great Britain and Russia; and that, in consequence of this proceeding, the remonstrances of these powers have proved more successful than we have been in obtaining satisfaction from Great Britain.

This opinion is, throughout, an error, made use of by those whose persevering aim has been, by silencing truth, reason, and moderation, and inflaming the angry passions of the community, to *involve* the country in anarchy and war.—The authors of this imposture, as well as the exalted patriots who have seen in the memorial of our envoy, the humiliation of our country, are referred to a "Collection of State Papers relative to the "War against France," published by Debret, in 1794. The perusal of the Swedish state papers, as well as the memorials of the able and prudent Bernstorff, may teach these gentlemen a little of what is deemed good manners on these occasions.

So far from even remonstrating, much less arming on account of the British instruction of June, 1793, when that order was notified at Stockholm, by the British resident there, the government of Sweden, by their resident at London, acknowledged, in terms too respectful to be repeated in the hearing of our exclusive patriots, that Sweden was perfectly satisfied with the instruction; since, instead of payment, which the order insured, all provisions, in virtue of an existing treaty between the two nations, were liable to confiscation when seized, on their way to an enemy.

This note is added for the purpose of refuting a popular error, and not to vindicate the instruction alluded to, which I consider as an injury to the rights of neutral nations, that has not been justified by the answers that have been given by Great Britain to the American and Danish memorials.

It appears from these specimens, that there is not a perfect uniformity in the conventions between nations; and that no purely positive law of nations can be deduced from that source.

If we call to our aid the principles of reason and natural justice, which are the great foundations of the law of nations, we shall not discover, in this instance, *data* as certain as could be wished, for a satisfactory conclusion; and the soundest determination, which we can adopt, will be, that beyond a certain point, the question is in a great degree arbitrary, and must depend materially upon conventional regulation between nation and nation.—Hence it is there is so great a diversity in the stipulations of different parties on this point; indicating that there is no absolute rule. Hence also it is, that several nations, at different times, being at war, have thought themselves authorized to regulate and announce, by public declarations, the article which they would consider and treat as contraband.

The opinion of writers will be found to support the article as it stands, in the particular, which is now the subject of discussion.

Vattel, we have before seen, (B.B.C. 3, 6, 7. s. 112) expressly ranks *naval stores* and *timber* under the denomination of contraband goods.

Hienecius (de navibus, &c. chap. i. S. 10, 11 and 14) accords in the same position to the extent of whatsoever appertains to to the equipment of vessels *.

Bynkerhoek is less explicit. After laying it down as the general rule that naval stores or the materials of ships are not contraband, he proceeds thus—"Yet it sometimes happens that the materials of ships may be prohibited, *if an enemy is "in great want of them, and without them cannot conveniently carry on the war*;" † and he afterwards cites, with approbation, several edicts or proclamations, which the states-general, in different wars with different nations, have published, declaring those articles contraband—thus referring it to the belligerent party to judge of, and pronounce the cases when they may rightfully be deemed so—And the same idea seems to have been adopted by *Grotius* ‡ and some other writers on public law—I have not met with one whose opinion excludes naval stores from the list of contraband.

Grotius, in discussing this question, divides goods into three classes, 1. Those which are of use only in war, as arms, &c. 2. Those which serve only for pleasure; 3. Those useful for peaceable as well as for warlike purposes, "as money, "*provisions*, ships, and *naval stores*"—concerning which he argues in substance, that the first class are clearly contraband; that the second class are clearly not contraband; and that the third class may or may not be so, according to the state and circumstances of the war; alleging, that *if necessary to our defence, they may be intercepted*, but upon condition of restitution, unless there be just cause to the contrary; which just cause is explained by the examples of sending them to a besieged, or blockaded place.

The reasoning about the third class has a very inconvenient latitude. It subjects the trade of neutral nations too extensively to the discretion of belligerent powers; and yet there is a serious embarrassment about drawing the true line, one which will duly conciliate the safety of the belligerent, with that of the neutral party.

What definition of contraband, consulting reason alone, shall we adopt? Shall we say, that none but articles peculiar to war ought to receive this denomination? But is even powder *exclusively applicable* to war? Are nitre and sulphur, its chief ingredients, *peculiar* to war? Are they not all useful for other purposes; some of them in medicine, and other important arts? Shall we say, that none but articles prepared and organized for war, as their primary object, ought to have that character? But what substantial difference can reason know, between the supply to our enemy of powder, and that of sulphur and saltpetre, the easily convertible materials of this mischievous compound?

How would either of these definitions, or any other, comport with what those of our treaties which are thought unexceptionable, in this particular, have regulated, or with what is common in the treaties between other nations? Under which of them shall we bring horses and their furniture?

If we say, that in wars by land, these are instruments little less important than men, and, for that reason, ought to be comprehended; it may be asked in return, what can be more necessary in wars by sea, than the materials of ships, and why should they not, for the like reasons, be equally comprehended?

In wars between maritime nations, who transfer its calamities from the land to the ocean, and wage their most furious conflicts on that element, whose dominions cannot be attacked or defended without a superiority in naval strength, who moreover possess distant territories, the protection and commercial advantages of which, depend upon the existence and support of navies, it is difficult to maintain, that it is against reason, or against those principles which regulate the description of contraband, to consider as such the materials which appertain to the construction and equipment of ships.

It is not a sufficient objection, that these articles are useful for other purposes, and especially for those of maritime commerce—Horses are of primary utility in agriculture; and it has been seen that there are other articles indisputably on the list of contraband, which are entirely within the principle of that objection.

Rutherforth, a sensible modern writer *, after truly observing, "that the notion of contraband "goods is of some latitude, so that it is not easy "precisely to determine what are and what are "not of this sort—that all *warlike stores* are cer-"tainly contraband, but that still the question "returns, what are to be reckoned warlike "stores?"—after noticing the division of articles by Grotius and the difficulties with regard to the third class—draws this conclusion, that, "where

* Vela, restes et si quæ alia ad apparatum nauticum pertinent.

† Quandoque tamen accidit ut et navium materia prohibeatur, si hostis ea quam maxime indigeat at absque ea commode bellum gerere haud possit —Quæstionum juris publici, l. 1. chap. x. page 80.

‡ B. iii. c. 1. v.

* Institutes of Natural Law, book ii. chap. x. xix.

"a war *is carried on by sea* as well as by land, not "only ships of war which are already built, but "the materials for building or repairing of ships "will come under the notion of *warlike stores*." This is a precise idea, and, it must be confessed, on principle, not an irrational one.

If we resort to the opinions which have been entertained and evidenced in our own country, they will be found to have given great extent to the idea of contraband—Congress, by an act of May the 8th, 1777, establishing the form of commissions for privateers, authorize them "to at- "tack, subdue, and take all ships and other ves- "sels whatever, carrying soldiers, arms, gunpow- "der, ammunition, *provisions*, or any other contra- "band goods, to any of the British armies or ships "of war, employed against the United States. And "in their act of the 27th of November, 1780, acce- "ding, in part, to the rule of the armed neutra- "lity, they declare, that contraband shall be "thereafter *confined* to the articles contained un- "der this character, in our treaty with France; "indicating, by this, their opinion that the list "of those articles is abridged by that treaty. If "the first-mentioned act was well founded (and "there are strong reasons for it) it establishes "that even provisions may be contraband, if "going directly to invading fleets and armies; "which affords an instance of their being so "(analogous to the case heretofore put of a be- "sieging army) in addition, to the cases of places "besieged, blockaded, or invested. And as to "naval stores, I assert a belief, that the common "opinion of those persons in this country, whose "contemplation had embraced the subject, in- "cluded them in the catalogue of contraband."

Nevertheless, from the number of modern treatties, which exclude from that list naval stores, and moreover from the manifest interest of nations, truly considered, to narrow the rights of war in favour of those of peace; this clause of the treaty, which takes a different route, is to be regretted as pursuing the rigour of the law of nations—Still, however, it cannot be objected to, as a departure from the law; and agreeing with the course observed by Great-Britain antecedent to the treaty, it does not place our trade in these articles upon a worse footing than it was, independent of the treaty.

The period of the negotiation was most unpropitious to a change for the better—in the midst of any maritime war, a belligerent nation, enjoying a naval superiority, was like to have been tenacious of a right which she supposed herself to possess to intercept naval supplies to her enemy—But in a war, in which it was more than ordinarily possible that the independent existence of a nation might depend on the retaining a naval superiority, it was to have been foreseen that she would not consent to relinquish such a right. The alternative was, to insert the article as it stands, or to omit it wholly.

Had it been omitted, the condition of naval stores would have been the same as with it. But our merchants would then have continued to be exposed to uncertain risks, which is always a great inconvenience. It is desirable, in similar cases, to have a fixed rule. Merchants can then accommodate their speculations to the rule; and causes of national contentions are avoided.

It is in this view to be regretted, that the cases when provisions may be treated as contraband, could not have been agreed upon; but as this was impracticable, the next best thing has been done, by establishing the certainty of compensation in all such cases. This gives one important species of security, obviates one source of contention. And if really there may be other cases than the universally admitted ones, in which provisions can fairly be deemed contraband (as that designated by the act of congress of May 1777) the securing of compensation was truly a point gained by the article.

But while I confess, that the including of naval stores, among contraband articles, is an inelligible feature of the treaty, I ought to declare, that its consequences to the interests of the United States, as it regards the trade in those articles in time of war, do not appear to me important—War between other nations, when we are at peace, will always increase the demand for our bottoms, so as to require much additional building of vessels, and probably in that way to produce a more beneficial species of employment of the naval stores our country affords, than that of their exportation for sale.

SLAVE TRADE.

After the rejection of the bill for the abolition of the slave trade by the late House of Commons, a fresh attempt was made to destroy that branch of the commerce of Great-Britain by another bill, which, under pretence of making further regulations in the mode of transporting the negroes across the *Atlantic*, would have so far increased their price, that the British planter must have been obliged to seek them from foreigners; but this attempt was also defeated.

Upon a supposition that the abolitionists would have succeeded in their endeavours to deprive the British merchants of this beneficial branch of commerce, the Americans not only purchased some of the *Liverpool* ships, employed in this traffic, but fitted out a considerable number of ships from the port of *Charles-Town*, in *South Carolina*, and ordered 200,000 gallons of *British* corn spirits, and other goods, to be purchased for assorting their cargoes.

To shew the gentlemen who, before their re-election to parliament, declared their intention to renew their attempts to abolish a trade, which their most successful efforts could only drive into the hands of foreigners, that such abolition is equally contrary to policy and religion, it has been thought proper to publish the substance of a letter, written to the Lord Bishop of Rochester at the time of its date; which, although his lordship has not thought worthy of his notice, may induce some other of those persons, who considered themselves as actuated by the motives of piety and virtue, to pause before they again prefer the theoretic devices of modern philosophers, to the precepts and laws of God, contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

It is to be observed, that the selling of the debtor and his family to satisfy the creditor, is a very ancient usage.—II. Kings, ch. 4. v. 1, 2.

Wimpole-Street, 15th March, 1796.

My Lord,

Your lordship's unremitted zeal in support of the endeavours of Mr. Wilberforce and the sectaries to abolish the slave trade, and the declaration lately made by your lordship, that the honour of the House of Lords was engaged to entertain the bill, now on its passage from the other House, occasions my giving you this trouble.

I think myself entitled to your lordship's pardon for thus addressing you, rather than in the more public mode of a newspaper or a pamphlet.

It will make me happy if I am able to convince you, that the attack made on the property and reputation of the West-India planters and African merchants, is not only contrary to honour and justice, but to the religion which I have the happiness, in common with your lordship, to profess.

I beg to recall to your lordship's recollection, that as the inquiry before the Lords of the Privy Council, and the examination before the Committee of the House of Commons, were not upon oath, no legal testimony has ever been given respecting the slave trade, the treatment of the negroes in the middle passage, or in the islands, until after the resolutions, which passed the House of Commons in 1792, were sent to the Lords for their concurrence; in consequence of which, witnesses have been examined upon oath at your lordship's bar.

The result of such examination has been a solemn proof, that none of the tales picked up by Mr. Clarkson, or any of the other stories invented or told, respecting the cruel treatment of the slaves in the West-Indies, the enormities committed by the persons transporting them across the Atlantic, and the manner of obtaining them in Africa, were true.

On the contrary, they have been proved to be false, scandalous, and founded in ignorance, mis-apprehension, self-interest, or malice.

Your lordship, by referring to that evidence, will learn, that the labour of the slaves in the sugar colonies is lighter than that of the British peasantry; and that they are better provided for, in sickness and in health, in infancy and in old age, than the labouring poor in any part of Europe.

From thence it also appears, that crimes are never imputed to individuals in Africa, in order to procure their condemnation to slavery.

That breaking up towns and villages by their princes for the same nefarious purposses, is absolutely false.

That kidnapping negroes is not practised or practicable from one end of Africa to the other.

That wars are never made for the purpose of procuring slaves, nor are excited by Europeans; for that wars, whenever and from whatever causes they arise, put a stop to the slave trade.

That the abolition would be equally injurious in its effects to the negroes in Africa, to those already in the colonies, to the planters, and to the merchants; to the widows, orphans, mortgagees, and other creditors of the merchants and planters, who have contracted engagements, under the sanction of numerous acts of parliament, by which this trade has been approved of, supported, and encouraged, for near two centuries.

When your lordship seriously considers this evidence, can it be possible you should vote the slave trade to be either inhuman or unjust?

Your lordship, in the highest court of judicature in the kingdom, sits in judgment upon property to the amount of seventy millions sterling, acquired and invested in the colonies under the sanction and encouragement of the legislature.

The evidence given to your lordship, you are bound—religiously bound, to judge by. Can your lordship consent to abolish a trade, which the moral as well as the common and statute law of the kingdom justifies, without a full and ample compensation to those persons whose fortunes must be ruined by such abolition?

I might, my Lord, call to your lordship's remembrance that it is not very long since your lordship's predecessors, bishops of Rochester, had many slaves attached to the estates of the church of that diocese.

Villenage would still be the law of the land, did any of the subjects of it exist; at least, I do not recollect any act of parliament by which it has been abolished; and, as far as any small portion of legal knowledge enables me to form an opinion, I am inclined to believe, that if there was any villain now in England, or any negro slave born on the estate of the person from whom he had run away, his master would be intitled to sue out the *writ de nativo de habendo*, by virtue whereof, he would be entitled to recover the possession of him. Upon this subject I take the liberty to refer your lordship to 1st institute, title Villenage, and 2d Blackstone, 96. Neither did Lord Mansfield, in the case of Somerset, deny the master's title to his negro's services.

Upon these principles my lord, I should have a right to claim your lordship's protection against passing a bill, the preamble of which declares the slave trade to be contrary to justice and humanity.

The planters have a right, my lord, upon every principle of law and justice, to carry on that trade, in order to be supplied with negroes to cultivate their lands; and the evidence upon their lordships' table shews how much humanity will be outraged, should it be abrogated: but, my lord, our cause does not rest solely on human laws. If the doctrine taught by your lordship, and the other prelates and ministers of the Christian church, be true, the slave trade is sanctioned by the divine law.

Your lordship has declared your unfeigned assent to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England. The 6th of these articles declares, the Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, and the 7th declares, the Old

Testament contains nothing contrary to the New.

The 13th Eliz. c. 12. sec. 2. enacts, "That if any person, ecclesiastical, shall advisedly maintain or affirm any doctrine repugnant to the articles of religion, and shall persist therein, such maintaining and persisting shall be just cause to deprive such person of his ecclesiastical promotions."

The 9th and 10th Will. III. c. 32. sec. 1. enacts, "That if any person, professing the Christian religion, shall deny the authority of the Holy Scriptures, of the Old or New Testament, they shall, upon conviction, for the first offence, be incapable to hold any office, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, or profit therefrom;" and, for the second offence, the penalties are still more severe.

That the sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament authorize a slave trade, your lordship dares not deny: nay, my lord, you must allow they do more. Under the law, the slave trade is in a manner commanded by God Almighty, and under the Gospel dispensation, the holding in slavery persons purchased as slaves, is not only mentioned by our blessed Saviour and his apostles, without censure or disapprobation, but rules are given by St. Paul and 1st Peter, how slaves ought to demean themselves to their masters.

Was I publishing this letter to the world, which I hope will not be necessary, I would cite at length the words of the most material of the texts by which a trade in slaves is authorized: to your lordship it will be sufficient to mark the passages, to recal them to your lordship's recollection; those in the Old Testament, Gen. c. ix. v. 25. (*a*) c. xii. v. 16. (*b*) c. xvii. v. 27. (*c*) c. xx. v. 14. (*d*) c. xxiv. v. 9, 10, 34, 35. (*e*) c. xxvi. v. 14. (*f*) c. xxx. v. 43. (*g*) c. xxxvii. v. 27, 28, 36. c. xxxix. v. 1. (*h*) c. xlvii. v. 18, 19, 21, 23. (*i*) Exod. xii. v. 43, 44, 45. (*k*) c. xx. v. 17. (*l*) c. xxi. v. 2, 3, 4, 7, 20, 21, 32. (*m*) Lev. c. xix. v. 20. (*n*) c. xxv. v. 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46.

When God, by the mouth of his prophet Moses, says, Lev. c. xxv. v. 44, 45, 46. "Both thy bond men and thy bond maids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen round about you; of them shall ye buy bond men and bond maids; moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families which shall be with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession: and ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bond men for ever." Will your lordship, or will any of the noble prelates who sit on the same bench with your lordship, say, that buying and selling slaves is unlawful? or venture to agree with the Commons, in asserting, that a trade so authorised and commanded by the Deity, is inhuman and unjust?

(*a*) "Cursed be Canaan. A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren."

(*b*) "And Pharaoh entreated Abram well for her (Sarah's) sake; and he had sheep and oxen, and men servants and maid servants and she asses and camels."

(*c*) "And all the men of his house, born in his house, and bought with money of the stranger."

(*d*) "And Abimelech took sheep and oxen, and men servants and maid servants, and gave them unto Abraham."

(*e*) Relates to the conduct of Abram's servant, who was sent to the city of Nahor.

(*f*) After God blessed Isaac, it is said, "he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of servants."

(*g*) "And the man (Jacob) increased exceedingly, and had much cattle, and maid servants and men servants, and camels and asses."

(*h*) "Come and let us sell him to the Ishmaelites; and there passed Midianites, merchantmen; and they sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver; and the Midianites sold him into Egypt, unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, and captain of the guard."

(*i*) "Buy *us* and our land for bread, &c."

(*k*) "This is the ordinance of the passover, there shall no stranger eat thereof; but every man's servant that is *bought for money*, after thou hast circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof; a foreigner, and an hired servant, shall not eat thereof."

(*l*) "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man servant, nor his maid servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's." "And if a man sell his daughter to be a maid servant, she shall not go out as the men servants do."—"And if a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall surely be punished; notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, *for he is his money*."

(*m*) "If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve, and on the seventh he shall go out free for nothing.—If he come in by himself, he shall go out by himself: if he were married, his wife shall go out with him. If his master hath given him a wife, and she have born him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself."—"If an ox used to push with his horn shall kill a free man, the owner of the ox shall be put to death; but if such ox shall push a man servant or a maid servant, he (the owner) shall give unto their owner thirty shekels of silver, and the ox shall be stoned."

(*n*) "And whosoever lyeth carnally with a woman that is a bond maid, betrothed to a husband, and not at all redeemed, or freedom given her, she shall be scourged: they shall not be put to death, because *she* was not free."

The New Testament equally bears testimony to the lawfulness of the slave trade, and the absolute authority of the lord over the servant—Matt. c. xviii. v. 23, 24, 25. (*o*) Consult also Epistle to the Eph. c. vi. v. 5. Col. c. iii. v. 22. Epistle to Tim. c. i. v. 1, 2, 3. Epistle to Tit. c. ii. v. 9. Epistle to Phil. 1 Pet. c. ii. v. 18. in all which places the slaves are exhorted to behave dutiful to their masters.

I need not to your lordship observe, that although the word δουλος, in the Greek sacred scripture, and the corresponding term in the Hebrew, are translated *servant*, they signify unconditional slaves, over whom the lord had the supreme authority, and the power of life and death; and in several passages those words are translated bond men and bond maids.

No such powers are exercised, or claimed by the owners of negroes in the colonies, where the authority of the planter is bounded by mild and humane laws; those formerly existing, which were imitated from the severe statutes of this country, having either become obsolete, or been repealed.

If the purchasing slaves be now inhuman and unjust, it must always have been so; and the keeping persons in slavery, so unjustly acquired, must have been equally so: and your lordship must either allow the purchase and possession of slaves to be consistent with the law of God (unless you can shew when that law was abrogated) or acknowledge that the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, saints, confessors, fathers, and bishops of the church of God, both under the law and the Gospel, who have purchased, sold, or possessed slaves (bond men and bond maids), have acted with cruelty, oppression, inhumanity, and injustice. Such an opinion would be directly contrary to those doctrines which your lordship teaches, and which you and Mr. Wilberforce profess to believe.

This notable discovery, of the inhumanity and injustice of the slave trade, has never been made until the present æra of anarchy and confusion, wherein impious men have presumed to set up their own ideas of humanity and justice (in contradiction to the laws of God) as the standard of perfection.

The pretences of such men to a superior degree of benevolence and philanthrophy, shall never prevail on me to consider or acknowledge a trade sanctioned by the laws of God and man for more than 4000 years, to be contrary to humanity and justice.

I hope I shall not incur your lordship's displeasure, in warning you against continuing your support to the philosophical, fanatical, and antiscriptural doctrines, of those who have endeavoured to overturn all government, law, and due subordination among mankind; and, on the ruins of religion, to establish fancied and fantastical notions of liberty, equality, and rights of man, alike inconsistent with the laws of nature, and the revealed will of God.

It may have hitherto escaped your lordship's attention, that the present attack on the property and reputation of the West-India planters, and the African merchants, originates from the same set of people who, one hundred and fifty years ago, voted peers and bishops to be useless. Do you think, my lord, these people to have so far changed their principles, as not to have as strong an inclination as formerly, "to bind kings in chains, and nobles in links of iron?" Can you, my Lord, suppose these people less capable of injuring your lordships than they were, in the middle of the last century, because they have for their allies the philosophers, the illuminers, the atheists, and the jacobins of France? What these people have been capable of, they have already shewn you; they have availed themselves of the mistaken zeal of Mr. Wilberforce, the humane society in the Old Jewry, and their missionary, the Rev. Mr. Clarkson, in preaching the doctrines of liberty and equality to the negroes.

Under pretence of abolishing slavery, and the slave trade, they have not only been the means of spreading ruin and desolation throughout the French West-India colonies, and in some of those belonging to Great-Britain (*St. Vincent's* and *Grenada*), inhabited by Frenchmen; but also of abolishing the Christian religion; imprisoning, banishing, or murdering nobles, bishops, and priests; and, as heretofore, of converting churches, and other buildings dedicated to religion, into arsenals, stables, and slaughter-houses; while the rents, revennes, and tythes of peers, bishops, and priests, have been the reward of the spoilers.

My Lord, the principal means whereby the anarchists of France have been enabled to effect their dreadful, rebellious, and anti-christian purposes, were by encouraging a disbelief of the sacred Scriptures, and revealed religion. Will the setting at naught and slighting the authority of the Scriptures (which are a strong support of our claim of right to buy slaves), strengthen that belief in them, which is the best and surest foundation on which the title of your lordships to the respect of the laity is built?

Will the acknowledgment of your lordship, that the scriptures you preach to us, which authorize, and in a manner command, the purchase of slaves, are not to be believed, or are unworthy our attention, reconcile us to the payment of the sums of money received by the clergy for employing themselves in expounding them to us; at the same time that, in the instance before us, we find them considered by

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(*o*) Matt. xviii. v. 23, 24, 25. "Therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a king who would take account of his servants, and one was brought unto him who owed him 1000 talents; but, forasmuch as he had not to pay, his lord commanded him to be sold, and his *wife* and *children*, and all that he had, and payment to be made."—That the selling of the children of the debtor, for the payment of his debts, under the Jewish law, is evident from 2 Kings, c. iv. v. 1. & seq.

you as contrary to humanity and justice, what you (but I hope no other of the prelates of the church of England) shew us, you have no reliance on or belief in; for if once we are taught that any part of the commands of God are to be explained away (the 10th commandment, for instance, which forbids men to covet the man servant and the maid servant of their neighbour), what regard will men pay to the other part of that or any other of those commandments?

If, my lords the bishops and the clergy claim the revenues and tythes they possess from Scripture, their right is certainly less positively and clearly ascertained than that of the merchant and planter to purchase, sell, and possess slaves; and if the title of both rests solely on acts of parliament, the superiority of the claim of the latter is equally clear;* consequently, if we are to be deprived of our property without compensation, a property the legislature has invited and encouraged us to purchase and improve by industry and diligence, at the risk of our fortunes, the pleasures of society, our healths, and our lives; because it is just now discovered, contrary to Scripture and the wisdom of ages, that it is unjust and inhuman to purchase slaves; will not the same argument be with more reason employed to deprive the clergy of every thing they possess?

The same people, who have raised the present outcry against slavery and the slave trade, have heretofore agreed in the present sentiments of those in France, who have found out, among other of their new discoveries, that there is great inhumanity and injustice in exacting the tythe of the produce of his industry from the farmer, and that there is the same in suffering the revenues of the superior clergy to be diverted from the service of the state, and the maintenance of the poor. In vain, my lord, would you plead acts of parliament in justification of your rights. Humanity and justice will be urged against you. If they have, in your lordship's judgment, been sufficient pleas to justify the repeal of the acts of parliament, under which we supposed our property was secured to us, the precedent will have been made by your lordship; and with what face can you oppose the repeal of those acts which are your only title.

I take the liberty, my lord, to beg your acceptance and perusal of the pamphlets which my servant brings you with this letter, which shew more at large the lawfulness and expediency of that trade, now attempted to be destroyed.

I have a right to call on you, my Lord, as a judge of a cause, in the decision of which my property is involved, to hear and read all that be urged in the defence of it.

If your lordship duly attends to the evidence and pleadings before you, it is impossible you should consent to the preamble of the bill about to be sent you, which, should it never pass into a law, holds up the West-India planters, and the merchants of the kingdom, to the detestation and abhorrence of their countrymen, as persons supporting a traffic contrary to humanity and justice, although such an assertion arraigns the wisdom and goodness of that Deity who authorised it, and by means whereof he was heretofore pleased to preserve a great and powerful nation, and the ancestors of his chosen people, from famine and destruction; and the abolition of which will most certainly involve the fortunes of the West-India planters and merchants, and, in all human probability, the greater part of the commerce, navigation, and manufactures of Great-Britain, in one common ruin.

I have the honour to be, with respect,

My Lord,

Your lordship's most obedient servant.

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* To encourage the planter—15 Car. II. c. 7. 22, 23. c. 2. ch. 26.—7 and 8 W. III. c. 22.—9 and 10 W. III. c. 23.—3 and 4 Anne, c. 10.—6 Anne, c. 30.—6 Geo. II. c. 30.—27 Geo. 3. c. 27.—To protect and encourage the trade to Africa, Procl. 1662, 1672, 9 and 10 W. III. c. 26.—13 G. I. 23 G. II.—5 G. III. c. 44—7 G. III.—23 G. III.—27 G. III. To enable the planters to borrow money to improve their estates, 5 G. II. c. 7.—13 G. III. c. 14.—14 G. III, c. 79.

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*Essay on the Means of recruiting the British Army.**

Few evils are more generally or justly complained of by the reflecting part of the British army, than the difficulty with which it is recruited, and the innumerable inconveniencies which arise at the commencement of a war from the necessity of seeking soldiers from the refuse of society.

Having no particular description of people to whom the country can apply for immediate external exertion against an enemy, we are too frequently, if not always, obliged to rely for our levies on the shameful *finesses* of crimps and recruiting serjeants, whose exertions operating chiefly on the thoughtless and abandoned, destroy that respect which both policy and principle should attach to the defenders of their country.

In this age of apathy when the enlighteners of mankind, as they have termed themselves, have endeavoured to destroy those enthusiastic principles of loyalty and patriotism, which are the vitals of a government, and to extend their frigid principles through all ranks; every attempt to restore to the lower classes, those noble ideas of the duty and honour of stepping forward when the country requires their services, may by some be deemed romantic, but as every description of the inhabitants of Great-Britain have recently proved,†

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* This essay is the production of a gentleman, who was lately in the Royal Fuzileers. It was written in the year 1800.

† The numerous volunteer corps and associations amply prove it.

that the wild arguments of our modern philosophers have destroyed no portion of their public spirit; we may hope it is possible to inculcate the duty of more extensive services than that of arming only in moments of most imminent danger for the defence of their own doors.

It is neither the province nor the intention of the author of these pages, to enter into any disquisition on the expediency of carrying our arms abroad to prevent incursions at home, but as the necessity of a standing army is a point the most factious have ceased to dispute, it surely must be the wish of every one of his Majesty's subjects that we should have one worthy of the dignity of the British crown, worthy of a nation which with much propriety may be termed the chief bulwark of religion and civil society in Europe.

I am aware it will be objected that our insular situation renders such an army unnecessary, and the usual declamations against continental connexions may be opposed to the proposal; were my abilities competent to the discussion of this question, it would lead me too far from the subject, to attempt it. It is sufficient to observe, that, although this opinion has met with numerous supporters in every war in which we have been engaged since our navy first established its character, it has been practised in none, may it not thererore be inferred, that Great-Britain is so necessarily involved in the grand scheme of European politics, that its rulers are obliged in some measure to conform to the general plan, and to avail themselves of the same means, offensive and defensive, which are exerted against its interests, if not immediately against its territories.

It is the lot of humanity that singular and great advantages should have some attendant inconveniences. Of this our glorious constitution presents a proof; the privileges and immunities possessed by the inhabitants of Great-Britain, which the subjects of other nations do not enjoy, prevent their military services being commanded, and however popular a war may be, it will doubtless be admitted that the voluntary inlistment of individuals never allows us to bring an army into the field with so much expedition as those nations whose governments are more arbitrary.

As the greater and more permanent advantage cannot be sacrificed to that which is temporary and inferior, some credit would be due to him who could devise an efficacious plan for the enjoyment of both.

Of its efficacy or practicability, the author of the following scheme is probably too partial a judge; he therefore submits it to the knowledge, experience, and judgment of those who will honour it with a perusal.

As no nation is more eminently conspicuous for the courage and patriotism of its inhabitants than Great-Britain, it would appear a natural inference, that whenever the country found it necessary to arm, its subjects would flock round its standards. That this is not the case to the extent that might be wished, will not, I imagine, be disputed, and various are the reasons assigned for the reluctance with which our countrymen become soldiers. The prejudice against a standing army among a people jealous of their liberties, is said to render the profession unpopular, and this, it is admitted, formerly operated most powerfully. But custom, which reconciles every thing, has weakened, if not obliterated this prejudice. A standing army has now been so long incorporated in our constitution, that it has ceased to be viewed with terror, and its dismissal in times of profound peace, situated as Europe now is, so far from gratifying, would occasion universal alarm and discontent; we may therefore conclude the recruiting service is but little affected by the jealousies of the people.

It has also been observed, that a military spirit seldom prevails in a commercial country, if the general observation is to be admitted as a truth, Great-Britain may, I think be adduced as an exception, the superiority of her navy over every other maritime power, and the spirit manifested by her inhabitants when the country was lately threatened with invasion amply prove the possession of it.

How then are we to account for this apparent inconsistency, that the inhabitants of a country who possess both valour and patriotism, should be unwilling to arm in its cause, certainly appears enigmatical; a very little reflection, however, will explain the enigma.*

The ideas of freedom and independence, which are so early instilled into the breasts of the British peasantry, render them averse to the necessary restraint of military discipline, and though zeal for the service of their king and country might induce them to subject themselves to it, they pause at the idea of deciding in one moment their lot for life, of renouncing for ever those privileges they have been taught to hold so dear, and revolt at the recollection, that the moment they step forward to support, at the hazard of their lives, the constitution of their country, they eternally exclude themselves from the enjoyment of its blessings.

To the impolicy of inlisting for life, therefore, may chiefly be attributed the difficulty of recruiting our armies. It is not my intention to write a philanthropic essay on the injustice of this practice, those who are acquainted with the modes usually adopted to obtain recruits, will admit, if it is not unjust, it is certainly the *extreme* of justice, to oblige men to abide for ever by the decision of a moment, and that probably a moment of intoxication.†

In the prejudice against the army to which I just alluded, this evil I imagine originated, when the profession of a soldier was unpopular, government of course found it difficult to obtain them, and having once obtained, were unwilling again to subject themselves to the difficulty, and therefore retained the man in the service during life—as the cause is now abated, we may hope the effect will be likewise diminished.

But concurring in the opinion, that the man who points out the defects of an institution, without suggesting a remedy, injures rather than benefits society, I would propose as a remedy for the evil I have complained of, that every soldier inlisted in time of peace should engage to serve the seven following years, and in case of a war breaking out in that period, should remain in the service during its continuance, and for one year afterwards—he should then receive a qualified discharge, stating that the bearer *is* a soldier, has served his Majesty for seven years, and holds himself bound to return to the service should

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* I am at present speaking of war, which the majority of the country appear to think just and honourable.

† Every recruit by law must be inlisted 24 hours before his attestation, though this may be *always* complied with, the man is not *always* allowed much time for sober reflection in that interval.

he be required, whenever the country is involved in war; and I would have him remain under this obligation for twenty years from the date of his first inlistment. Such is the outline of the plan, by the adoption of which, the recruit who found himself dissatisfied with his situation, instead of meditating desertion as the only means of freeing himself from the chains he thought galling, would look forward to the day of his discharge, and remembering his hardships were but temporary, would first resolve to endure, and very soon cease to think them so. Desertion is rare among old soldiers, and the reason of its occurring so frequently among recruits is very obvious. A raw lad, totally unacquainted with the life of a soldier, joins a regiment where the restraints of military discipline soon become irksome, the repeated drilling, parading, &c. disgust him, and seeing no prospect of a change of situation, attempts desertion before he has allowed himself time to become reconciled to the service; but as every deserter when apprehended should invariably remain in the service during life, this crime would, I think, be rendered much less frequent, the recruit who is now tempted to desert lest he should always remain a soldier, would thus be restrained by the very motive which formerly induced him.* The soldier inlisted on these terms would feel himself more on a footing with his fellow subjects, and an army raised on this plan would be perfectly consonant to the principles of the constitution; it would be an army of the country, an army increasing by every man it discharged, as no man in time of peace should be retained in actual employment after the expiration of his time although he might wish it,† provided a recruit could be obtained in his place.

We should thus, without increasing the expense of our establishment, continue in peace to recruit our armies for war. The bounty would certainly be small, and instead of expending immense sums to procure an army of weavers, it would only be necessary to issue a proclamation‡ at the commencement of a war, commanding all soldiers to join their regiments §. Money now expended in obtaining would be reserved to maintain an army, and we should take the field with old soldiers instead of raw recruits.*

It would be necessary that a return of the men thus discharged should regularly be made to the War Office, giving an account of their place of abode or parish, where they shall be bound under the penalties of desertion to present or account for themselves once a year to some appointed person; a roll of them should be lodged at the Adjutant-Generals, either by districts or regiments, and it would be no bad addition to the plan, were such proportion of them, as his Majesty should think fit, ordered every year to join the regular regiments doing duty in Great-Britain and Ireland for one month between seed time and harvest.

As an encouragement to recruits, and to render the service more respectable, some privileges in society might be granted to men who had thus served the country, particularly to those who on their discharge should receive a certificate from some respectable board appointed for that purpose, that their conduct had been loyal, faithful, and respectable; an exemption from those duties usually disliked by the lower classes, serving as constables, on juries, &c. the freedom of particular towns or boroughs might be conferred on them, and various other expedients which men of more knowledge may devise.

This measure does not appear unconstitutional, and it is certainly just, that the subject who steps forward when the country requires him, should possess some few advantages over those who consult their individual comfort and remain inactive; by this means the profession of a soldier would acquire a degree of respectability among the common people, and might induce that class, from whom the service once derived so much benefit, again to enter it. I allude to the sons of our yeomanry, who formerly supplied us with non-commissioned officers, but of late years they have entirely declined† the army, and their loss has been most materially felt.

It may be objected that these privileges would tend to excite jealousy, and that the people of England, priding themselves on their freedom, have so long been accustomed to look on a soldier as a man debarred those privileges they so justly value, would be indignant at seeing him thus raised above them; but when we recollect that this man is at the time their fellow subject, enjoying every privilege with themselves, totally independent of all military jurisdiction, and can only be called into the service by a war, when recommencing soldier, those privileges are for the time suspended, the two situations differ so widely, that no inference can be drawn against the soldier I propose, from the ideas the people entertain of the soldiery at present.

A little adroitness on the part of government would perhaps give the popular opinion a different turn, and it might become the boast of the British

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* The article of war ought to express, that any soldier convicted of desertion should suffer death, or be sentenced to serve during life wherever his Majesty should direct, and to receive such other punishment, &c. If sentenced death, and pardoned, still perpetual service should follow.

† This rule would admit of some exceptions.

‡ It is true this has the appearance of empowering the crown to raise an army without the consent of parliament, but I am supposing it an army (out of pay) already established by act of parliament.

§ But may there not be a difficulty in effecting this; may not the men who have remained so long out of the service be unwilling to return and endeavour to secrete themselves, or abscond into other counties; that this would be the case with some I have little doubt, but if this objection is supposed to render the plan impracticable, it might be urged with equal justice, that it is impossible to retain an army in our service because men will desert. The king has, I should imagine, 100,000 soldiers now in pay, the country might therefore supply 60,000 men of this description, and should a quarter, an immense proportion, conceal themselves, we should still commence a war with 45,000 soldiers more than our peace establishment.

* The expense would be comparatively trifling; it would be necessary to allow some small bounty on their return, not only to encourage, but to provide them with necessaries. The sum (one guinea) formerly given to soldiers on draughting them, would probably be sufficient.

† Although the yeomanry are not so numerous in England as formerly, there is still a better sort among the commonality, whose services would be very useful could they be induced to enter the army.

peasant, that he had served his five years *, should this idea ever prevail, our armies would reap an incalculable advantage from it, the manufacturing towns would no longer be our only resource, a greater proportion of the peasantry would enter the service, and as their constitutions are more robust, and their lives less dissipated than the lower classes in the great towns, it is obvious how much we should gain by such a change.

That many of the advantages I have suggested might be derived from the adoption of this plan, may be fairly inferred from the ease with which fencible and temporary corps are recruited, at times when the regiments of the line can scarcely procure a man for three times the bounty, and that this is not altogether owing to a disinclination to quit the country is proved by the numerous volunteers from the militia under Mr. Dundas's bill on the late expedition to Holland: that the dread of the West-Indies † may operate against the recruiting service I admit, and it is to be hoped government will find some method, by which our armies may be less exposed to the baneful effects of those pestilental islands, by garrisoning them in peace with colonial regiments; in war it becomes necessary they should be defended with the force of our own country, and we can only lament it, as adding to its horrors.

Should this proposal meet with approbation, no time can be more proper than the present for carrying it into execution, a military spirit is now widely diffused through the country, and the principles of a vast majority of the inhabitants of Great-Britain are most decidedly loyal; in the event of a peace with the present government of France any great reduction of our military force would surely be imprudent, and the expense of retaining an immense army in pay after hostilities had ceased would be extremely burthensome; what plan then can be followed which would relieve the country from the burthen, and secure to it the advantage of an army, by discharging the supernumerary soldiers of the regular regiments who had enlisted for life on the terms here proposed, and by giving a small bounty to as many of the fencible infantry and cavalry § as would complete the number required, to inlist on the same terms, an army might, I imagine, be secured without the expense of maintaining it. In the first instance, government certainly might grant a soldier who had engaged to serve during life his discharge on those comparatively easy conditions; and a small bounty would probably induce men, already soldiers, to enter into an engagement, where they would receive an immediate recompense for a distant and uncertain sacrifice (if such they should esteem it). I believe it will be admitted that, was Great-Britain to reduce her armies to the peace establishment, and the war should be renewed in two years, it would require a greater sum to procure an army equal in numbers to the one she now pays, than would have been saved by the reduction in that time, this expense would not only be prevented, but the expedients so injurious to the service of allowing private individuals to raise regiments, and conferring high rank on men who were never before in the army merely to obtain their influence in recruiting it, would be rendered unnecessary, we should then have but two descriptions of soldiers, the regulars and the militia, and the latter should positively be formed from their own counties. ‖

To render this plan more efficient it would be necessary, instead of reducing the number of regiments, as was the case at the expiration of the last war, to reduce their strength only; that the soldiery, when ordered to join, may be incorporated in corps in which internal economy already exists, where the commanding, staff, and non-commissioned officers are known to each other, and system and discipline are established. Little or no confusion will be occasioned by doubling the strength of the companies; and few will dispute, that if the most intelligent officers are appointed to a newly formed regiment, they cannot, in many months, introduce the same order and regularity which prevailed in old corps, commanded by men even of inferior abilities. Another most important consideration is the very observable difference of health in old and new regiments. Where attention is habitually paid to the comfort of the soldier, regular meals, immediate supply of those articles of clothing which may be wanted, necessary regulations established for the hospital, &c. we seldom find the recruits become sickly, but young regiments have all these arrangements to make, they are not the work of a day, and however active the officers may be, the men suffer before they can be put in execution.

Every old officer in the service will bear witness to the truth of this observation, for which I claim no merit—it is of too old a date. I may here add, that I pretend little to the merit of originality in the whole proposal: something similar prevails in Prussia, our own militia is in some measure formed on this principle, and inlisting for life has frequently been inveighed against.

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* Those who may ridicule this idea should recollect this sentiment once prevailed very strongly in France, and though the inhabitants of that country were then remarkable for their attachment to their sovereigns, I am unwilling to believe they possessed a greater portion of true loyalty and patriotism than the people of Great-Britain now do.

† As the defence of these islands can never be totally committed to colonial regiments, it is worthy of consideration whether it would not be adviseable to raise a British army for the service of that country exclusively, the men to be engaged for ten years, and such as voluntarily remain twenty to receive a pension for life, as a still greater encouragement the subaltern officers to be always taken from the ranks, two very beneficial effects would result from this, enterprizing young men would be induced to enter that army by the hopes of promotion, and that useful body of officers who being most exposed, have, perhaps, suffered more in that country than the higher ranks would be inured to the climate, and of course be more serviceable. The captains and other officers to be taken from the army at large, which would secure the connexion of those troops with the mother country, and the regiments might be removed from island to island often enough to prevent any danger from local attachments.

§ This mode of recruiting is, of course, intended to extend to the cavalry, though, perhaps it may be necessary to fix their time of service at nine instead of seven years.

‖ It is a fact that some of the militia regiments send recruiting parties to manufacturing towns at great distance from their own counties, this is not only interfering with the army, but is unconstitutional and subversive of the principles on which the militia are formed.

My object is to extend to a free country an advantage hitherto exclusively enjoyed by arbitrary governments. To accomplish it I have been induced to hazard this proposal, and should it be found deficient, I trust candour will attribute the attempt to zeal rather than presumption.*

On the political Balance of Europe.

While Europe was governed by those principles of justice and equity which form the basis of social order, the nations which constituted this great political association could rely with confidence on the faith of treaties which acknowledged their independence, and credit with security the mutual guaranty of compacts which established their union. The repose of some was occasionally disturbed by war; but the general order was not thereby effected; the relations which connected them with the rest continued the same, and the reconciliation of the belligerent powers bound them more closely to the great political body.

Some elements there are which, at first view, appear destined by their natures for endless opposition or mutual destruction, but, more minute observation has discovered that on the union of these depend the preservation of man, and the existence of the globe. Like these, the nations of Europe would long since have destroyed each other by the excess of their ambition and the violence of their contests, if the wisdom of our fathers had not united them by reciprocal agreements, which as members of the same family, all were called by their general and common interests, to execute. From this union has resulted that judicious equilibrium which has existed for ages, and which is termed with great propriety, The Political Balance of Europe.

But now all is changed. This ancient and venerable social edifice which was reared with so much care lies buried in ruins. The continental powers, by their treaties with France, have surrendered their independence; and England, by the conclusion of the definitive peace is about to fix the last seal to the total subjection of Europe. That quarter of the world, instead of independent powers whose union would have ensured their existence and secured their liberty, will hereafter present to our view only France and her provinces, which, for the present, remain under the government of kings and emperors, possessing no other authority than that of prefects of the French republic. Such is the condition to which we are reduced, after twelve years of errors and of crimes, by the pusillanimity of some and the blindness of others, and more by the universal dereliction of sound principles by all.

I am not ignorant, that for many years, it has been the constant endeavour of some to propagate an opinion that no political equilibrium ever existed among those powers. The balance of Europe, which wise statesmen and learned politicians have always regarded as the keystone of the arch that supports the great fabric of political order, is now treated with contempt and ridiculed as a chimera. This opinion has, unfortunately, found many partisans. The support it has received from men eminent in rank, has in no mean degree contributed to its success. But, before I proceed to the refutation of an opinion so dangerous and destructive in its consequences, I am led to make this sad reflection: that those who, with dogmatic assurance declare that the balance of Europe is but a chimera, are equally disposed to regard as chimerical, not only the distinguishing characteristic of a people, but national honour and even patriotism itself. It is true that these words, abstractedly considered have no great force, but, they have, nevertheless, had more influence upon mankind than considerations of private interest. This observation, which is easily verified by a knowledge of the characters of these visionary innovators, proves that the revolution is not confined to things, but has extended even to the heart.

The first who denied the maintenance of a political equilibrium were the authors of the French revolution. The establishment of this principle was necessary to induce those whom they wished to conquer, to believe, that from other powers, no aid was to be hoped, and no assistance expected. Unfortunately they have succeeded, and this belief has even found its way into cabinets.

The innovating demagogues of the day adduce the recent conduct of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, towards Poland to support their opinion that the great powers, instead of protecting the weak, sought only to destroy them, and instead of securing their existence, plundered them of their dominions. It must be confessed that the odium they cast on these nations is but too just. We cannot but deplore the blindness of those ministers who advised the infamous partition of that unfortunate country; and it might not be difficult to prove this iniquitous act, to have been one of the principal causes of the actual misfortunes of Europe. The day may yet arrive when those who were concerned in this guilty proceeding will have cause to sigh at the recollection of former errors, and repent, when it is too late, the commission of former crimes.

If, instead of leaguing to wrest the sceptre from an amiable monarch, and plunder him of territories he was unable to defend, the powers of the North had united to crush the lawless force of republican France, and restore the unfortunate Lewis to the throne of his ancestors, Prussia would have been spared the shame of being the first to embrace the revolutionary tyrants; Austria the disgrace of accepting from regicides the dominions of a former ally; Russia the reproach of treacherously abandoning the kings of Naples and Sardinia; England the dis-

* In the statement of this plan I have endeavoured to be as brief as was consistent with perspicuity. It is of course but an outline: should it be so far favoured as to be taken into consideration, there are many necessary modifications and arrangements I could mention, which at present it would be useless to insert.

honour of aggrandizing her mortal enemy at the expense of her ancient confederates; in a word, all Europe would not have been reduced to the deplorable humiliation of rendering homage to successful villainy, and existing dependent on the caprice of the factious chiefs of the republic.

But without tearing away the veil which conceals so many horrors, let us content ourselves with pointing out the evils which others must remedy. It will be sufficient for us to make it appear, that the eagerness, with which those Northern plunderers seized upon that moment, for the commission of their base robbery, in which the King of France, held in captivity by his rebellious subjects, was unable to oppose them, is a convincing proof that the balance of power was then destroyed.

It is notorious that Russia had long formed the project of despoiling Poland of her territories, but dreading the opposition of Prussia and Austria, she resolved to associate them in her enterprise by proposing a division of the spoil. Even this proposal, which promised so many advantages, failed to attach her jealous neighbours, who doubted not that France would instantly and formally oppose them. Austria particularly knew that she would be the first victim in the immediate loss of Belgium. Thus Poland saw himself defended on the one side, by Prussia and Austria, against the invasion of Russia, and protected by France on the other, against the united enterprises of the whole.

It is then evident, that previous to the revolution, a balance really existed among the powers of Europe; that they were bound together, not by a general and positive treaty, but by reciprocal engagements contracted by mutual wants, and by a tacit convention strengthened by interest and supported by honour. As an evidence of the necessity of this balance, and the wretched consequences of its destruction, I have cited the example of Poland; and have dilated on the events of that fatal partition, because they happened under our own observation, and will, therefore, be more impressive than those drawn from history.

In vindication of the peace, it is pretended by some that a balance of power still exists, strengthened by the wealth and territory which Russia, Austria, and Prussia, have gained by the division of Poland, and the recent conquest of the Crimea, &c. An examination of the respective advantages of all their acquisitions for thirty years, would, however, immediately convince us that they are by no means equal to those of France, since the revolution; but without entering into a detail, I will content myself with one observation.

Notwithstanding the increase of power derived by these nations from the dismemberment of Poland, which was effected without the loss of a single man or a single shilling, France, although torn by the most horrid anarchy, and opposed by all Europe, has extended her victorious arms wheresoever ambition prompted, or revenge directed, and has even dictated to her humiliated foes, the terms of their existence. Where then, I ask, is this pretended balance? Is it reasonable to suppose that those states which were formerly unable to oppose France, will be able to resist the execution of her destructive projects when conquest has doubled her power, and when commerce, which she now has the means of extending, shall have doubled her wealth.

In the Porcupine of 18th December last, appeared a letter "On the Balance of Power," under the signature of Philanglus, in which the author endeavours to persuade us, that the security and prosperity of England are totally independent of the balance of European power, and that her safety is in no wise endangered by the recent aggrandisement of France.

We must refer to the treaty of 1648, says this author, for the origin and foundation of the balance of Europe. At this period, he observes, the principal powers were the House of Austria, one branch of which held Spain and the Netherlands, and another, the fairest portion of Germany; Holland, a wealthy and formidable republic; France, to whom were ceded the three bishoprics of Mentz, Toul, and Verdeen, the Landgraviate of Alsace and Brisac, with all its dependencies; and Great Britain, who was too much occupied with domestic calamities to interfere in the general politics of Europe. Prussia was then but a petty electorate, and Russia had not emerged from barbarism. After this statement of the situation of Europe, we are furnished with an account of the conquests and acquisitions of France during the reign of Louis the fourteenth. This monarch, by the conclusion of the Pyrenean treaty in 1659, not only acquired several places in Flanders, and Luxemburg, but the greatest part of Artois, Landrecy, and Quesnoy in Hainault; the Duchy of Bar, and other places in Lorrain and Roussillon. In 1662, he purchased Dunkirk from Charles II. of England, and by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, made in 1668, at the termination of another contest with Spain, he acquired Tournay, Lisle, Courtray, Oudenard, Aeth, Charleroy, and Douay. In 1768, Charleroy, Binch, Aeth, Oudenard, and Courtray, were restored to Spain; and France was indemnified by the cession of Valenciennes, Bouchain, Condé, Cambray, the remainder of Artois, and the whole of Burgundy and Franch-Comté.

The author then remarks, that while Louis XIV. was advancing with gigantic strides to the establishment of an universal monarchy, this country, either viewed with indifference or promoted with zeal, the attempts of her ambitious neighbour to subjugate the continent. He wishes to establish it as a principle, that experience ought to be a lesson for the future, and that by an investigation of the past, we may anticipate what will hereafter occur. The natural consequence resulting from this observation is, that as the independence and prosperity of England were not affected by the great conquests of France under Louis XIV. she can now have nothing to fear from the aggrandizement of the French republic.

But there are two causes which seem entirely to have escaped the observation of Philanglus, why Great Britain did not interfere in the affairs of Europe, previous to the year 1678. These, an attentive observer will immediately perceive to be the intestine dissensions of England, and the nature of her enemy's conquests. France, at that period, had not gained a single port, nor even a league of sea coast, but confined her conquests to the extension of territory in the interior of the continent. Now she possesses, either directly or indirectly, all the coast and ports of Holland. The Low Countries and Italy, by which she will acquire so many advantages for trade, as will, in a short time, render her as powerful by sea as she is formidable by land. Such an event, by destroying the commerce of England, would necessarily produce her immediate ruin, and would probably terminate in rendering her a tributary colony of the republic. All the security she now has, as it regards France, resembles that of a man who built on the brink of a volcano, with the hope that there would never be another eruption.

Notwithstanding the indifference and tranquillity with which England appeared to regard the conquests of Louis XIV. at their commencement, his acquisitions by the treaty of Nimeguen in 1678, caused some inquietude. She therefore joined the continental league against France in 1689, composed of Holland, Spain, and Germany. The principal objects of this great coalition were to reduce Louis to the Pyrenean treaty, to compel him to relinquish the pretensions of the Bourbons to the crown of Spain, and acknowledge those of the House of Austria. Neither of these objects, says Philanglus, was accomplished. But it must be confessed, that though those purposes were defeated, the result was no less favourable to the allied powers, since France was compelled by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, to abandon all her conquests on the right bank of the Rhine, and restore to Spain part of the low countries, Mons, Courtray, Aeth, &c. So far from being discouraged, England persisted in the plans she had formed for reducing the power of France, and was engaged, during the peace, in forming a new alliance with Holland and the Emperor. In May 1702, hostilities commenced against France and Spain, and did not terminate till April 1713. The author confesses, with Mr. Burke, that this war was a convincing proof of the energy of our ancestors, but tells us, that glorious as it was, it added very little to the power of England. In this opinion I cannot concur, and I believe there are few who will not acknowledge the peace to have been as advantageous and as honourable as the war. Although, by the treaty of Utrecht, the crown of Spain was secured to the House of Bourbon, and although Louis preserved his conquests in Germany and the Low Countries, the acquisitions on the part of England, of Gibralter, Minorca, and St. Christophers, together with the slave trade, were undoubtedly equivalent, and not only guaranteed her independence but enabled her to check the power of her ambitious rival.

After a review of the state of Europe from 1648, to the present time, Philanglus considers the balance of power as it was in 1789, at the commencement of the French revolution. During the 18th century, says he, Spain and Holland have wholly decayed, and are become insignificant states entirely unable to cope with France or England; but their places in the balance are filled by Russia and Prussia, two powers whose voice has no small influence in the councils of nations.

It cannot be denied that Spain and Holland have long since lost all their former splendour, but though they had no weight in 1789 as independent powers, their influence will hereafter be immense as tributaries of the French republic, acting solely under her direction, and governed by her will. I readily grant that Russia and Prusia will form a great counterpoise in the balance, and that, if now united with Austria, might relieve Europe from bondage. I do not say, nor do I believe, that the equilibrium can never be restored; my object has only been to prove, that it is entirely destroyed by the late treaties, and that all the states of Europe, without distinction, are threatened by the fatal consequences of its destruction. I am well convinced that if sufficient time be allowed to France for the re-establishment of her marine, for repairing the losses which war and the revolution have caused, and to avail herself of the immense advantages presented by her conquests, that, notwithstanding the extensive territory, and numerous population of Russia, the great armies, and well disciplined troops of Austria and Prusia, and the formidable marine and riches of England, the united efforts of these powers, will in a few years avail nothing against that colossal monster, called, *The French Republic.*

If after all that I have said, any should be so prejudiced or so incredulous as not to acknowledge that the balance of power is entirely destroyed, and that all Europe is reduced to the most absolute dependence upon the French republic, I will call their attention to the treaties lately concluded by the European powers, and let them discover, if possible, any of that reciprocity which characterises the diplomatic arrangements of independent nations. If this is not to be found, it must be acknowledged that they are no more than subjugated states. How then, I ask, can any equilibrium exist between the power which governs and those which are governed; that which makes the law and those which receive it?

This subjection, to which I say all Europe is reduced, is not only declared by me, but has been openly and officially avowed by one of the members of the French government. When presenting to the legislative body, on the 29th of November last, a law relative to the treaty concluded with the Emperor of Russia, citizen Pleuricu, counsellor of state, thus expresses himself. "If the two preceding years ought to "be for ever celebrated for the illustrious victo- "ries of the French armies, the tenth year of the "republic will be memorable in history for those

negotiations, by which, France, always as *moderate* as she is *powerful*, has *given peace to Europe:* this peace is the peace of all the world, since the Europeans, by their navigation, their maritime discoveries, their conquests, and their commerce, have, in some measure, extended their dominions over the whole earth."

Thus has citizen Fleurieu publicly announced that France has *given peace to Europe*, that she has dictated the conditions, which are not more rigorous, because she is *moderate*, but that she has, nevertheless, the *power* of imposing such terms as may suit her pleasure. Let it be recollected that this is to be regarded, not as the language of an individual, but as the opinion of the government, expressed by one of its members; that this communication had been previously discussed and approved by the council of state which can propose nothing without the order of the First Consul, and durst make no decision without his sanction.

Yet this language is understood by the different nations of Europe, who, not content with quietly hearing it, eagerly dispatch their most distinguished characters to collect these sweet republican words. These are they, who, while they suffer themselves to be thus insulted, and even regard as testimonials of esteem and friendship the most disgraceful language, pretend to be independent. And it is with armies at her command, more powerful than any she has ever possessed, that Europe suffers herself to be loaded with opprobium and dishonour by a republic covered with infamy, and governed by men guilty of every crime, rendered loathsome by the blood of their fellow citizens, and abhorred for the murder of their king. *O tempora, O mores!*

NAVAL PROJECTS OF FRANCE.

Extract from a French work entitled "Lettres "d'un Observateur sur la Marine;" published at Paris in the month of May, 1802.

England separated from the rest of Europe, surrounded by the waters of the sea, situated under a gloomy and melancholly climate where the mind is constantly roused by the sublime scenes of an ocean sometimes calm and sometimes boisterous, rising and falling twice a day from a shore which it covers with the remains of shipwrecks; where their wants require all their faculties; where nature, inactive, grants nothing but to labour; England is the country of meditation, of industry, and in some measure of necessity, almost universally of the sway of judgment, not that of taste or genius, whose light does shine upon those high latitudes so far from the star from which it emanates.

These from long misfortune, and from the outrages of despotism, (a despotism that, like tigers and white bears, is born and flourishes in the torrid and frigid zones, among the gifts of nature, and among the productions of industry which its covets or devours) have concurred to concentrate the spirits of the people around the great objects of existence, of social security, and to harden them to a perseverance, characteristic of this famous island, which makes them accomplish all the objects they undertake with a degree of perfection unknown elsewhere. And the result is, that men, in that island, have formed from their enlarged and extended faculties, true moral chains by which they are attached and strongly bound to liberty. It is with such men that a government, hitherto the wisest that ever existed, always impressed with the recollection of the outrages committed on the nation by its ancient government, and of the terrible vengeance with which it was sacrificed as an exemplary victim, extends its power from the cold and cloudy borders of the Thames, over the seas, the islands, and the continents of every climate, where it exercises an arbitrary authority, by disguising it under a thousand artificial forms, and by offering treacherous baits to the pride of a haughty and unconquerable people.

If this government, the chief of which appears, perhaps, to incline a little too much towards the favoured maxims of kings, had preserved its original purity; if it had governed itself wisely in the choice of foreign possessions, which weaken its forces by extending them; if the union between the three insular kingdoms could be close and intimate; if the names of Irishman and Scotchman were not too greatly contrasted with that of Englishman; if commerce had introduced the manners of Carthage, how formidable would that nation have become!

Secure in their island, after having destroyed by stratagem or by force all the marine establishments that could oppose them. They governed the whole world by their fleets, and by their commerce rendered themselves masters of all that nature had not granted them; the riches of other countries flowed into their bosom with irresistible force, as rivers into the ocean; thus uniting to the dominion of the sea the superintendance of the fortunes of the world, all the political springs came into their wonder-working hands; they managed them at their pleasure; and, by a privilege inherent in the nature of victorious navies, they were able to prevent the re-establishment of those they had destroyed, since, being absolute masters of the sea which was the theatre of their operations, and of commerce which furnishes the means, the first elements of the formation and restoration of naval establishments were entirely at their disposal.

Fortunately however, by the influence of mercantile genius, if the maritime powers of that nation have been extended to so great a degree of perfection, its military powers have remained far behind those of the French.

Still more fortunately that, if nature has furnished the English with so many ports for ships of the line, in the channel that defends them, if she has deprived the French in this same channel of a single port from Brest to the Baltic Sea, for an extent of more than 220 *myriamètres*, the

coasts of England are within sight of those of France. This geographical circumstance places it always in our power to weaken the strength and political operations of Great Britain, by the military genius, the abundant population and the immense resources of our territory.

But to do this, our government must acquire that tenacity of ideas, that perseverance in rational maxims, that is, maxims founded on the nature of things, and the moral of men, which distinguish the rivals of France. It must, as far as concerns the sea, form the spirit of the French as nature has that of the English. It is she who has made them sailors, by obliging them to have constant resource to navigation for their communications, and the transportation of their wares and merchandizes; by surrounding them with stormy seas, where the number of dangerous passages, the rapidity of the tides, and the inconstancy of the climate present difficulties that will always exist, but which they must surmount: whilst in the happy climate of France men have received from nature, with spirit and genius, that mobility of taste and character (perhaps necessary for the variety of pleasures they appear made to enjoy,) which gives them that versatility so pernicious to the completion of objects of industry, and whence comes the instability as well as the frequent miscarriage of all the grand conceptions which their imaginations present, and their resources warrant, but which the levity and sensual egotism of the governors and the governed always destroy. The spoiled children of nature, it is in the bosom of pleasure, when passing calamities can disturb them only for a moment, that the French have heard the sea spoken of; it is far from them that she roars along the coasts abandoned to fishermen and traders, who face her dangers to procure them new enjoyments, often obtained by misfortunes, miseries, toils, and shipwrecks, whose recital is a perfect contrast to the voluptuous security that surrounds them.

There is no task more difficult to accomplish than that of turning towards an element full of danger and abounding in privations, the taste of a fickle people who sacrifice every thing for pleasure, and who live mindful only of the present, and careless of the future. But this people delights in arms, and in the glory which they produce; this disposition, which has so much influence on opinion, and which, in every military or political crisis, has been a happy counterpoise to the faults and errors of the public administration, offers one means that cannot be ineffectual. If then the government gives the naval armament a consistence fully military, if it assimilates the army of the land and the army of the sea by a new institution which may command the geographical position, and the political situation of France with respect to England.

This institution consists of a new system of naval forces, composed of ships with oars and sails, throughout the whole extent of the channel, where a French army formed of ships of the line, not having any port or harbour, cannot pass the Capes of Portland, and of the Hougue, without being exposed to all the dangers that can be imagined from the sea and from the enemy, who has favourable ports whatever may be the direction of the wind; without, probably, being obliged, if the winds blow strongly towards the west, which frequently and suddenly happens in those parts of the sea, after having been exposed to all the perils and all the dangers of the sea, to steer their course towards the north and pass around Scotland, where, if the season should be a little advanced, in the latitude of sixty degrees, all the horrors of winter, of very long nights, and of continual tempests, will assail and expose them to the greatest hardships.

These naval forces composed of ships with oars and sails will resemble the naval armies of the ancients, where the same men fought who composed their land forces, and where, nearly the same ordinance and the same tactics were employed: they should navigate from land to land, hide and conceal themselves behind mountainous capes, or shelter themselves behind islands; composed of great numbers of ships, they may be compared to a numerous body of troops united for similar purposes: they may form ambuscades, may follow the same principles as on land in attacking, protecting, or defending a strait or a defile; in choosing local positions as at Salamis, Actium, and many battles between the Athenians and Lacedemonians, Romans and Carthagenians.

These exercises will please the French because they resemble those of land forces: and still more, because their campaigns being of short duration, of only some days, they will frequently return to refresh themselves on land and enjoy their customary pleasures, meanwhile, they will familiarize themselves with the management of oars, with manœuvres, sails, arms, and with the sea, exactly in the same parts of the sea, and in the same places where the best sailors in the world are formed, at the school of nature, who expands their faculties by frequently offering all the dangers and obstacles they must learn to overcome.

In these exercises, in this apprenticeship to toil and danger, they will have two powerful motives of encouragement; *to destroy the commerce of England, and to conquer Great Britain.* Fortune and glory will open to them all the sources of those pleasures which are so greatly to the national taste. With such powerful motives, the industry, ardour, and military genius which distinguish them will always avail, they will quickly learn to construct, preserve, and repair their ships; to fight on board of them singly or in a body, to exchange alternately, according to circumstances, oars and manœuvres for canons and bayonets, and canons and bayonets for oars and manœuvres; to fight alternately in the line of battle of the sea, and the line of battle of the land.—With the genius of France, the art of war on sea as well as on land, will undoubtedly soon arrive near to that perfection from which it is now far.

If the English have raised the facility and talent of manœuvring and conducting vessels navigated alone, to so great a degree of perfection, they are far from having made equal progress in the essential art of directing and bringing to action a great number of ships, combined in squadrons and fleets. They have not in that respect officers equal to those in our service during the war of American independence; those French officers were then young, the revolution has cut them off before their time; new ones must be formed: the star of life, which is also the source of genius, constantly warms happy France, and sends but feeble and oblique rays on the soil of England, where you rarely see good generals, and where the glory of their admirals is much more due to the skill of the English sailors for their skill in manœuvring single vessels, than to their own knowledge of tactics; whilst, in France, their maritime misfortunes are more particularly owing to the bad choice of some admirals, and to the want of exercise, on the part of the sailors, in the management of ships navigated singly.

A fleet composed of ships with sails and oars, throughout the whole channel, where our squadrons of large ships cannot engage without the greatest perils, would be an infallible and prompt means of forming soldiers for the sea, and at the same time workmen, as well as officers and admirals; because all their time would be employed in mechanical and military arts, and because nothing more would be necessary than to transport them thence on board squadrons on the ocean, that their faculties, by these new exercises, might there receive the last stroke of perfection. This new method of employing seamen appears to me absolutely necessary and indispensible. It is totally independent of every obstacle on the part of Great-Britain: we must be well persuaded that these rulers of the sea will never give us the necessary time for re-creating and forming our marine by the ordinary means of mercantile navigation and fisheries. We must believe, that they will always declare war against us, or make it without a declaration, before our naval forces shall acquire a sufficient degree of strength sufficient to give them any uneasiness. All that they have given up or ceded by their treaties of peace they will take back, or you must deny it when they desire it, which will be whenever it is their interest. Separated from other nations, by the barrier of the ocean, they may brave all considerations with impunity. The naval forces of Great-Britain are superior to those of the whole world. But these forces would be powerless against an armament of ships with oars and sails, in the channel, such as I propose: it will every where have favourable ports, whence it will go out, and where it will return, at pleasure, and whence it might dart forth, at convenient times, like the eagle upon its prey, to desolate the commerce of England; whence it can, in a single tide, assail proud Albion with divisions of 60, 80, or 100 thousand men. It is then that the genius of war will triumph completely, as it ever has done, over the genius of commerce. Let it be recollected that the loss of sixty thousand men will in no way affect the destiny of France, and that sixty thousand Frenchmen, landed in England, are sufficient for the overthrow and annihilation of British power in every quarter of the globe.

To be in a situation to send out divisions so strong as 50 or 60,000 men, we must combine the situations, size, and number of ports, and the manner in which a sufficient number of ships can depart and arrive at the place of destination in the same tide. Boulogne, Ambleteuse, and Etaples, for instance, would form one of these combinations. But it would be essential to shelter these small ports from the insults and attacks of the enemy: I would consequently construct, at the extremities, forts extremely solid, and as much as possible, bullet proof, where there should be batteries of cannon, of a large calibre, furnaces for heating bullets, as at Gibraltar, and batteries of mortars of a great reach; against the bombs of the enemy, I would take the same precautions as are taken for powder magazines on land, or by coverings *en croupe*, sloping and sharpened in such a manner that the bombs, which fall upon them, must glide off, and fall into those canals of water from the sea, which separate the different batteries composed of more or less artillery. I would also have, upon these forts, small towers to serve as light-houses.

By thus keeping the English, in the channel, in a perpetual check and in constant dread for their own security at home, we should easily obtain the power of reviving and forming our marine; Brest, l'Orient, and Rochefort on the ocean, and Toulon in the Mediterranean, would soon be in a state to threaten their possessions in India, and even in Europe, and make them tremble for Ireland, where they appear to have been long alienated from their proud rulers.

The English attach great importance to the exclusive dominion of the Channel; the reason may easily be perceived, motives of security for their country, and advantage for their commerce; therefore, because they are there able to block up our trading ports, and take away from us every means of procuring from the North the necessary supply of timber. These precious vegetables are the only things that our soil or our possessions cannot furnish: it is therefore necessary to improve all our intervals of peace by procuring great supplies, and taking effectual measures for their preservation in docks, filled with water from the sea. Although our forests are devastated, they still offer immense resources; and until the wise administration, lately established, has repaired the incalculable evil caused by the revolutionary axe, the different provinces and Belgium will furnish much more wood than our wants require; the departments of the north and of the west are sufficient to supply us with hemp; iron abounds in our own soil; and, in perfectioning industry and the arts, which, thanks to the progress

of chemistry and natural philosophy, have taken a new spring, we shall soon have nothing to desire from strangers.

In possessing ourselves of the Channel by ships with sails and oars*, we should know how to give these ships all the force, all the activity, and all the perfection of which they are capable: they should be able to stand the violence of the most stormy seas, to avail themselves of all the times, and all the circumstances which weaken the force and impede the movements of the enemies ships. We should know where to open, for our ships of the line, places of sure access and shelter, against maritime and military accidents in the Channel: let us finish the port of Cherbourg, whose position is so advantageous; to complete its mole a mountain stands close at hand, which waits only to be demolished and transported: let us profit by every incident, where nature appears to have given to art all that is absolutely necessary to procure us, in this same channel, if not complete ports, at least places of refuge: *Ambleteuse, Etaples, Le Crotoi, La Fosse de Colleville, Port en Bessin, l'Isle de Tatihon, le Port de la Vièlette*, and many other places are in the same case, and call for the industry and attention of government.

The first thing necessary to be done, is, to form a body of marine soldiers; some excellent sailors, and those young men who compose the present marines. The workmen, &c. would form the beginning of the project; and, to complete it, men about the age of 20 should be taken from the coasts, in preference, those who are employed in the fisheries, and who will have received the commencement of instructions in some measure relative to the marine, enrolled, disciplined, always occupied in the management of arms or cannon, in mechanical labours, in the manœuvring of ships in port, on the coasts and at sea, they will have received an education that will qualify them for the exercise of the maritime art, under all possible circumstances. I come now to the details. Those who remain of the present troops of the marine will enter those of the land, and will of preference be assigned for the sea whenever it may be necessary. The new maritime troops which should gradually be augmented to fifty thousand effective men, who from the nature of their education would serve until 50 years old, would be proper to combat with the continental troops in cases of emergency. These new troops, I say, should be employed on all the works for the establishment of the military ports of refuge, of which I have already spoken: thus they would be perpetually in service.

For the expense, we need not be at all alarmed: I have calculated the whole. All the French marine will require fourteen millions of livres; the maintenance of the effective forces, (I suppose them to be about 90 ships of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates and corvettes) when once created, sixteen millions; the stations and the squadrons of evolution, and the different exercises of the troops and officers, both on land and sea, eight millions. Thirty-eight, or at most forty millions of livres, will be all that is requisite for the maintenance of a formidable marine, capable of keeping England and all other maritime powers in check: to this is opposed the expenses of many years of war, during which we constantly lose our maritime population, our vessels, our colonies, and our commerce, to say nothing of the honour of our flag.

Great as have been our maritime misfortunes, which however have in some measure been compensated by the victories of our armies, will the government be convinced of the importance of a marine, and of the indispensible necessity of creating one worthy of France? Will it be believed that France, bordering upon the ocean, and the Mediterranean, and surrounded by the territories of the most warlike nations in Europe, requires land and sea forces, equally formidable, that should assist each other? Will it be imagined, in spite of declamation, that these two armies can exist together without injury to either?

Victory has unfolded great destinies for the republic; but in viewing the immense and majestic perspective of the future, the eye of an observer, will discover some dark and heavy clouds.

During the revolution, the marine was considered as an useless auxiliary; none entered into it but to relinquish it; it was marked with nothing but faults; no part of it was raised above the rest, but all remained on the same level; in fact, the whole of marine affairs became the prey of intrigues.

In the midst of long and multiplied struggles and conflicts, that threatened the extermination of the first people of the world, the attention was turned entirely towards the land forces; many great men have come forth from their ranks; in the midst of the storms and flashes of thunder, they have gradually prevailed over the intriguing and hypocritical leaders of those factions who paralised their efforts, and have at length given peace to an astonished world.

Peace, however, will create other ideas; if it should be of long duration, will the genius of war repose under laurels and trophies, and listen to the chaunting of hymns of victory? Will not base and treacherous intrigue, that always

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* If by means of this marine, the Channel should cease to be, if not an impassable, at least an extremely hazardous barrier against French intrepidity, the land forces will gain an ascendency of those of the sea, the fate of both the Indies, and all the colonies, may perhaps be decided in the fields of Great-Britain, as in those of Portugal, Spain, Holland, &c. &c. These fleets of enormous ships of the line, that exhaust the treasures of maritime nations, and the forests of the continent, stripped of their military importance, will be speedily lessened in size and in number; and the genius of war will no longer devour the products of commercial industry for their support.

wakes and always acts, surround the government with snares of every sort? And if time should take off our heroes, how shall the government afterwards discover others among the crowd? Talents are always concentrated, and only show themselves on great and important occasions. Into what contempt will fall the ranks and offices in the army and in the navy? What passed before the revolution fully authorizes fears for what may occur after. When the sentiment of want and imperious necessity no longer recommend talents and useful qualities, agreeable and pleasing qualities are caressed; amiable and frivolous men, and charming women, will obtain for their favorites preference, before useful and serviceable men. If this should be the case, is it not to be feared that the state will again fall into that situation whence it has been drawn, by the terrible conflicts of a regenerating revolution, frightful in the midst of glory?

CHARACTER OF BUONAPARTÉ.

Extracted from Mr. Pitt's Speech, delivered in the House of Commons, February 3, 1800, on the Proposals of Buonaparté for entering into a Negotiation with England.

Let us take a view of the conduct of Buonaparté in the different stages of the French revolution, and let us then judge whether we are to look to him, as the security against revolutionary principles; let us determine what reliance we can place on his engagements with other countries, when we see how he has observed his engagements to his own.

When the constitution of the third year was established under Barras, that constitution was imposed by the arms of Buonaparté, then commanding the army of the Triumvirate in Paris. To that constitution he then swore fidelity. How often he has repeated the same oath I know not, but twice at least, we know that he has not only repeated it himself, but tendered it to others, under circumstances too striking not to be stated.

Sir, the house cannot have forgotten the revolution of the 4th of September, which produced the dismissal of Lord Malmsbury from Lisle. How was that revolution procured? It was procured chiefly by the promise of Buonaparté (in the name of his army), decidedly to support the Directory in those measures which led to the infringement and violation of every thing that the authors of the constitution of 1795, or its adherents, could consider as fundamental, and which established a system of despotism inferior only to that now realized in his own person. Immediately before this event, in the midst of the desolation and bloodshed of Italy, he had received the sacred present of new banners from the Directory; he delivered them to his army with this exhortation: "Let us swear, fellow-soldiers, by the names of the patriots who have died by our side, eternal hatred to the enemies of the constitution of the third year." That very constitution which he soon after enabled the Directory to violate, and which, at the head of his grenadiers, he has now finally destroyed. Sir, that oath was again renewed, in the midst of that very scene to which I have last referred; the oath of fidelity to the constitution of the third year was administered to all the members of the Assembly then sitting (under the terror of the bayonet), as the solemn preparation for the business of the day; and the morning was ushered in with swearing attachment to the constitution, that the evening might close with its destruction.

If we carry our views out of France, and look at the dreadful catalogue of all the breaches of treaty, all the acts of perfidy at which I have only glanced, and which are precisely commensurate with the number of treaties which the republic has made; (for I have sought in vain for any one which it has made and which it has not broken) if we trace the history of them all from the beginning of the revolution to the present time, or if we select those which have been accompanied by the most atrocious cruelty, and marked the most strongly with the characteristic features of the revolution, the name of Buonaparté will be found allied to more of them than that of any other that can be handed down in the history of the crimes and miseries of the last ten years. His name will be recorded with the horrors committed in Italy, in the memorable campaign of 1796 and 1797, in the Milanese, in Genoa, in Modena, in Tuscany, in Rome, and in Venice.

His entrance into Lombardy was announced by a solemn proclamation, issued on the 27th of April, 1796, which terminated with these words: "*Nations of Italy! the French army is come to break your chains; the French are the friends of the people in every country; your religion, your property, your customs, shall be respected.*" This was followed by a second proclamation, dated from Milan, 20th of May, and signed *Buonaparté*, in these terms: "*Respect for property and personal security: Respect for the religion of countries: these are the sentiments of the government of the French Republic, and of the Army of Italy. The French victorious consider the nations of Lombardy as their brothers.*" In testimony of this fraternity, and to fulfil the solemn pledge of respecting property, this very proclamation imposed on the Milanese a provisional contribution to the amount of twenty millions of livres, or near one million sterling, and successive exactions were afterwards levied on that single state to the amount, in the whole, of near six millions sterling. The regard to religion and to the customs of the country was manifested with the same scrupulous fidelity. The churches were given up to indiscriminate plunder. Every religious and charitable fund, every public treasure, was confiscated. The country was made the scene of every species of disorder and rapine. The priests, the established form of worship, all the objects of religious reverence, were openly insulted by the French troops: at *Pavia*, particularly, the tomb of *St. Augustin*, which the inhabitants were accustomed to view with peculiar veneration, was mutilated and defaced; this last provocation having roused the resentment of the people, they flew to arms, surrounded the French garrison and took them prisoners, but carefully abstained from offering any violence to a single soldier. In revenge for this conduct, *Buonaparté*, then on his march to the *Mincio*, suddenly returned, collected his troops, and carried the extremity of military execution over the country; he burnt the town of *Benasco* and massacred eight hundred of its inhabitants; he marched to *Pavia*, took it by storm, and delivered it over to general plunder, and published, at the same moment, a proclamation, of the 26th of May, ordering his troops to shoot all those who had not laid down their arms, and taken an oath of obedience, and to burn every village where the *tocsin*

should be sounded, and to put its inhabitants to death.

The transactions with *Modena* were on a smaller scale, but in the same character. *Buonaparté* began by signing a treaty, by which the Duke of *Modena* was to pay twelve millions of livres, and neutrality was promised him in return; this was soon followed by the personal arrest of the Duke and by a fresh extortion of two hundred thousand sequins; after this he was permitted, on the payment of a farther sum, to sign another treaty, called a *Convention de Sûreté*, which of course was the only prelude to the repetition of similar exactions.

Nearly at the same period, in violation of the rights of neutrality, and of the treaty which had been concluded between the French Republic and the Grand Duke of Tuscany in the preceding year, and in breach of a positive promise given only a few days before, the French army forcibly took possession of Leghorn, for the purpose of seizing the British property which was deposited there, and confiscating it as prize; and shortly after, when Buonaparté agreed to evacuate Leghorn in return for the evacuation of the Island of Elbe, which was in the possession of the British troops, he insisted upon a separate article, by which, in addition to the plunder before obtained, by the infraction of the law of nations, it was stipulated, that the Grand Duke should pay to the French the expense which they had incurred by thus invading his territory.

In the proceedings towards *Genoa* we shall find not only a continuation of the same system of extortion and plunder, (in violation of the solemn pledge contained in the proclamations already referred to), but a striking instance of the revolutionary means employed for the destruction of independent governments. A French minister was at that time resident in Genoa, which was acknowledged by France to be in a state of neutrality and friendship: in breach of this neutrality Buonaparté began in the year 1796, with the demand of a loan; he afterwards, from the month of September, required and enforced the payment of a monthly subsidy, to the amount which he thought proper to stipulate: these exactions were accompanied by repeated assurances and protestations of friendship; they were followed, in May, 1797, by a conspiracy against the government, fomented by the emissaries of the French embassy, and conducted by the partizans of France, encouraged, and afterwards protected by the French minister. The conspirators failed in their first attempt, overpowered by the courage and voluntary exertions of the inhabitants; their force was dispersed, and many of their number were arrested. Buonaparté instantly considered the defeat of the conspirators as an act of aggression against the French Republic; he dispatched an aide-de-camp with an order to the Senate of this independent state; first, to release all the French who were detained; secondly, to punish those who had arrested them; thirdly, to declare that *they had had no share in the insurrection*; and fourthly, to disarm the people. Several French prisoners were immediately released, and a proclamation was preparing to disarm the inhabitants, when, by a second note, *Buonaparté* required the arrest of the three Inquisitors of State, and immediate alterations in the constitution; he accompanied this with an order to the French minister to quit Genoa, if his commands were not immediately carried into execution; at the same moment his troops entered the territory of the republic, and shortly after the councils, intimidated and overpowered, abdicated their functions. Three deputies were then sent to Buonaparté to receive from him a new constitution; on the 6th of June, after the conferences at *Montebello*, he signed a convention, or rather issued a decree, by which he fixed the new form of their government; he himself named provisionally all the members who were to compose it, and he required the payment of seven millions of livres, as the price of the subversion of their constitution, and their independence. These transactions require but one short comment; it is to be found in the official account given of them at *Paris*, which is in these memorable words: "*General Buonaparté* has pursued the only line of conduct which could be allowed in the representative of a nation, *which has supported the war only to procure the solemn acknowledgment of the right of nations, to change the form of their government.* He contributed *nothing* towards the revolution of *Genoa*, but he seized the first moment to acknowledge the new government, as soon as he saw that it was *the result of the wishes of the people.*"

It is unnecessary to dwell on the wanton attacks against *Rome*, under the directions of *Buonaparté* himself in the year 1796, and in the beginning of 1797, which led first to the treaty of *Tolentino* concluded by Buonaparté, in which, by enormous sacrifices, the Pope was allowed to purchase the acknowledgment of his authority, as a Sovereign Prince; and secondly, to the violation of that very treaty, and to the subversion of the Papal authority by *Joseph Buonaparté*, the brother and the agent of the General, and the Minister of the French Republic to the Holy See. A transaction, accompanied by outrages and insults towards the pious and venerable Pontiff (in spite of the sanctity of his age and the unsullied purity of his character) which even to a Protestant, seem hardly short of the guilt of sacrilege!

But of all the disgusting and tragical scenes which took place in Italy, in the course of the period I am describing, those which passed at *Venice* are perhaps the most striking, and the most characteristic: In May, 1796, the French army, under Buonaparté, in the full tide of its success against the Austrians, first approached the territories of this republic, which from the commencement of the war had observed a rigid neutrality. Their entrance on these territories was as usual accompanied by a solemn proclamation in the name of their general. "*Buonaparté to the republic of Venice.* It is to deliver the finest country in Europe *from the iron yoke of the proud house of Austria*, that the French army has braved obstacles the most difficult to surmount. Victory in union with justice has crowned its efforts. The wreck of the enemy's army has retired behind the Mincio. The French army, in order to follow them, passes over the territory of the republic of Venice; but it will never forget, *that ancient friendship unites the two republics. Religion, government, customs, and property, shall be respected.* That the people may be without apprehension, the most severe discipline shall be maintained. All that may be provided for the army shall be faithfully paid for in money. The general-in-chief engages the officers of the republic of Venice, the magistrates, and the priests, to make known these sentiments to the people, in order, that confidence may cement that friendship which has so long united the two nations, faithful in the path of honour, as in that of victory. The French soldier is terrible only to the enemies of his liberty and his government." *Buonaparté.*

This proclamation was followed by exactions similar to those which were practised against Genoa, by the renewal of similar professions of friendship and the use of similar means to excite insurrection. At length, in the spring of 1797, occasion was taken from disturbances thus excited, to forge, in the name

of the Venetian Government, a proclamation, hostile to France, and this proceeding was made the ground for military execution against the country, and for effecting by force the subversion of its ancient government and the establishment of the democratic forms of the French revolution. This revolution was sealed by a treaty, signed in May 1797, between *Buonaparté* and Commissioners appointed on the part of the new and revolutionary government of *Venice*. By the second and third secret articles of this treaty, Venice agreed to give as a ransom, to secure itself against all farther exactions or demands, the sum of three millions of livres in money, the value of three millions more in articles of naval supply, and three ships of the line; and it received in return the assurances of the friendship and support of the French Republic. Immediately after the signature of this treaty, the arsenal, the library, and the palace of St. Mark were ransacked and plundered, and heavy additional contributions were imposed upon its inhabitants. And, in not more than four months afterwards, this very Republic of Venice, united by alliance to France, the creature of Buonaparté himself, from whom it had received the present of French liberty, was by the same Buonaparté transferred under the treaty of *Campo Formio* to "*that iron yoke of* "*the proud House of Austria*," to deliver it from which he ha represented in his first proclamation to be the great object of all his operations.

Sir 'all this is followed by the memorable expedition into Egypt, which I mention, not merely because it forms a principal article in the catalogue of those acts of violence and perfidy in which Buonaparté has been engaged, not merely because it was an enterprize peculiarly his own, of which he was himself the planner, the executor, and the betrayer; but chiefly because when from thence he retires to a different scene, to take possession of a new throne, from which he is to speak upon an equality with the kings and governors of Europe, he leaves behind him, at the moment of his departure, a specimen, which cannot be mistaken, of his principles of negotiation. The Intercepted Correspondence, which has been alluded to in this debate, seems to afford the strongest ground to believe, that his offers to the Turkish Government to evacuate Egypt, were made solely with a view "*to gain time*;" that the ratification of any treaty on this subject was to be delayed with the view of finally eluding its performance, if any change of circumstances favourable to the French should occur in the interval. But whatever gentlemen may think of the intention with which these offers were made, there will at least be no question with respect to the credit due to those professions by which he endeavoured to prove, in Egypt, his pacific dispositions. He expressly enjoins his successors, strongly and steadily to insist in all his intercourse with the Turks, that he came to Egypt with no hostile design, and that he never meant to keep possession of the country; while on the opposite page of the same instructions, he states in the most unequivocal manner, his regret at the discomfiture of his favourite project of colonizing Egypt, and of maintaining it as a territorial acquisition. Now, sir, if in any note addressed to the Grand Vizier, or the Sultan, Buonaparté had claimed credit for the sincerity of his professions, that he forcibly invaded Egypt with no view hostile to Turkey, and solely for the purpose of molesting the British interests; is there any one argument now used to induce us to believe his present professions to us, which might not have been equally urged, on that occasion, to the Turkish government? would not those professions have been equally supported by solemn asseveration, by the same reference which is now made to personal character, with this single difference, that they would then have been accompanied with one instance less of that perfidy which we have had occasion to trace in this very transaction.

It is unnecessary to say more with respect to the credit due to his professions, or the reliance to be placed on his general character: But it will, perhaps, be argued, that whatever may be his character, or whatever has been his past conduct, he has now an interest in making and observing peace. That he has an interest in making peace is at best but a doubtful proposition, and that he has an interest in preserving it is still more uncertain. That it is his interest to negotiate, I do not indeed deny; it is his interest above all to engage this country in separate negotiation, in order to loosen and dissolve the whole system of the confederacy on the Continent, to palsy, at once, the arms of Russia or of Austria, or of any other country that might look to you for support; and then either to break off his separate treaty, or if he should have concluded it, to apply the lesson which is taught in his school of policy in Egypt; and to revive, at his pleasure, those claims of indemnification which *may have been reserved to some happier period.*

This is precisely the interest which he has in negotiation, but on what grounds are we to be convinced that he has an interest in concluding and observing a solid and permanent pacification? Under all the circumstances of his personal character, and his newly-acquired power, what other security has he for retaining that power by the sword? His hold upon France is the sword, and he has no other. Is he connected with the soil, or with the habits, the affections, or the prejudices of the country? He is a stranger, a foreigner, and an usurper; he unites in his own person every thing that a pure republican must detest; every thing that an enraged jacobin has abjured; every thing that a sincere and faithful royalist must feel as an insult. If he is opposed at any time in his career, what is his appeal? *He appeals to his fortune*; in other words, to his army and his sword. Placing, then, his whole reliance upon military support, can he afford to let his military renown pass away, to let his laurels wither, to let the memory of his achievements sink into obscurity? Is it certain that, with his army confined within France, and restrained from inroads upon her neighbours, he can maintain, at his devotion, a force sufficiently numerous to support his power? Having no object but the possession of absolute dominion, no passion but military glory, is it certain, that he will feel such an interest in permanent peace, as would justify us in laying down our arms, reducing our expense, and relinquishing our means of security, on the faith of his engagements?

CHARACTER OF BUONAPARTÉ.

Extracted from the Appendix to Mr. Windham's Speech, delivered in the House of Commons, on the 4th of November, 1801, *on the Report of an Address to the Throne, approving of the Preliminaries of Peace with the Republic of France.*

The topic here alluded to is so closely connected with this subject, that the argument is evidently

defective without it. An opinion indeed prevails, and is insisted upon by persons of much apparent wisdom and gravity, that any inquiry into the conduct and merits of the First Consul is unbecoming and improper; unsuited to the dignity of a great assembly, and incapable of being made conducive to any useful purpose. To many, however, it may seem, that just the contrary of this is the fact: that in the history of the world, an instance can hardly be found of any one, whose personal qualities were so much a subject of general concern, and consequently so proper an object of inquiry; and that the occasion of all others, when such inquiry must be most proper and necessary, was that in which we were preparing to sign a treaty of peace with the person in question, founded expressly upon our confidence in his character, and entrusting to the issue of our judgment in that respect, the whole of the interests, welfare, independence, and even existence of a great empire.

Without inquring generally into the history of the person thus confided in, let us recur only to a few of those passages of his life, which apply most immediately to the trust, which we are here reposing. A detailed and most masterly exposition of these is to be found in Mr. Pitt's speech of the 3d February, 1800, in which among other particulars, an account is given of his proceedings towards the people and governments of the several states of Milan, Modena, Genoa, Tuscany, the Pope, Venice, and Egypt. Of all of these it may be said generally, and as it should seem without exception, —such was purposely the profusion of engagements, and such the uniform and systematick breach of them,—that not a single act was done, which was not in violation of some engagement, and certainly not a single engagement contracted, or profession made, that was not, in every part of it, grossly and in most cases instantly violated. The French rulers have, throughout, evidently acted upon the principle, that he who could divest himself at once of all moral feeling, and release himself from all moral controul, must for the time have an immense advantage over those who should remain under the old constraints, and who might not be sensible immediately of the change which had taken place, or, when they were, might be long incapable either of adopting it into their own conduct, or of so correcting their ancient feelings and habits (the habit for instance of relying in some degree on men's assurances, yielding something to their professions, believing in part what they should solemnly assert), as to make themselves proof against its effects. Nobody has entered more fully into these views, or pursued them to greater extent, than the person of whom we are here speaking; whether when employed in the service of others, as in the instances, which we were proceeding to state, or when he afterwards set up for himself, and turned 'these instructions' 'to plague the inventors,'—the people who now find themselves under his yoke.

In Lombardy, a proclamation, issued immediately upon his entrance into the country, and containing assurances the most solemn, of 'respect for property, respect for religious opinions,' —principles, which he declared to be those of the French Republic, as well as of the army, which he commanded,—was followed instantly by a succession of exactions, amounting to many millions sterling, and by such violations of every religious opinion and feeling, as could be intended only to produce, what it at last accomplished, the driving the people to something like resistance, and thus furnishing a pretext, (unsupported as it was to the last, even by the insurrection which had been provoked), of murdering eight hundred of the inhabitants of a single town, and delivering over the country to military plunder and execution.

In Modena, the proceedings, though upon a smaller scale, were of the same cast and character.

In Tuscany, to the breach of the general rights of neutrality, (that neutrality so prudently observed, as was declared by Mr. Fox in the House of Commons, by the wise prince who governed that country); to the breach of a treaty made the year before by the Republic, was added that of a positive engagement made a few days before by himself. In spite of all these rights, and treaties, and engagements, and for the sake of an act, which was in itself the grossest violation of one of them, viz. the seizing an enemy's property in a neutral port, he marched into the country with as little ceremony as if he had been taking up his quarters in a part of the republic; and having completed his work, agreed indeed to retire, but not till he had exacted from this unfortunate, though *wise* prince, certain conditions as the price of his departure, and among others a large pecuniary contribution, for the expenses which the French had incurred in thus invading his territories.

In Genoa, these breaches of treaty, and violations of faith, were diversified by a happy mixture of those measures, by which protection to the independence of states, is made to signify a forcible change of their governments; and defence of the rights of the people, the establishing over them a foreign and military tyranny. But as these proceedings, though equally a breach of faith with the others, seem to belong more peculiarly to the class which we have just noticed, we will say no more of them here; and for the same reason, as well as from the inutility of citing separate instances, where the whole proceeding from beginning to end is nothing but one continued instance, we will forbear to dwell upon all the flagitious violences, and cruel and scandalous outrages, which attended the invasion of the Pope's states, in which, though breach of faith had no less a share than in any of the transactions before enumerated, it is lost and merged as it were, in the various other sensations of indignation and disgust, which the events of that period are calculated to call forth.

The last scene of these proceedings of the First Consul, comprised within the period of his Italian command, lay in the states of Venice; and, as it happens commonly at the close of the piece, the incidents here seem to have become more numerous, and to possess something of a higher and stronger interest. The general description of them is, however, the same, 'a perpetual renovation of hope, and a perpetual disappointment;' professions of friendship followed by instant acts of hostility; assurances of protection serving only as a prelude to every species of violence; and a solemn treaty of peace, engaging to preserve to the country its government and laws, ending in the subversion of both, either by the immediate hand of him who signed the treaty, or, as happened in this instance, by the transfer of the country 'to the iron yoke' of that very power, the delivery of it from which was the professed object of his interference, and the ground on which all his proceedings were to be justified.

What happened on these occasions in Italy, was

renewed afterwards, so far as respects fidelity to treaties and sincerity in negotiation, in all the transactions of a similar nature, in which Buonaparté was concerned, either as a commander acting with large discretionary powers, or, as placed himself, at the head of the republic. The detail of these would shew, that mere change of time and place made no change in the character of the person, or of the system pursued. It appears by all, that good faith passed for nothing: that deceptions the most gross, artifices unheard of in diplomatic proceeding, were practised without shame or scruple. When a party was once engaged in a negotiation, and placed in a situation in which he could no longer help himself, it was in vain to expect that any regard would be paid to the professions, in which the negotiation began, or to declarations which occurred in the course of it. Any old engagement was set aside, or any new one foisted in, as suited the wishes, original or incidental, which France happened to entertain. Of all this proofs will be found, more or less, in each of the negotiations and conferences, which took place during the period here considered; that is to say, from the close of the campaign in Italy in 1797 to the final settlement of what is called the peace of the continent; particularly in what passed at Luneville respecting the security to be enjoyed by Naples, and in the convention with the Arch-Duke at Steyer, relative to the armistice between Generals Brune and Bellegarde.

But it is in Egypt, that the character of the First Consul is to be seen to greatest advantage. It is there that we are to look for it in its highest and most perfect state. It is in the rich and fertile plains of Egypt, under the heat of those more ardent suns, that his virtues seem to shoot forth with most luxuriance, and to acquire a spirit and flavour, unknown in the colder regions of Europe. We will say nothing here, of that gigantic contempt of good faith and public morality, which first conceived the project of the expedition; of the outrages which followed in the train of it; of the happy inversion of all right and justice, which treated as rebels, and consigned to instant execution, those of the inhabitants who presumed to defend their country against a foreign invader—an invader, whom none of them had offended, and whom half of them had never heard of, till they found him seizing upon their property, and putting to death all who dared to oppose him: We will pass over the massacre of three thousand prisoners, in cold blood, at Jaffa, and will consent to treat as doubtful the strange though hardly less authenticated fact, of his causing poison to be administered to the sick of his own army. The circumstance which most forces itself upon the attention, which most attracts the eye of the connoisseur in the midst of this vast and splendid collection, is that singular combination of all that is great and all that is little,—all that is great in guilt and mischief, all that is little and despicable in the means of its execution,—the pretence of having become a convert to the Mahomedan Faith, and the use to be made of that pretence for the purpose of committing an act of the most complicated fraud and treachery. Nobody conceives of course, for a moment, that faith, or religious opinion, had any thing to do in this proceeding from one end of it to the other. The case exhibits nothing but a renegade Christian, who is affecting not to be an Atheist, only in the hope that he may pass for a Mahomedan. The whole was a pretence, for the purpose of robbing an allied prince of his dominions. In this act, however, it is not the mere fraud and imposture that most excites attention: instances of that sort, in our police offices and criminal tribunals, are familiar to us every day. It is not even the horrid and blasphemous impiety of it: we have heard of Dutch schippers trampling upon the crucifix. What most characterizes the transaction, what is its true distinctive property, is the singular and utter shamelessness of it; the total abandonment of all regard for character or decency, which could commit such an act in the face of day, with all Europe spectators and witnesses, but placed only, as he hoped, at such a distance, that they could not interpose in time, could not cry "stop thief," so as to put the parties upon their guard and prevent the robbery from being completed. Buonaparté knew, that what he did in Egypt must be known in six weeks to all Europe. He knew, that in Europe there was not a human being, man, woman, or child, who would be the dupe of this pretended conversion, or who would see in it any thing but a shocking and base contrivance to strip the Turks of Egypt. But he was content, that the transaction should be so seen. He thought, that this cheating the Turk would be considered as a clever trick, a droll artifice; that the *galleries* in Europe would laugh at this, just as the galleries in our theatres do, when any piece of successful knavery is going on upon the stage,—when Filch in the Beggar's Opera picks Mrs. Di's pocket. And, to say the truth, he does not appear to have been in the wrong in this expectation. Such is the deplorable baseness of mankind, such the abject homage which men are willing to pay to crimes attended with success, to wickedness united with power, that none of the acts committed at any time by the agents of the French government, seem at all to have hurt their reception in the world, either collectively or individually. Their oppressions and cruelties excite no indignation; their low and scandalous frauds no contempt; their treacheries no distrust. In the case of the person here in question, you would swear, that his perfidies became him, and that, like one of Horace's mistresses, the more false and faithless he shewed himself, the greater was his train of followers among the admiring and adoring governments of Europe.

——— Tu, simul obligasti
Perfidum votis caput, enitescis
Pulchrior multò, juvenumque prodis
Publica cura.

There is a perfect contest for the honour of being betrayed by him. The examples of those unfortunate and confiding countries, who have been already seduced and undone, produce no caution, inspire no terror.

After the remark, made at the beginning of this note, it will hardly be asked, of what use is it to notice these facts? It is of some use to know betimes, the character of the person who is in a fair way of becoming our master, and who, in fact, is so already, as far as relates to a perfect ascendancy over those who direct our counsels. But it is of great use in another view, to point out to notice, such parts of the history of the First Consul, as those which we have been speaking of. It is of consequence to know, who it is that particular persons admire. If it be true, that a man is known by his company (*noscitur à*

accio) it is equally true, that some judgment may be formed from those whom he extols and looks up to. What, it has been asked, must be the priest, where a monkey is the god? What must be the admirer, where the object of admiration is a person capable of such a proceeding as the pretended conversion to Mahomedanism? It will be admitted, probably, that this is not to come in, in the *heroick* part of the character. But I wish to know, with respect to a large class of his admirers,—the enthusiasts of liberty, the assertors of rights, the respecters of the independence of nations, the abhorrers of war, the lovers of peace and pacifick arts, the exploders of military fame, —what in their estimation *is* the heroick part, or what they would point out as the subject of their panegyrick? Is it possible, that *they* can hold out to us, as an object of admiration, the character of a man, whose merit, whatever its amount may be, must in kind be that of a soldier and a conqueror; whose sole occupation has been war; the foundation of whose fame and power was laid wholly upon military exploits; who unites in himself, all that these persons would profess to abhor in an Alexander and a Cæsar; who has been at once the conqueror of foreign nations, and the subverter of the liberties of his own? These things shew, beyond a doubt, what, for the greater part, these eulogiums on the character of the First Consul really are.—They are, either the base abject homage paid by the generality of mankind to successful crime; or the insidious praises of men, who, under the mask of liberty, patriotism, and respect for rights, are seeking to gratify their own spleen or ambition, and preparing the downfall of their country. Whatever credit may be due to him for military talents, and whatever certainly *is* due to him for decision, boldness, vigilance, address, capacity for great though wicked enterprizes, it will be difficult to account otherwise than is above done, for the sort of praises which we hear, and the quarters from which they come.

FRENCH ROYALISTS.

An Account of their Numbers, Means, Character, and Views, and of their Treatment by the British Government. Extracted from Mr. Windham's Speech in the House of Commons, on the 4th of November, 1801, *and from the Appendix to that Speech.*

But there was another body of allies, not ranked indeed among the European powers, nor possessing much, perhaps, of a corporate capacity, but who, as men, acting either separately or together, were equally capable of becoming objects of good faith, and in fact had so become, though by means different, in point of form, from those which engaged the faith of the country, in any of the instances above alluded to:—These persons were, the Royalists of France, wheresoever dispersed, but particularly that vast body of them which so long maintained a contest against the republick, in the West; where they formed the mass of the inhabitants of four or five great provinces, far exceeding, both in extent and population, the kingdom of Ireland. I mention these particulars of their force and numbers, not because they are material to the present purpose, but because they serve to obviate that delusion of the understanding, by which things, small in bulk, and filling but little space in the imagination, are apt to lose their hold on our interests and affections. The mention of them may, moreover, not be unnecessary in this House, where, I fear, from various causes, all that relates to the royalists is a perfect *terra incognita*, as little known or considered, as the affairs of a people in another hemisphere. The royalists, were, however, a great, numerous, and substantive body, capable of maintaining against the republick a war, confessed by the republicans themselves to have been more formidable and bloody, than most of those in which they had been engaged; and of terminating that war by a peace, which showed sufficiently what the war had been, and what the fears were, which the republick entertained, of its possible final success. But let the numbers and powers of the royalists have been what they might; had their affairs been still less considered; had they been more disowned, discountenanced, and betrayed, than in many instances they were; had more such garrisons as those of Mentz and Valenciennes been suffered to be sent against them; had they been less the real, primary defenders and representatives of that cause, which the allies professed to support; still there were our formal proclamations, issued at various periods, not expressly engaging indeed to make stipulations for them in case of a peace, but calling generally for their exertions, and promising succour and protection, to all those who should declare themselves in favour of the ancient order of things, and of their hereditary and rightful monarch. What I am to ask, is, have we acted up to the spirit, or even the letter, of our own proclamations? or to the spirit of that relation, in which the nature of the war itself, independent of any proclamations, placed us with respect to these people? I am compelled to say, (I say it with great reluctance, as well as with great grief,) I fear we have done no such thing. I fear, that a stain is left upon our annals, far deeper than that, which, in former times, many were so laudably anxious to wash away, in respect to the conduct of this country towards the Catalans. The Catalans were not invited by any declarations more specifick than those which we have made to the royalists: their claim upon us was in some respects more doubtful. Yet, so far were they from being passed over in silence in the terms of the peace; so far were they from being abandoned to their fate, left to the merciless persecution of their enemies, that a stipulation was made for a full and complete amnesty for them; and, far more than that, a provision, that they should be put upon the same footing, and enjoy the same privileges, with that province which was in fact the most favoured under the Spanish monarchy. Yet, because *more* was not done; because they were not placed in the situation of enjoying *all* that they asked;—much of it, perhaps, having more of an imaginary than a real value;—because in a part, where their claim was more disputable, perfect and entire satisfaction was not given them; did a large and respectable majority of this House think it necessary to institute a solemn inquiry,—the in-

tended foundation of proceedings still more solemn,—in order to purge themselves and the country, as far as depended on them, from the shame of what they deemed a breach of the national faith.

By what purgations, by what ablutions, shall we cleanse ourselves from this far deeper and fouler blot, of having left to perish under the knives of their enemies, without even an effort to save them, every man of those whom we have *affected*, as it must now appear, to call our friends and allies; with whom we were bound, by interests of far higher import than those of a disputed succession; who were the assertors with us of the common morality of the world; who were the true depositaries of that sacred cause, the very priests of that holy faith; with whom we had joined, as it were, in a solemn sacrament; and who, on all these grounds, but chiefly for the sin of having held communion with us, are now, as might be expected, doomed by the fanatics of rebellion, to be the objects of never-ceasing hostility, to be pursued as offenders, whose crimes can only be expiated by their destruction?

I agree with what has been said by my honourable friend [the Chancellor of the Exchequer], that peace once made, all communication with this, or any other class of people, hostile to the French government, must completely cease. Whatever the government is, or whatever its conduct may be with respect to us, if we think fit to make peace with it, that peace must be religiously kept. I am not for curing one breach of faith by another. But was nothing to be done, in the final settlement of that peace; and still more during the time which has elapsed since the first commencement of the negotiations? I wish a satisfactory answer could be given to those inquiries. I wish it were true, that, for months past, numbers had not been perishing throughout the royalist provinces, the victims of their loyalty and honour;—(men hunted down, like wild beasts, for acts, which that government may call crimes, but which we, I hope, have not yet learned so to characterize;)—simply for want of such means, as might have enabled them to effect their escape, and, after the loss of every thing but what their own minds must bestow, to have sought an asylum in some foreign land.

Sir, I would gladly draw a veil over these facts. But our shame is too flagrant and glaring, to be concealed: the cry of this blood is too loud to be stifled. I beg to wash my hands of it. The share which I have happened to have in the affairs of this illustrious and unfortunate people; the interest which I have always taken in their cause; make me doubly anxious to vindicate myself from any participation in the guilt of having thus abandoned them. I wish I could vindicate, in like manner, the government and the country. Among all our shames, it is that of the most fatal nature, and of which, possibly, we shall longest rue the effects.

Extracts from the Appendix.

The population of these provinces is by no means stated with exaggeration, when it is said 'far to exceed the population of the kingdom of 'Ireland.' It might be described with truth, as 'nearly, if not altogether, equal to the population 'of Great Britain.' From Caen to Bourdeaux, without comprising more in breadth than belongs properly to the royalist country, there is a population, according to the statement of Mr. Necker, of little less than 9,000,000. In ascertaining the proportions of this population which may be considered as royalist, we must distinguish between those who were only royalists in their affections; those who actively, though secretly, favoured the cause; and those who, at different times, openly appeared in arms. By the numbers of the last of these classes, by the manner in which they maintained themselves, and by the effects which they produced, we may form, perhaps, the surest judgment, though possibly a very inadequate one, of the general sentiments and dispositions of the country. If those, who have been most engaged in these scenes, and have at least the best means of knowing, may be relied on, it was a small portion of the inhabitants indeed, and those confined almost exclusively to the towns, who were not royalists in their hearts. But facts, and the inferences resulting from them, may after all be considered as the best criterion, especially to those who may not have the means of resorting to the testimonies which we have alluded to, or of appreciating the degree of credit, that may be due to them. Of these facts the principal lie open to the observation of every body, and are of a nature little liable to be mistaken or misrepresented. They are—the length of time during which the royalist war subsisted; the armies which it obliged the republic to employ; the nature of the pacifications which took place in different parts of it; the anxiety which it evidently excited in the government, during the whole of its continuance; the interruption which it gave to the communication between the metropolis and the principal sea ports—the transport of goods and passengers, and letters between Paris and Brest being sometimes stopt for a fortnight, requiring at times an immense escort, and being at all times attended with considerable danger, insomuch that officers going to join their ships often preferred a passage by sea, even at the risk of being taken by our cruisers;—these are facts, which rest on no authority of individuals, and may afford some measure for judging of the degree and extent, to which the sentiment of royalism prevailed in this part of France. For facts of a description somewhat different, though of a character and magnitude not to be much concealed or disguised, such as the nature and progress of the war; the armies, which the royalists were able to bring into the field; the manner in which they employed them; the resources which they possessed; the energy which they displayed; for these, or other similar ones, the reader would do well to have recourse to an account (published here in 1796 and since translated) of Campaigns in the Vendée, by the republican General Turreau, the same, probably, who is now employed in something of a similar service in Switzerland, and who, though interested in some degree in magnifying the force of an enemy, whom he was employed to combat, and requiring in that respect, as well as in several others, to be read with some reserve and caution, may yet be relied on for the general substance of his narrative, and the principal representations which accompany it: and will afford to those, who may be new to the subject, much valuable information on the history and circumstances of this most extraordinary and affecting war * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
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In the early stages of the war of la Vendée, before the republicans had had recourse to the sys-

tem of laying waste and burning the country, and had brought the war to a footing, in which no quarter was given on either side, whatever prisoners were taken by the royalists, were released upon the condition of not serving again, either against them, or against *the allied powers*; the royalists having imagined, for some reason or another, that the allies and they were engaged in a common cause, and that the neglect which they might seem till then to have experienced, was owing wholly to the precautions taken by the enemy for preventing any communication with them. When, therefore, they heard, in the year 1793, that the garrisons of Mentz and Valenciennes were marching against them, knowing that these garrisons had surrendered upon terms, and that one of the terms was, that they should not serve again till exchanged, they concluded that this was a new instance of republican treachery, and that these troops, a numerous and most formidable body, the garrison of Mentz alone being reckoned at twelve thousand, could not be employed in this service, without some scandalous breach of engagement, such as would excite in the breasts of the allies no less resentment, and indignation, than it did in those of the royalists. What then were their sensations, when they found, that this was no treachery on the part of the republicans, but that the allies themselves in framing their capitulations, and providing that these garrisons should not serve against the other parties in the war, had wholly neglected or forgotten, to extend this provision to the case of the royalists; who with an army of immense force in point of numbers, perfect in the mode of its composition, animated by the most heroic courage, headed by officers of great ability and experience, but still weak to a great degree by the extreme deficiency, and often total want of all the ordinary means of war, were left to prosecute, as well as they could, the desperate and unequal contest in which they were engaged, disowned and abandoned by all the world. When they found this, their feelings were indeed acute, and their constancy almost shaken. They did not despair: it was not their nature to do so: but left thus to themselves, abandoned to their own resources, without aid, without co-operation, proclaimed, as it were, to all Europe, as not even belonging to that confederacy, of which they might, without presumption, have hoped, that they should have been placed at the head; they felt that their prospects were truly gloomy, and such as might well have excused them for relinquishing from that instant every thought of further resistance. That they did not so relinquish their hopes; that they long maintained the contest with unabated vigour; that the war broke out afterwards with fresh violence; that it never ceased to be renewed at every favourable opportunity, till the last of the continental powers had submitted and made its peace; that the elements of it remain entire to this day; —these are truths, which ought to be known and remembered for the credit of those concerned, though they yield but little consolation in the retrospect, and can now unhappily afford no ground of hope for the future. * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Those who may before have thought, that such a vindication was necessary, will not be less of that opinion, when they shall be told, that within the last twelve months, more than three hundred royalist officers have been taken and put to death, in the western provinces, and that of these all but forty or fifty have suffered since the date of the preliminary treaty. In the name of all that is sacred, what justification can a government or a country offer for such conduct? Three hundred men, or at least a great proportion of them, sacrificed to the vengeance of their enemies, simply because we neglected, or refused to listen to their solicitations to be allowed an asylum in this country, when in consequence of the peace which we were making, their service could be no longer useful in their own! Do we mean to say, that these persons had no claim upon us to the extent of what they asked? Or that we could not afford the expense of receiving, and providing for so many additional emigrants? Monstrous as either of these allegations would be, they would still be better than what alone remains,—the direct and unqualified confession, that we did not dare to admit into this country men, to whom we were bound by every tie to furnish a place of refuge and safety, lest by so doing we should give offence to our enemies. In what a state must the probity of a great country be, when, in a case like the present, such a motive can be made a principle of action? to what must the mind of a country be reduced, when it can bear, that such a motive should become manifest to the world?

It may not be thought a trifling aggravation, (if in such a mass of shame aggravations were worth thinking of,) that, just at this moment, a condemned, though pardoned traitor, Napper Tandy, is released from prison, and allowed to sail to France, yielded, we presume, as an act of grateful attention,—a kind of marriage present, to the First Consul. Napper Tandy, be it remembered, was not a person to whom the faith of the French government was pledged by any public declaration, unless it shall be contended, as perhaps it ought, that their decree of the 19th of November 1792 still continues in force; he was not a person engaged in one of those civil wars, of which history may furnish examples, wherein the rights and pretensions of the parties were so equally balanced, as to make it doubtful, on which of the two sides the crime of commencing hostilities and breaking up the public peace ought in justice to be charged. He was a traitor in the common sense of the word, and upon the clearest evidence of the thing, and was condemned according to the established principles, on which the lives of such persons have become forfeit at all times, and in all countries. The First Consul however, as is supposed, thought fit to ask his release: and the government here complied with his request. Such was the state of the intercourse between the two countries on the subject of persons of *this* description. But the royalists of France, persons who had been acting in conformity to, perhaps in consequence of our proclamations; whose objects we had declared to be substantially our own; of whose assistance we had a right to avail ourselves, according to every principle of the law of nations; who are not to be confounded, as is often wickedly or ignorantly done, with rebels and traitors, the subverters of their respective governments, but were on the contrary the upholders of the constitution of their country in opposition to such rebels and traitors; to these royalists we refused an asylum, lest we should offend the irritable majesty of an usurper, and indispose him to grant such terms of peace, as those by which the safety of the country is now so happily secured. If these things do not disgrace and dishonour a country, I am at a loss to know, what the disgrace and dishonour of a country is. We

seek to conciliate the favour of an imperious and vindictive enemy, by the desertion of our friends, and the sacrifice of our national faith and honour.

Our enemy, we may rest assured, will only despise us the more, without our deriving from that feeling any relaxation of the motives, which have long led him to resolve on our destruction.

CHARACTER OF MR. JEFFERSON.

Extracted from the Letters of Phocion, written by William Smith, Esq. of South Carolina, long a Member of Congress, and lately American Minister to the Court of Portugal.

We should incur no danger in yielding to his claim (as a philosopher) in the fullest extent, because it must be obvious to men of the smallest experience in public life, that of all beings, a philosopher makes the worst politician; that if any one circumstance more than another could disquality Mr. Jefferson for the presidency, it would be the charge of his being a philosopher. Not believing him to possess any more than the *mask* of philosophy, *my* objection to his election would certainly not rest on that ground; but as there may be some, who, having read his works superficially, may have been deceived by that character, which is sometimes acquired, because no one has been at the trouble to scrutinize and strip it of its borrowed garb, to them I repeat that, admitting him to be a most learned philosopher, such a character alone creates his disqualification for the presidency.

In turning over the page of history, we find it teeming with evidences of the ignorance and mismanagement of philosophical politicians. The great Locke was employed to frame a constitution for Carolina; but it abounded so much with regulations inapplicable to the state of things for which it was designed, so full of theoretic whimsies, that it was soon thrown aside. Condorcet, a particular friend of our American philosopher, was a great French philosopher; his constitution, proposed in 1793, contains more absurdities than were ever before piled up in any system of government; it was so radically defective, that its operation was never even attempted; * Condorcet's political follies, and the wretched termination of his career, are well known; he had philosophy enough to know how to raise a storm, but not enough to avert its effects. The affairs of France have since been more ably conducted (except during the short aristocracy of Robespiere) by men who are good politicians, but, fortunately for France, not philosophers.

Rittenhouse was a great philosopher, but the only proof we had of his political talents was his suffering himself to be wheedled into the presidency of the democratic society of Philadelphia, a society with which he was even ashamed to associate, though cajoled and flattered into the loan of his name. Many other instances might be adduced.

The characteristic traits of a philosopher, when he turns politician, are, timidity, whimsicalness, a disposition to reason from certain principles, and not from the true nature of man: a proneness to predicate all his measures on certain abstract theories, formed in the recess of his cabinet, and not on the existing state of things and circumstances; an inertness of mind, as applied to governmental policy, a wavering of disposition when great and sudden emergencies demand promptness of decision and energy of action. If the laws are opposed and insurrection raises its crest, the insurgents will always calculate on the weakness and indecision of the executive (if a philosopher), and they will be justified in their calculations, for he will hesitate till all is lost; he will be wandering in the labyrinths of philosophical speculations, moralizing on the sin of spilling human blood, and foolishly persuading himself that mankind can always be reclaimed and brought back to their duty by wholesome advice. His mind will be constantly attracted to his favourite pursuits; and his presidential duties will, of course, be postponed to more pleasing avocations.

Let us suppose one of these exploring and profound philosophers elected president of the United States, and a foreign minister, on his first introduction into his cabinet, surprising him in the act of inspecting the *skin and the scarf skin* of a *black and a white pig*, in order to discover the causes of difference which nature has created in their colour, or with the same view anatomizing the kidnies and glands of a negro, to ascertain the *nature of his secretions*. Would not the minister's first observation be, that the philosopher would be much better employed in his retirement at home, and his second, that such a president would furnish excellent materials for him to make use of?

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But, although I have thus denied to Mr. Jefferson the title of a real philosopher, I am ready to allow that he possesses the inferior characteristics, and the externals of philosophy. By one, ambitious of passing with the world for a philosopher, the first were easily acquired, the last as easily assumed. The inferior characteristics, as applied to the science of politics, are a want of steadiness, a constitutional indecision and versatility, visionary, wild, and speculative systems, and various other defective features, which have been already pourtrayed—Indeed, so unsettled is the mind of a would-be philosopher, so capricious and versatile are the principles of these philosophical mimics, that they attempt to reconcile the most irreconcileable theories, and to justify the most inconsistent acts, by the same standard. Thus you will find these pretenders to philosophy, at one moment, coolly justifying the most atrocious and sanguinary cruelties, provided they are means to a certain favourite end; at another, cautiously dissuading from vigorous, though necessary measures, lest they might fatally issue in the shedding

* Hear what Boissy d'Anglas says of the constitution of Condorcet, a brother labourer in philosophy and politics of Thomas Jefferson: "meditated amidst intrigue and ambition, conceived "in the bosom of vice, that constitution is nothing more than the *concentration of all the elements "of disorder, and the organization of anarchy*. What "indeed must we think of a constitution, which "organizes the partial insurrection of powers, "independent of the constituted authorities, and "legalizes the reign of plunder and terror!" Compare this, Americans, with the principles and practice of the democratic societies, and the other supporters of Thomas Jefferson!!

of human blood. Condorcet and Brissot were, like Jefferson, reputed philosophers: they set up certain wild and mischievous theories of government; of course, followed the emancipation of the negroes in the French West Indies, and, of course, the massacre of the whites, and the desolation of the colonies: this was represented to them, by a deputation from the colonies, warning them of the fatal consequences of their principles. What was philosopher Condorcet's reply? Attend to it, citizens of the southern states! He answered with true philosophic calmness, "Perish all the colo-" nists, rather than that we should deviate one " tittle from our principles." This is the enlightened Condorcet, to whom his friend Jefferson, stimulated by a sympathetic philanthropy, sent Banneker's almanack, as the highest proof of his admiration of the negro's work. This is the same Condorcet who could, with calmness, see the colonies laid waste, and thousands of aged colonists and innocent women and children massacred, and yet was perpetually preaching up philanthropy and universal benevolence. Brissot was much such another character, and they both deservedly met the same fate.

As ignorant people are often imposed upon by an appearance of philosophy, those, who have ambitious designs, readily assume its externals: these consist in a ridiculous affectation of simplicity and humility, in a thousand frivolities, and little puerile tricks, which always render the performer contemptible in the eyes of discerning people, who soon discover that under the assumed cloak of humility, lurks the most ambitious spirit, the most overweening pride and hauteur, and that the externals of simplicity and humility afford but a flimsy veil to the internal evidences of aristocratic splendour, sensuality, and epicureanism.

Mr. Jefferson has been held up and characterized by his friends as the "quiet, modest, re-" tiring philosopher—as the plain, simple, un-" ambitious republican." He shall not now, for the first time, be regarded as the intriguing incendiary—the aspiring turbulent competitor—unless facts shall warrant the suggestion: of these an enlightened public must judge.

What, if a quiet, modest, unambitious philosopher, at a delicate crisis, withdrawing himself from a post of duty, from an alledged attachment to philosophical pursuits, and a strong antipathy to public honours, should immediately devote his hours of retirement to mature his schemes of concealed ambition, and at the appointed time, come forth the undisguised candidate for the highest honours, and for the arduous station to which ambition can aspire?

Would not this trait alone sufficiently mark his character and his views?

To some of his fellow citizens, this may perhaps be the first time his real character has been discovered; but let them recollect that there is always "a first time," when characters, studious of artful disguises, are unveiled, when the vizor of stoicism is plucked from the brow of the epicurean, when the plain garb of quaker simplicity is stripped from the concealed voluptuary, when Cæsar, coyly refusing the proffered diadem, is found to be Cæsar rejecting the trappings, "but tena-" ciously grasping the substance of imperial do-" mination." * * * * * * * * * * *
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The first volume of Thomas Paine's "Rights of " Man," made its appearance; the opportunity was eagerly seized, to answer the double purpose of wounding a competitor, and of laying in an additional stock of popularity, by associating and circulating the name of Thomas Jefferson with a popular production of a once favourite writer, on a favourite subject.

For this purpose, the secretary of state wrote an epistle to a printer in Philadelphia, transmitting the work for republication, and containing the following passage: "I am extremely pleased to " find it will be reprinted here, and that some-" thing is at length to be publicly said against the " political heresies which have sprung up among " us. I have no doubt our citizens will rally a " second time round the standard of common " sense."

There was not a man in the United States, acquainted with the insinuations which had been propagated against Mr. Adams, who did not instantly apply the remark; and the signal was so well understood by the partisans of the writer, that a general attack immediately commenced.

The National Gazette of Freneau, faithful to its duty, and the newspapers of the party in the different states, resounded with invective and scurrility against the patriot, who was thus marked out as the object of persecution.

But it was quickly perceived that discerning and respectable men disapproved of the step which the secretary of state had taken. It was of consequence to endeavour to maintain their good *opinion.* Insincere protestations and excuses, as frivolous as awkward, were multiplied by the secretary to veil the real design. "The gentleman al-" lude to," he protested, "never once entered his " mind; it was never imagined that the printer " would be so incautious as to publish the letter. " Nothing more had been in view than to turn a " handsome period, and avoid the baldness of a " note, that did nothing but present the compli-" ments of the writer!"

Thus, a solemn invocation to the people of America, on a most serious and important subject, dwindled at once into a brilliant conceit that tickled the imagination too much to be resisted. The imputation of levity was preferred to that of malice.

But when the people of America presented themselves to the disturbed fancy of the patriotic secretary, as a routed host, scattered and dispersed by that political sorcerer, the vice-president, how was it possible to resist the heroic, the chivalrous desire, of erecting for them some magic standard of orthodoxy, such as Tom Paine, and endeavouring to rally them round it, for their mutual protection and safety.

In so glorious a cause, the considerations—that a citizen of the United States had written, in a foreign country, a book, containing strictures on the government of that country, which were regarded by it as libellous and seditious—that he had dedicated this book to the chief magistrate of the union—that the republication of it, under the auspices of the secretary of state, would wear the appearance of its having been promoted, at least of its being patronized, by the government of this country—were considerations too light and unimportant to occasion a moment's hesitation.
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Among the other merits of Mr. Jefferson we find " his attachment to the civil and religious rights " of his fellow citizens;" for the proof, we are referred to his writings and public conduct.

We have seen a few specimens of his writings: from them we may infer a pretty strong disposition to entrench on some of the civil rights of his fellow citizens, particularly in his project of a senate, which would undoubtedly, on his plan, establish an aristocracy, very injurious to the rights of the poor class of his fellow citizens.

But the proof of a steady attachment to the civil rights of one's fellow citizens ought not to rest merely on writings; this attachment ought to be evinced by public conduct, by action, and in times of danger; then the hazarding of personal safety for the preservation of our civil rights is the highest testimony of patriotism. There is no great merit in composing, in the cabinet, in seasons of tranquillity, essays on civil rights, which are frequently done to obtain popularity, and without any risk of personal inconvenience.

It appears, however, that Mr. Jefferson has generally sacrificed the civil rights of his countrymen to his own personal safety. We are told, in a public address, by Mr. Charles Simms, of Virginia, who must have been well acquainted with the circumstance, "that Mr. Jefferson, when go-"vernor of Virginia, abandoned the trust with "which he was charged, at the moment of an "invasion by the enemy, by which great confu-"sion, loss, and distress, accrued to the state, "in the destruction of public records and vouchers "for general expenditures *."

Now here was a period of public danger, when Mr. Jefferson's attachment to the civil rights of his countrymen might have shown very conspicuously, by facing and averting the danger; here would have been a fine opportunity for him to have displayed his public spirit, in bravely rallying round the standard of liberty and civil rights; but, though in times of safety, he could rally round the standard of his friend, Tom Paine, yet when real danger appeared, the governor of the ancient dominion dwindled into the poor, timid philosopher, and instead of rallying his brave countrymen, he fled for safety from a few light horsemen, and shamefully abandoned his trust!!†

Again, when the peace and tranquillity of the United States were in extraordinary peril, when it required the exertions and talents of the wisest and bravest statesmen to keep the federal ship from foundering on the rocks with which she was encompassed, he, when his aid was most essential, abandoned the old helmsman; and with his wonted caution sneaked away to a snug retreat, leaving others to buffet with the storm, and if they were cast away, to bear all the obloquy and public disgrace which would follow.

How different was the conduct of the spirited and truly patriotic Hamilton? He wished to retire as much as the philosopher of Montecelli; he had a large family, and his little fortune was fast melting away in the expensive metropolis, but with a Roman's spirit he declared "that much as "he wished for retirement, yet, he would remain "at his post, as long as there was any danger of "his country being involved in war." How different the conduct of the great Washington? He tells us, that he had resolved to retire before the last election, but the then perplexed and critical situation of the country forbad such a step. How different was even Jefferson himself, when calmly and safely writing his notes on Virginia, from what he was then called upon to act in times of peril? In his notes, page 135, in reprobating the proposition made in the Virginia Assembly, to appoint a dictator, he exclaims: "Was this "moved on a supposed right in the movers of "abandoning their posts in a moment of distress? "Our laws forbid the abandonment of our posts, "even on ordinary occasions."

Whether Mr. Jefferson foresaw the western insurrection, and either conscious of his want of courage or capacity to act on so trying an occasion, or of his good wishes towards some of the promoters of it, we will not determine; but it is our duty to state some facts; the comments on them will be left to a discerning public.

It is certain that Mr. Jefferton resigned the office of secretary of state in January or February, 1794, and that the insurrection broke out the July following, having manifested threatening symptoms some months before. Citizen Fauchet, of glorious memory, in his intercepted letter (which caused the dismission of citizen Randolph, also of glorious memory, the virtuous author of the precious confessions), has the following passage: "Mr. Randolph came to see me with an "air of great eagerness, and made to me the over-"tures of which I have given you an account in "my No. 6.—Thus with some thousands of dol-"lars, the republic (of France) could have de-"cided on civil war, or on peace! Thus the con-"sciences of the pretended patriots of America "have already their prices! What will be the "old age of this government, if it is thus early de-"crepid! Still there are patriots of whom I delight "to entertain an idea worthy of that imposing

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* Mr. Leven Powell, of Virginia, also states, in his public address, that "when Tarleton, with a "few light-horse, pursued the assembly to Char-"lottesville, Mr. Jefferson discovered such a want "of firmness, as shewed he was not fit to fill the "first executive office, for instead of using his ta-"lents, in directing the necessary operations of "defence, he quitted his government by resign-"ing his office; this too, at a time that tried "men's souls, at a time when the affairs of Ame-"rica stood in doubtful suspense, and required "the exertions of all." The governor of Virginia, during the invasion of the state by a small British force, instead of defending the commonwealth at that alarming juncture, voluntarily and suddenly surrendered his office, and, at that crisis, his country was required to choose another governor! Is there any security he would not act in like manner again, under like circumstances?

† This charge has been attempted to be got rid of by producing a vote of the assembly of Virginia, after an inquiry into his conduct, acknowledging his ability and integrity, but altogether silent on his want of firmness, which had been the cause of his flight.

It was natural for his friends in the Assembly to varnish over the business as well as they could, and the danger being past, there being no prospect of his being again exposed in that station, and his flight proceeding, not from any criminality, but from a constitutional weakness of nerves, it was no difficult matter to get such a vote through the Assembly, more especially as the character of the state was no less implicated in the business than that of the governor.

" title. Consult Monroe *, he is of this number; " he had apprized me of the men, whom the cur- " rent of events had dragged along as bodies de- " void of weight; his friend Maddison is also an " honest man; Jefferson, on whom the patriots " cast their eyes to succeed the president, had " foreseen these crises: he prudently retired, " in order to avoid making a figure against his " inclination in scenes, the secret of which will " soon or late be brought to light."

We are informed by the newspapers that Randolph has been to visit Mr. Jefferson, and has announced his determination to serve, if elected president; he has not yet announced his own determination to return to his former secretaryship, if his friend should be president; but his activity in canvassing for him leaves no room for doubt, as to his wishes and expectations: it is apprehended, however, by some of the friends of both these characters, that a late legal call on one of them, for the immediate settlement of some accounts and balances, will prove highly injurious to both †.

Having adverted to these two striking instances of Mr. Jefferson's abandonment of his trust at very critical moments, I cannot omit the following sensible remark of Mr. Charles Simms':— " These instances," he observes, " shew Mr. Jef- " ferson to want firmness; and a man, who shall " once have abandoned the helm in the hour of " danger, or at the appearance of a tempest, " seems not fit to be trusted in better times, for " no one can know how soon or from whence a " storm may come."

We are next informed of Mr. Jefferson's " at- " tachment to the religious rights of mankind," and are referred for his sentiments respecting religious liberty to his writings, his conduct, and particularly to the " act establishing religious " freedom," drawn up by him.

Hampden would have acted more wisely, and more conformably, I am persuaded, to the wishes of his patron, had he passed over this tender subject in silence. It was certainly indiscreet to mention Thomas Jefferson and religion in the same paragraph of an eulogy.—Religious freedom and freedom from religion are now become convertible terms with most modern philosophers, particularly those who have been educated in the philosophical schools of France. Mr. Jefferson has been heard to say, since his return from France, that the men of letters and philosophers he had met with in that country, were generally atheists. The late impious and blasphemous works of Thomas Paine, reviling the Christian religion, have been much applauded in France, and have been very industriously circulated in the United States, by all that class of people who are friendly to Mr. Jefferson's politics, and anxiously desirous of his election to the presidency. Mr. Jefferson's friendship for Paine has been already mentioned; that anti-christian writer had apartments at Citizen Monroe's at Paris, and should Mr. Jefferson be president, there is no doubt Paine would return to this country, and be a conspicuous figure at the president's table at Philadelphia, where this enlightened pair of philosophers would fraternize, and philosophize against the Christian religion, and all religious worship *. Whatever new lights Jefferson may have acquired in France, it is certain that he had naturally very good pre-dispositions on the subject of religion. In his notes on Virginia, page 169, in discussing the subject of religious freedom, he makes this witty observation—" It does me no injury for my neighbour " to say there are twenty gods, or no god; it " neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg; if " it be said, his testimony in a court of justice " cannot be relied on, reject it then, and be the " stigma on him." In page 170, he says, " mil- " lions of innocent men, women, and children, " since the introduction of Christianity, have " been burnt, tortured, fined, and imprisoned." In page 171, speaking of the state of religion in Pennsylvania and New-York, he says, " Religion " there is well supported, of various kinds indeed, " but all good enough; all sufficient to preserve " peace and order."

Which ought we to be the most shocked at, the levity or the impiety of these remarks? " it does " me no injury, if my neighbour is an atheist, " because it does not break my leg!" What? do I receive no injury, as a member of society, if I am surrounded by atheists, with whom I can have no social intercouse, on whom there are none of those religious and sacred ties, which restrain mankind from the perpetration of crimes, and without which ties civil society would soon degenerate into a wretched state of barbarism, and be stained with scenes of turpitude and with every kind of atrocity?

There are religions, " of various kinds indeed," says our philosopher, " but all good enough."

Good enough indeed for him, who established and patronized a newspaper, one object of which was to revile Christianity! It is not forgotten, that the National Gazette, published by a clerk in the department of state, and under the auspices of the secretary, lost no convenient opportunity of making a mockery of religion †, and vilifying the clergy of the country.

It is well observed, by a modern writer, " that " patriotism, as a moral principle attaching itself " to political society, depends, like every other " moral principle, on its relation to religion. " The Creator of man has bound the social to " the divine virtues, and made our devotion and " our reverence to himself, the ground work of " our duties to our brethren and to our country."

The act for establishing religious freedom in Virginia (the necessity for which is not very obvious), has been much extolled by Mr. Jefferson's panegyrists. I ask them, what good effects has

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* Citizen Monroe, lately recalled by the President from France, not I presume for his services to the United States, and not at his request; possessed of a palace in Paris, worth formerly 100,000 guineas (and for the purchase of which he was abused in a Paris newspaper), it is not probable he wished to return quite so soon.

† Edmund Randolph is sued by the comptroller of the treasury for a deficiency in his accounts, while secretary of state, of 50,000 dollars.

* This conjecture is now fully verified, as far as rests with Jefferson. Vide his letter of invitation to Paine, Register, p. 756.

† See, among various instances, the thirty-sixth number of the National Gazette, where the belief of a Providence is treated as an impious tenet. In the time of Robespierre, a member of the convention, who had introduced into his speech the word Providence, was called to order, by the cry of *Point de Providence*, no Providence.

it produced? Does religion flourish in Virginia more than it did, or more than in the eastern states? Is public worship better attended? Are the ministers of the gospel better supported, than in the eastern states?

That act, which is nearly all preamble, setting forth a series of principles, some of which are proved by late experience in France to be very questionable, has, in my opinion, an immediate tendency to produce a total disregard to public worship, an absolute indifference to all religion whatever. It states, among other things, "that "we ought not to be obliged to support even the "ministers of our own religious persuasion, and "that our civil rights have no more dependence on "our religious opinions, than on our opinions in "physic or geometry." The act then declares, "that no man shall be compelled to frequent or "support any religious worship or minister what-"ever, and that all men shall be free to profess, "and by argument to maintain, their opinions, "in matters of religion, without diminishing their "civil capacities.

I will not accuse Mr. Jefferson of having been influenced by selfish views, in getting this act passed; but those acquainted with his conduct and opinions will agree with me, that he has fully taken advantage of every tittle of the preamble and enacting clause: he has, by his conduct, proved his religious freedom, or, rather, his freedom from religion; and, by his opinions, his right to maintain by argument any doctrine whatever, in matters of religion. Whoever saw him in a place of worship? The man who can say he has seen such a phenomenon, is himself a much greater curiosity than the elephant now travelling through the southern states.

But how inconsistent, not only with truth, but with themselves, are these visionary philosophers, who are thus always striking out some new doctrine! The preamble states, that our civil rights have no dependence whatever on our religious opinions; and yet it immediately after admits, that religious opinions may break out into overt acts against peace and good order; and yet the letter just quoted speaks of criminal acts dictated by religious error!

What a conformity do we find between the sentiments of Mr. Jefferson, in matters of religion, and those of Tom Paine! Where is the wonder, then, if the works of the latter are circulated with so much zeal by the friends of the former? Tom Paine has ridiculed the Holy Scriptures, and reprobated public worship. Tom Jefferson has attempted to disprove the deluge—has made it a question whether the Almighty ever had a chosen people,* and has, by example and precept, discountenanced public worship. Such is the chief magistrate whom the patriots of citizen Fauchet have selected for the United States! Such the kindred philosophers, whose new lights are to be disseminated throughout America, under the auspices of the Chief Magistrate of the Union!

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By those who attended to the opposition of Mr. Jefferson, while secretary of state, to the measures of the treasury department, it was made a question, whether that opposition flowed altogether from his hostility to the head of that department (whose competition might, at a future period, be apprehended, and whose destruction was therefore desirable) or from his entertaining principles respecting public credit and national faith, very different from those which have influenced all nations, who cherish those valuable pillars of national strength.

As his conduct, while minister of the United States at Paris, in relation to this subject, may throw great light on his principles, I shall proceed to state the exact tenor of the advice which Mr. Jefferson gave to Congress, respecting the transfer of the debt due to France, to a company of Hollanders. After mentioning an offer which had been made by such a company for the purchase of the debt, he concludes with these extraordinary expressions—"If there is a *danger* of the public payments *not being punctual*, I submit whether it may not be better, that *the discontents which would then arise*, should be *transferred* from a *court*, of whose *good will we have so much need*, to the *breasts* of a *private company*."

The above is an extract which was made from the letter in February 1787. The date of it was not noted, but the original being on the files in the department of state, will ascertain that, and all other particulars, relating to its contents—The genuineness of the extract may be depended upon.

This letter was the subject of a report from the board of treasury, in February 1787: that board treated the idea of transfer proposed as both *unjust* and *impolitic:* unjust, because the nation would contract an engagement, which there was no well grounded prospect of fulfilling; impolitic, because a failure in the payment of interest on the debt transferred (which was inevitable) would justly blast all hopes of credit with the Citizens of the United Netherlands, in future pressing exigencies of the Union; and the board gave it as their opinion, that it would be advisable for Congress, without delay, to instruct their minister at the court of France, to forbear giving his sanction to any such transfer.

Congress agreeing in the ideas of the board, caused an instruction to that effect to be sent to Mr. Jefferson. Here there was a solemn act of government condemning the principle as unjust and impolitic.

If the sentiment contained in the extract, which has been recited, can be vindicated from political *profligacy*—then *is it necessary to unlearn* all the ancient notions of *justice*, and to substitute some new-fashioned scheme of morality in their stead.

Here is no complicated problem, which sophistry may entangle or obscure. Here is a plain question of moral feeling. A government is encouraged on the express condition of not having a prospect of making a due provision for a debt which it owes, to concur in a transfer of that debt from a nation, well able to bear the inconveniences of failure or delay, to individuals whose total ruin might have been the consequence of it; and that, upon the interested consideration of having need of the good will of the creditor nation, and with the dishonourable motive, as is clearly implied, of having more to apprehend from the discontents of that nation, than from those of disappointed and *betrayed* individuals. Let every *honest* and impartial mind, consulting its own spontaneous emotions, pronounce for itself upon the rectitude of such a suggestion.

An effort, scarcely plausible, has been hereto-

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* Notes on Virginia, p. 175. "Those who la-"bour on the earth, are the chosen people of God, "if ever he had a chosen people."

fore made by the partisans of Mr. Jefferson, to explain away the turpitude of this advice.* It was represented, that "a company of adventuring spe- "culators had offered to purchase the debt at a "discount, foreseeing the delay of payment, cal- "culting the probable loss, and willing to encoun- "ter the hazard."—But the terms employed by Mr. Jefferson refute this species of apology. His words are, "if there is a danger of the public pay- "ments not being punctual, I submit whether it "may not be better, that the discontents which "would then arise, should be transferred from a "court of whose good will we have so much need, "to the breasts of a private company."

He plainly takes it for granted, that discontents would arise from the want of an adequate provision, and proposes that they should be transferred to the breasts of individuals! This he could not have taken for granted, if in his conception, the purchasers had calculated on delay and loss.

The true construction then is, that the company expected to purchase at an under value, from the probability that the court of France might be willing to raise a sum of money on this fund, at a sacrifice—supposing that the United States, counting on her friendly indulgence, might be less inclined to press the reimbursement; not that they calculated on material delay, or neglect, when the transfer should be made to them. They probably made a very different calculation, (to wit) that as it would be ruinous to the credit of the United States abroad, to neglect any part of its debt, which was contracted there with individuals, from the impossibility of one part being distinguishable from another in the public apprehensions, this consideration would stimulate to exertions to pro vide for it; and so it is evident from his own words that Mr. Jefferson understood it.

But the persons who offered to purchase were by the apologist called Speculators. The cry of speculation, as usual, was raised; and this with some people, was the panacea, the universal cure for fraud and breach of faith.

It is true, as was alleged by the apologist, Mr. Jefferson mentioned an alternative, the obtaining of money by new loans, to reimburse the court of France; but this is not mentioned in any way that derogates from or waves the advice given in the first instance. He merely presents an alternative, in case the first idea should be disapproved.

It may be added, the advice respecting the transfer of the debt was little more honourable to the United States, as it regarded the court of France, than as it respected the Dutch company. What a blemish on our national character, that a debt of so sacred a nature should have been transferred at so considerable a loss to so meritorious a creditor!

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We shall now take leave of Mr. Jefferson and his pretensions, as a philosopher and politician. The candid and unprejudiced, who have read with attention, the forgoing comments on his philosophical and political works, and on his public conduct, must now be convinced, however they may hitherto have been deceived by a plausible appearance and specious talents, or misled by artful partisans, that the reputation he has acquired is not bottomed on solid merit—that his abilities have been more directed to the acquirement of literary fame than to the substantial good of his country—that his philosophical opinions have been capricious and wavering, often warped by the most frivolous circumstances—that in his political conduct, he has been timid, inconsistant, and unsteady, generally favouring measures of a factious and disorganising tendency, always leaning to those, which would establish his popularity, however destructive of our peace and tranquillity—that his political principles are sometimes whimsical and visionary, at others, subversive of all regular and stable government—that his writings have betrayed a disrespect for religion, and his partiality for the impious Paine an enmity to Christianity—that his advice, respecting the Dutch company, and his open countenance of an incendiary Printer, and of the views of a faction, manifest a want of due regard for national faith and public credit—that his abhorrence of one foreign nation and enthusiastic devotion to another, have extinguished in him every germ of real national character; and, in short, that this elevation to the presidency must eventuate either in the debasement of the American name, by a whimsical, inconsistent, and feeble administration, or in the prostration of the United States at the feet of France, the subversion of our excellent constitution, and the consequent destruction of our present prosperity.

* See Jefferson's attempted vindication, in Dunlap's Daily Advertiser, of October, 1792.

NEW BOOKS.

A List of the Titles of all the New Books, which have been published, in the United Kingdom, or the Continent of Europe, and in America, during the last six months.—Those not otherwise expressed are in English.*

Agriculture, Horticulture, and rural Economy.

Magazine of the Sciences relating to Forests and the Chase, by Professor Leonhardi, with coloured plates. German. Leipsic.

New Forest Magazine, intended to aid the sciences relating to Forests and the Chase, formerly edited by W. G. de Moser, now by Dr. C. W. Gatterer. Germ. Ulm.

Works on Agriculture and Rural Economy, by Rey. Deplanazu, with many coloured plates. French. Paris.

Theoretical and practical course of Agriculture and rural Economy, with plates. French. Paris.

Rational Manner of Pruning Fruit-trees, and other operations relative to their culture, clearly demonstrated by physical reasons, drawn from their different natures, and manners of vegetating and bearing, by Butret, with plates. French. Paris.

Instruction for Shepherds and the Proprietors of Flocks, with other works on Sheep and Wool, by Daubenton. French. Paris.

* When we speak here of the last six months, we are to be understood as meaning the six months ending the 30th June for this kingdom, 31st of May for the continent of Europe, and 31st of March for America. We shall, in our next list, go back to those several epochs.

Memoirs and Observations on the Abuses in clearing Lands, and the destruction of forest trees, &c., by Rougier. French. Auxerre.

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Transactions of the Agricultural Society of New York. New York.

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Eclogæ Physicæ historiam et interpretationem corporum et rerum naturalium continentes, ex scriptoribus præcipius Græcis excerptæ in usum studiosæ literarum juventutis, à J. G. Schneider. Jena.

Christomathia Philoniana, sive loci illustres ex Philone Alexandrino decerpti, et cum animadversionibus editi, à J. C. G. Dahl. Hamburgh.

Æschyli Tragœdia quæ supersunt ac deperditanem fragmenta; recensuit. C. G. Schutz. Vol. 2. Halle.

C. G. Schutz in Æschyli tragœdiæ commentarius. Vol. 2. Halle.

Æschyli Tragœdiæ septem denuo recensuit et versionem Latinam adjecit. C. G. Schütz. Vol. 2. Halle.

Lucioni Samosatensis opera omnia, maxime et fide cod: Paris, recensita, edidit. F. Schmeider. Vol. 1. cum additamento ad tomum priorem., Halle.

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Q. Horatii Flacci opera, with German notes, by J. K. M. Ernesti. Berlin.

F. Jacobs Animadversiones in epigrammata anthologiæ Grecæ, secundum ordinem analectorum Brunkii. Vol. 3. Leipsic.

Animadversiones in Hymnos Homericos, cum prolegomenis de cujusque consilio, partibus, ætate; auctore Aug. Matthiæ. Leipsic.

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Thanksgiving for Plenty, and a Warning against Avarice; a Sermon preached in the Cathedral of Litchfield, by the Rev. R. Narves. London.

Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, at the ordinary Visitation of the Diocese, in July 1801, by Shute, Bishop of Durham. London.

Sermons on the Dignity of Man, and the value of the objects principally relating to human happiness, from the German of the late Rev G. J. Zollikofer, minister of the reformed congregation at Leipsic, by the Rev. W. Tooke, F.R.S. London.

Blessings of Peace; a Sermon, by the Rev. T. Haweis, L.L.B. M.D. London.

Utility of Seminaries for Religion and Learning, with a view to the Christian Ministry, a sermon, by James Knight. London.

Nicodemus, or a Treatise against the Fear of Man, by Aug. Herman Frank. London.

Ninth Volume of Sermons, by the Rev. John Wesley. London.

Day of good Tidings; a Sermon at Bath, by T. Broadhurst. London.

Dr. Evans's Sermons on the Christian Temper; a new edition: with his life, by Dr. Erskine. London.

Sermons by J. B. Massillon, Bishop of Clermont, selected and translated by W. Dickson, to which is prefixed the life of the author. London.

Dying Christian fleeing for Refuge to the Lord; a sermon, occasioned by the death of Miss Nancy Wilson, by J. Bowden. London.

Discourses at the Ordination of the Rev. J. Clayton, jun. by the Rev. W. Humphreys, J. Clayton, sen. and W. Nichol. London.

Difficulties and Supports of a Gospel Minister; and the duties incumbent on a Christian Church: a charge by J. Ryland, D.D. and a sermon by J. Hinton, at the ordination of T. Coles, A.M. at Bourton on the Water. London.

Memory of the Just: a sermon on the death of the Rev. J. Angus, Dec. 22, 1801, by W. Chaplin. London.

Introductory Discourse, by the Rev. R. Stevenson; the charge, by the Rev. J. Couchin; and the sermon, by the Rev. Joel Ray, at the ordination of the Rev. C. Dewhirst, Bury St. Edmund. London.

Sermons, chiefly designed for young Persons, by Daniel Sandford, A. M. chaplain to the Rt. Hon. Lady Abercromby. London.

Sermons on various subjects, by T. Cisbourne. London.

Lectures in Lent, during 1798, 99, 1800, and 1801, by Beilby Porteus, Lord Bishop of London. London.

St. Paul no Arian; or the End of the mediatorial Kingdom, a sermon, preached on Sunday the 25th of April, 1802, by the Rev. J. White Middleton, M.A. London.

Christian Principles the only Foundation of consistent Virtue; a sermon, at St. Edmund's Bury, before the Hon. Sir Nash Grose, Knt. at the Assizes held there for the County of Suffolk, March 26th, 1802, by the Rev. George Mathew, A.M. London.

Sermon, preached at the close of a Series of Lectures, on the signs and duties of the times, continued for nearly three years in the metropolis, by a Society of Clergymen, by Thos. Scott, chaplain to the Lock Hospital. London.

Stage playing immoral, vain, and dangerous; a Sermon, by J. Cobbin. London.

Sermon on the Sin of Cruelty towards the Brute Creation; preached in the Abbey Church at Bath, on February 15th, 1801, by the Rev.

Leigh Richmond, A.M. of Trinity College, Cambridge, &c. London.

Funeral Oration for the late Rev. Arthur O'Leary, O.S.F. pronounced at St. Patrick's Chapel, Soho Square, by the Rev. Morgan D'Arcy. London.

Thoughts on the late Harvest; a sermon, by C. V. Le Grice, A.B. London.

Sermons and Charges of the Right Rev. John Thomas, LL.D. late Lord Bishop of Rochester, and Dean of Westminster, published from the original MSS. by G. A. Thomas, A.M. his lordship's chaplain and executor, and rector of Woolwich, Kent, to which is prefixed, a sketch of the life and character of the author, by the editor, published for the benefit of the Philanthropic Society, St. George's Fields, under the patronage of his Grace the Duke of Leeds. London.

Great Mercies of the Lord, by the Rev. J. Clayton. London.

Blessings of Peace, by the Rev. S. Lowel. London.

I am for Peace, by J. Evans, A.M. London.

Removal of Judgments, by the Rev. W. B. Williams, A.B. London.

Reflections on War, by R. Hall, A.M. of Cambridge. London.

Volume of Sermons, by the Rev. W. Jay, of Bath. London.

Sermon on the Ignominy of ministerial Studies, by the Rev. S. Charrier, of Lancaster. London.

Four Sermons, on Repentance;—Evil of Sin;—Christ's Love;—Promise of the Spirit, by T. Scott. London.

Christian Zeal; a Sermon before the Scots' Society for propagating the Gospel in the Highlands, by J. Hughes, A.M. London.

Sermons and Essays, by J. Maclaurin. London.

Modern Infidelity considered, by R. Hall, A.M. London.

Young Christian's Triumph; a Sermon, by W. Smelle, on the Funeral of his only daughter. London.

Helps to Composition, or Five Hundred Skeletons of Sermons, by the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. London.

Influence of the Female Character upon Society considered, more especially with a reference to the present crisis, in a Sermon preached in the parish church of St. John, at Hackney, on Sunday, November 22, 1801, by the Rev. Henry Handley Norris, M.A. London.

Sermon preached before the Earl of Radnor, by C. P. Layard, D.D. F.R.S. F.S.A. Dean of Bristol. London.

Sermon, preached before the University of Oxford, May 16, 1802, by G. S. Faber, M.A. F.L.C. London.

Sermon, preached at Marsham on the 1st of June, by the author of Thoughts on the Preliminaries of Peace. London.

Four Sermons, preached in May last, before the Missionary Society, by the Rev. S. Lowell, G. Townshend, J. M. Mason, of New York, and Dr. Hawker; with the Annual Report, List of Subscribers. &c. London.

Statistics and Topography.

View of the Prussian Monarchy, with respect to its statistical and political situation. German. Berlin.

Statistical View of the Department of the Rhine and Moselle, by Cit. Van Recum. German. Coblentz.

Sketch of a statistical Table of Austria, &c. &c. by Baron de Lichtenstern. German. Vienna.

Valley of Murg considered with respect to its statistical situation, and its productions of nature and art, by K. F. V. Jagerschmidt, with plates. German. Nuremburg.

Abstract of the statistical Views, published by order of the Minister of the Interior. French. Paris.

Continuation of the statistical Views, published by the order of the Minister of the Interior. French. Paris.

Topographical Description of the Department of Marne. French. Paris.

Statistical Views of the Department of Golo, by Cit. Pietry. French. Paris.

Statistical View of the Department of Gers, by Cit. Balguerie. French. Paris.

Willis's Survey of St. Asaph, considerably enlarged, and brought down to the present time, with the life of the author, by E. Edwards, A.M. London.

Picture of London for the present Year, with tables, maps, and views. London.

Topographical Description of Campania. Italian. Naples.

Switzerland at the End of the 18th Century. German.

Stockholm. 2 Vol. Swedish. Stockholm.

Topography of Holstein, by J. F. A. Doerfer. German. Sleswic.

Essay towards a physico-medical Description of Hamburg, by J. J. Ramback. German. Hamburg.

Castles, by Edward King, Esq. F.R.S. with plates. London.

Fugitive Sketches of the History and natural Beauties of Clifton Hot-Wells and Vicinity, by G. Manley, Esq. with plates. London.

Theology and Church Affairs

Plain Reasons why we should believe in Christ, and adhere to his religion; addressed to the patrons and professors of the new philosophy, by Richard Cumberland, Esq. London.

Form of Unitarian Worship, for the use of a society of Dissenters at Witham. London.

Epistle of Paul to the Romans analysed, from a development of the circumstances by which it was occasioned, by J. Jones. London.

Roman Catholic Religion in France in 1801, by Bonnet. French. Paris.

Influence of Religion on the Glory and Happiness of the People, by J. Monnier. French. Paris.

Genius of Christianity, or the beauties of the Christian Religion, by F. A. Châteaubriand. French. Paris.

Village Dialogues, by the Rev. R. Hill, A.M. London.

Holy Bible, printed in a new manner, with notes, by J. Reeves, Esq. London.

New Testament, ditto, Book of Common Prayer, ditto. London.

Buck's Theological Dictionary. London.

Leslie's short and easy Method with the Deists,

wherein the certainty of the Christian Religion is established by four infallible marks. (In a letter to a friend.) To which are subjoined four additional marks from the same author's subsequent tract. London.

Anguis in Herba, a sketch of the true character of the Church of England and her Clergy, as a caveat against the misconstruction of artful, and the misconception of weak men, on the subject of a bill about to be brought into Parliament for the revisal of certain Ecclesiastical Statutes concernidg non-residence, &. London.

Address to Mr. N———, of Pentonville, in answer to his Pamphlet, "Is Persecution a Christian Substitute for the Commands of Christ," &c. by Phebe, a servant of the church which is at London. London.

Annotations on the Holy Bible, by the late Rev. and learned Mr. Poole, and others. London.

Critical Remarks on many important passages of Scripture, together with Dissertations upon several Subjects, tending to illustrate the Phraseology and Doctrine of the New Testament, by the late Rev. Newcome Cappe; to which are prefixed Memoirs of his Life, by the editor, Catherine Cappe. London.

Missionary Society reviewed and examined; shewing, that its constitution is without Scripture Institution, with some Hints on the absurd manner of giving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and Ordination of Itinerant Preachers, by an old Puritan. London.

Calvinistic and Socinian Systems compared, with an Appendix in answer to Dr. Toulmin and Mr. Kentish, by A. Fuller. London.

Character and Properties of true Charity displayed, translated from the French of Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray. London.

Scenic Arrangement of Isaiah's Prophecy, by N. Scarlett. London.

Last Days of a Person who had been one of Thomas Paine's Disciples, and who departed this life on Thursday, 11th February, 1802, by William Wait, A.B. London.

Christian Remembrancer, in short Reflections upon the Faith, Life, and Conduct of a real Christian. London.

Zion's Pilgrim, by R. Hawker, D.D. Vicar of Charles, Plymouth. London.

Christian Observer, miscellaneous, literary, and historical (a new monthly publication), conducted by Members of the Church of England. London.

Glorious Prospects opened up in North America, favourable to the views and wishes of all persons friendly to the interests of humanity and religion. London.

Door of knowledge, opened in a spiritual campaign, by John Allen, author of the Spiritual Magazine. London.

Scripture illustrated by Engravings, referring to natural science, customs, manners, &c. London.

Apology for Adherence to the Doctrine, Discipline, and Communion of the Church of England, in two dialogues, between John Newman and Peter Waver. London.

Essay on the Sign of the Prophet Jonah, intended to remove the deistical objection concerning the time of our Saviour's burial, in attempting to prove, that the prediction relates to the duration of his ministry upon earth, by L. James; with a letter to a friend on Rev. xii. 6. London.

Introduction to Christianity, designed to preserve young people from irreligion and vice. London.

Backslider, or an inquiry into the nature, symptoms, and effects of religious declension, with the means of recovery, by A. Fuller. London.

Truth and Excellence of the Scriptures, taken from French writers. French. London.

Books of Prophecies and inspired Writings of Joanna Southcott, of Exeter, fortelling the immediate destruction of Satan's kingdom, and the immediate establishment of Christ's kingdom of peace on earth. London.

Summary View of the Nature and Tendency of Sunday Evening Lectures in the Parish-Churches of populous or large manufacturing Cities and Towns; or a serious and candid appeal to the members of the established church; with an account of some of the causes which have prevented their establishment, and suggestions for removing those causes in future. London.

Plain Thoughts on the New Testament Doctrine of Atonement, by John Simpson. London.

Sequel to the Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World, being testimonies in behalf of Christian candour and unanimity, by divines of the church of England, the kirk of Scotland, and among the Protestant dissenters. To which is prefixed, an Essay on the Right of private Judgment in Matters of Religion, by John Evans, A.M. London.

Illustrations of the Truth of the Christian Religion, by Edw. Maltby, B.D. Chaplain to the bishop of Lincoln. London.

Self Employment in Secret, left under the handwriting of the Rev. Mr. Corbet late of Chichester, edited by the Rev. W. Unwin, A.M. London.

Essay on Faith, and its connection with good works, by the Rev. J. Rotheram, M.A. London.

History of the Life and Death of our blessed Saviour, by Mrs. Catharine D'Oyly; with a recommendatory advertisement, by the Rev. W. Gilpin, M.A. London.

Critical and practical Elucidation of the Book of Common Prayer, by John Shepherd, M.A. London.

Religion without Cant, &c. by R. Fellowes, A.M. London.

Letter humbly addressed to the Most Rev. and Right Rev. the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England. London.

Vindication of Dissenters against the Charge of Democratic Scheming, by Edward Parsons. London.

Sermons and Essays by the late Rev. John M'Laurin, one of the Ministers of Glasgow, published from the author's MS. by Dr. John Gillies, a new edition. London.

Charge by the Bishop of Durham. London.

Remarks on the Doctrine of Justification by Faith, in a letter to the Rev. John Overton, A.B. by E. Pearson, B.D. London.

History of the Reformation, from the French of M. de Beausobre, by J. Macauly, Esq. A.B. M.R.I.A. to which is prefixed the author's life. London.

Oriental Customs, or an illustration of the sacred Scriptures, by an explanatory application of the customs and manners of the Eastern nations, by Samuel Burder. London.

Extracts from the Pentateuch, compared with similar passages from the Greek and Latin Authors, with notes, by G. Popham, D.D. London.

Observations on Dr. Sturges' Pamphlet respecting the Non-residence of the Clergy, in a letter to Mr. Baron Maseres. London.,

Nonconformist's Memorial. With portraits. London.

Periodical Accounts of the Baptist Missionary Society. London.

Letters to the anonymous Author of Remarks on Marsh's Michaelis and his Commentator, relating to, especially, the Dissertation. By H. Marsh, B.D. F.R.S. London.

Plea for Religion and the Sacred Writings, addressed to the disciples of Thomas Paine, and wavering Christians of every persuasion; with an appendix, containing the author's determination to have relinquished his charge in the established church, and the reasons on which that determination was founded, by the Rev. David Simpson, M. A. London.

Articles of the Church of England proved not to be Calvinistic, by T. Kipling, D. D. London.

Act of Grace, &c. explained to a man of a very singular character in a county gaol. London.

Evidence for the Authenticity and divine Inspiration of the Apocalypse stated, and vindicated from the objections of the late Professor Michaelis, in letters addressed to the Rev. Herb. Marsh, B. D. F.R.S. London.

Scriptural Defence of Election and Predestination, in a sermon, preached at the Baptist Meeting House, Horsham, Suffolk, by Edward Manser. London.

Essay on the Method of illustrating the Scripture, by J. Foster, A. B. London.

Small Collection of private Devotions for Persons of all Ages, by a Lady of Distinction. London.

Remarks on Justification, in a letter to the Rev. J. Overton, by E. Pearson, B.D. London.

Secular Essay, containing a retrospective view of Events, connected with the ecclesiastical history of England during the eighteenth century, with reflections on the state of practical religion in that period, by John Brewster, A.M. London.

Doctrines and Duties of the Christian Religion, extracted from the sacred writings. French. London.

Letters on the Existence and Character of the Deity, and on the moral state of man. Philadelphia.

Age of Revelation, by E. Boudinot, LL.D. Philadelphia.

Bishop Moore's pastoral Letter to the Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the State of New York. New York.

Force of Contrast continued, or extracts and animadversions, with occasional strictures on the contraster and others of Mr. Beere's opponents, &c. &c. London.

Recorder, a collection of tracts relative to the Quakers, by W. Mathews. Bath.

Beauties of the Bible, by E. Sampson. Hudson.

Veterinary Science.

Veterinary Transactions, &c. &c. published by order of the Veterinary College. With plates. London.

Veterinary Pathology, or a treatise on the cure and progress of the diseases of the horse, by W. Riding. Vet. Surg. London.

Outlines of the Veterinary Art, or the principles of medicine as applied to a knowledge of the structure of the functions and economy of the horse, ox, sheep and dog, with a scientific method of treating their disorders, by D. Blaine. With plates. London.

Dictionary of the Veterinary Art, by T. Bordman. London.

Veterinary Economy, or the art of raising and managing the principal domestic animals, edited by J. Riem and G. S. Bentler. With plates. German. Leipsic.

Voyages and Travels.

Journal of Frederick Horneman's Travels from Cairo to Mourzank, the capital of the kingdom of Fezzam, in Africa, in the years 1797-8. London.

Cambrian Itinerary, or Welch tourist, by T. Evans. London.

Magazine of modern Voyages and Travels, translated from all languages, and accompanied with notes. With many engravings. German. Berlin.

Letters of a Russian Traveller, by N. Karamsin. Russian. Petersburgh.

Travels through part of Germany, Italy, and France, during the years 1798 and 9, by E. M. Arndt. German. Leipsic.

Universal Traveller, or notices of the old and new world, extracted from the works of the best travellers, by D.P.E.P. Spanish. Madrid.

Traveller in Germany and the neighbouring Countries, intended for travellers of all classes, with a large map of roads, by Reichard. German. Weimar.

Travels in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and a part of Italy, in the years 1797-8-9, with numerous engravings, by M. Küttner. German. Leipsic.

Travels in Italy, by the Abbé Barthélemy. Printed from his original letters, written to Count de Caylus. French. Paris.

Historical and pictoresque Tour through Istria and Dalmatia, compiled by J. Lavallee, designed by Cassas, and engraved by Nee. French. Paris.

Norden's Travels in Egypt, &c. &c. with notes and additions, by Langles, Mem. Nat. Inst. With many plates. French. Paris.

Voyage to Senegal, &c. &c. by Lejaille, with notes, &c. by Labarthe, with a map by Tardieu. French. Paris.

Travels in Italy, by J. L. Meyers. French. Paris.

Pictoresque Tour through Syria, Phenicia, Palestine, and Lower Egypt, by Cit. Cassas. With plates. French. Paris.

Travels in the Departments of France. The text by Lavallée, the geographical part by Brion, and the drawings by Brion, jun. French. Paris.

Journey to Mount d'Or, by the Author of the Journey to Constantinople through Germany and Hungary. French. Paris.

General Picture of all the Roads and Cross-roads of France, to which is added the itinerary of the Low Countries, and the direction of all the roads to the capital towns in the kingdoms bordering upon France, with a large map of roads. French. Paris.

Travels in Sicily, Greece, and the Levant, by Baron de Reidesel; with a history of Sicily, by A. Novairi; translated from the Arabic, by Cit. Caussen. French. Paris.

Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire, translated from the German

of Professor Pallas. With numerous engravings. London.

Tour through the northern Counties of England, and the Borders of Scotland, by Rev. R. Warner. With plates. London.

Travels in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, and Persia, translated from the French of G. A. Olivier, Mem. Nat. Inst. &c. With many engravings. London.

Travels in Greece and Turkey, by C. S. Sonini. With an atlas. London.

Travels through Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Sicily, translated from the German of Count Stolberg, by T. Holcroft. With many plates. London.

Voyage round the World, performed during the years 1790-1-2, by Marchand, preceded by an historical introduction, &c. translated from the French of C. P. Claret Fleurieu, Mem. Nat. Inst. &c. With many engravings. London.

Travels through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland, to the North Cape in 1798-9, by J. Acerbi. With numerous plates. London.

Historical Tour in Monmouthshire, by Rev. W. Coxe, A.M. &c. &c. London.

Sketches and Observations on a Tour through Part of the South of Europe, by J. Wolff. London.

Eccentric Excursions through England and Wales, by G. M. Woodward. With more than 100 plates. London.

Picturesque Tour through London and Westminster, with 100 views of the principal objects, by T. Malton. London.

Walk through Southampton, by Sir H. C. Englefield, Bart. F.R.S. With plates. London.

Letters from an English Traveller, written in French, by the Rev. Mr. Sherlock, A.M. translated from the original. London.

Account of a Voyage from Hamburg to England, and travels in England in 1799, by P. A. Nomnich. German. Tubingue.

Weights, Measures, and Coins.

Constitutional and primitive Metrology compared together, with the system formerly in use in France. French. Paris.

The Weigher's Guide, according to decimal calculation, with comparative tables of the former and present systems in use in France, by Alletz. French. Paris.

Comparison of the former and present Systems of Metrology, by Carondelet. French. Paris.

SOCIETY OF ARTS, &c.

An Account of the Society, instituted at London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; as also of the PREMIUMS *offered, and of the* REWARDS *awarded, by the said Society, in* 1802.

The chief objects of the *Society* are to promote the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce of this kingdom, by giving rewards for all such useful inventions, discoveries, and improvements, (though not mentioned in this book), as tend to that purpose; and, in pursuance of this plan, the *Society* have already expended near *fifty thousand pounds*, advanced by voluntary subscriptions of their members, and legacies bequeathed.

The manner in which this money has been distributed may be seen by applying to the Secretary or other officers of the *Society*, at their house in the Adelphi. The Register of the Premiums and Bounties they have given will shew the very great advantages which the Public have derived from this Institution.

The meetings of the *Society* are held every Wednesday, at seven o'clock in the evening, from the fourth Wednesday in October to the first Wednesday in June. The several Committees meet on other evenings in the week during the session.

In order still further to promote the laudable views of this *Society*, it may be necessary to explain the mode by which its members continue to be elected.

Each member has the privilege, at any weekly meeting of the *Society*, of proposing any person who is desirous to become a member, provided such proposal is signed by three members of the *Society*.

Peers of the Realm or Lords of Parliament are, on their being proposed, immediately ballotted for; and the name, with the addition and place of abode, of every other person proposing to become a member, is to be delivered to the Secretary, who is to read the same, and properly insert the name in a list, which is to be hung up in the *Society's* room until the next meeting; at which time such person shall be ballotted for; and, if two-thirds of the members, then voting, ballot in his favour, he shall be deemed a perpetual member, upon payment of twenty guineas at one payment; or a subscribing member, upon payment of any sum not less than two guineas annually.

Every member is entitled to vote and be concerned in all the transactions of the *Society*, and to attend and vote at the several Committees. He has also the privilege of recommending two persons as Auditors, at the weekly meeting of the *Society*; and, by addressing a note to the housekeeper, of introducing his friends to examine the various models, machines, and productions, in different branches of arts, manufactures, and commerce, for which rewards have been bestowed; and to inspect the magnificent series of moral and historical paintings so happily contrived and completed by *James Barry*, Esq. which, with some valuable busts and statues, decorate the Great Room. He has likewise the use of a valuable library; and is entitled to the annual volume of the *Society's* transactions.

The time appointed for admission to the paintings or models, is from ten to two o'clock, Sundays and Wednesdays excepted.

Premiums in Agriculture.

The public are requested to take notice that the *Society* abide by the premiums offered in the 18th volume of their Transactions, for the setting of acorns, and planting of timber trees, although such premiums are not here reprinted.

Class 1. *Forest-Trees.*—To the person who shall have inclosed and planted, or set, the greatest number of acres (not less than ten) of land, that is incapable of being ploughed, such as the borders of rivers, the sides of precipices, and any land that has too many rocks, or that is not calculated to repay the expense of tillage, owing to the stiffness or poverty of the soil, the surface being too hilly, mountainous, or otherwise unfit for tillage, with the best sorts of forest-trees, namely, oak, Spanish chesnuts, ash, elm, beech, alder, willow, larch, spruce and silver fir, with or without screens of Scotch fir, adapted to

the soil, and intended for timber trees, between the 1st of October, 1801, and the 1st of April, 1802, the gold medal.

2. For the second greatest quantity of land, not less than seven acres; the silver medal, or twenty guineas.

3. For the third greatest quantity of land, not less than five acres, the silver medal. A particular account of the methods used in making and managing the plantations, the nature of the soil, the probable number of each sort of plants, together with proper certificates that they were in a healthy and thriving state two years at least after making the plantation, to be delivered to the *Society* on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1805.

4, 5, 6. The same premiums are extended one year further. Certificates to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in Nov. 1806.

7. *Ascertaining the best method of raising Oaks.* To the person who shall ascertain in the best manner, by actual experiments, the comparative merits of the different modes of raising oaks for timber, either from acorns set on land of the foregoing description properly dug or tilled, from acorns set by the spade or dibble, without digging or tillage, either on a smooth surface, or among bushes, fern, or other cover; or from young plants previously raised in nurseries, and transplanted; regard being had to the expense, growth, and other respective advantages of the several methods; the gold medal. The accounts and proper certificates that not less than one acre has been cultivated in each mode, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1802.

8. The same premium is extended one year further. The accounts and certificates to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1803.

9. *Osiers.*—To the persons who shall have planted, between the 1st of October, 1801, and the 1st of May, 1802, the greatest quantity of land, not less than five acres, with those kinds of willows, commonly known by the names of osier, Spaniard, new-kind, or French, fit for the purpose of basket-makers, not fewer than twelve thousand plants on each acre; the gold medal, or thirty guineas.

10. For the second greatest quantity of land, not less than three acres; the silver medal, or ten guineas. Certificates of the planting, and that the plants were in a thriving state five months at least after the planting, to be produced to the Society on or before the last Tuesday in November, 1802.

11. The same premiums are extended one year farther. Certificates to be produced on or before the last Tuesday in Nov. 1803.

*** The candidates for planting all kinds of trees are to produce certificates that the respective plantations are properly fenced and secured, and particularly to state the condition of the plants at the time of signing such certificates. Any information which the candidates for the foregoing premiums may choose to communicate, relative to the methods made use of in forming the plantations, or promoting the growth of the several trees, or any other observations that may have occurred on the subject, will be thankfully received.

12. *Securing Plantations of Timber-trees and Hedge-rows.*—To the person who shall give to the Society the most satisfactory account, founded on experience, of the most effectual and least expensive method of securing young plantations of timber-trees, and hedge-rows, from hares and rabbits, as well as sheep and larger cattle, which at the same time shall be least subject to the depredations of wood-stealers, the silver medal, or twenty guineas. The accounts and certificates of the efficacy of the method to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1802.

13. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in Nov. 1803.

14. *Preventing the Blight, or Ravages of Insects, on Fruit-trees and Culinary Plants.*—To the person who shall discover to the Society the most effectual method of preventing the blight, or ravages of insects, on fruit-trees and culinary plants, superior to any hitherto known or practised, and verified by actual and comparative experiments; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The accounts with proper certificates, to be delivered to the Society on or before the second Tuesday in November, 1802.

15. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be delivered on or before the second Tuesday in November, 1803.

16. *Removing the ill effects of Blights or Insects.*—To the person who shall discover to the Society the most effectual method of removing the ill effects of blights, or insects, on fruit-trees and culinary plants, superior to any hitherto known or practised, and verified by actual and comparative experiments; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The accounts and certificates to be delivered to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

17. *Comparative Tillage.*—For the most satisfactory set of experiments, made on not less than eight acres of land, four of which to be trench-ploughed *, and four to be ploughed in the usual manner, in order to ascertain in what cases it may be adviseable to shorten the operations of tillage, by adopting one trench-ploughing, for the purpose of burying the weeds, instead of the method, now in common use, of ploughing and harrowing the land three or four times, and raking the weeds together and burning them; the gold medal, or forty guineas. It is required that every operation and expense attending each mode of culture be fully and accurately described, and that proper certificates of the nature and condition of the land on which the experiments are made, together with a circumstantial account of the appearance of the subsequent crops during their growth; and also of the quantity and weight of the corn and straw under each mode of culture, or, in case of a green crop, the weight of an average sixteen perches, be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in Feb. 1803.

18. *Comparative Culture of Wheat, broad-cast, drilled, and dibbled.*—For the best set of experiments made on not less than twelve acres, four of which to be sown broad-cast, four drilled, and four dibbled, the two latter in equi-distant rows, in order fully to ascertain which is the most advantageous mode of cultivating wheat; the gold medal, or forty guineas. It is required that every operation and expense of each mode of culture be fully described; and that proper certificates of the nature and condition of the land on which the experiments are made, together with an account of the produce of the corn, the weight per bushel, and also of the straw, be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

19. *Spring Wheat.* To the person who, between the 10th of January and the 10th of April, 1802,

* It is a common practice among gardeners, when they have a piece of very foul land, to dig it two spits, or about eighteen inches deep, shovelling the weeds to the bottom. This they call trenching.

shall cultivate the greatest quantity of wheat, not less than ten acres; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required that the time of sowing and reaping be noticed; also a particular account of the species, cultivation, and expense attending it, with proper certificates of the nature and condition of the land on which the experiments were made, and the name of the crop, if any, which the same land bore the preceding year; together with an account of the produce, the weight per Winchester bushel; and a sample, not less than a quarter, be produced to the Society on or before the second Tuesday in February, 1803.

It is supposed that sowing wheat early in the spring will not only allow more time to till the land but less for the growth of weeds; thus rendering the wheat as clean as a barley crop, and exhausting the soil much less than autumnal sowing. It may be seen in the 19th volume that the wheat usually sown in autumn may be put into the ground, with great success, so late as February or March, thus giving time to clear the ground from turnips, or to avoid a bad season.

20. *Beans and Wheat.* To the person who shall have dibbled or drilled, between the first of December, 1801, and the 1st of April, 1802, the greatest quantity of land, not less than ten acres, with beans, in equi-distant rows, and hoed the intervals twice or oftener, and shall have sown the same land with wheat in the autumn of the year 1802; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required that an account of the sort and quantity of beans, the time of dibbling or drilling, and of reaping or mowing them, the produce per acre threshed, the expense of dibbling or drilling, hand or horse hoeing, the distance of the rows, and the quality of the soil, together with certificates of the number of acres, and that the land was afterwards actually sown with wheat, be produced on or before the second Tuesday in March, 1803.

21. *Beans.* To the person who, in the year 1801, shall discover and cultivate, either by the drill or dibbling-method, on not less than five acres, a species of horse-beans or tick-beans, that will ripen their seeds before the 21st of August; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required that a particular account of the bean, the cultivation, and the expense attending it, with proper certificates of the nature and condition of the land on which the experiments are made, together with an account of the produce, the weight per Winchester bushel, and a sample of not less than a quart, be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in December, 1802. It is apprehended that, if a bean should be brought into cultivation with the habits of the hotspur, or other early peas, that it would, in a great measure, escape the danger arising from the collier-insect, or other insects, and allow more time for the farmers to till the land for the subsequent crop of wheat. The accounts and certificates to be delivered on or before the first Tuesday in December, 1802.

22. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be delivered on or before the first Tusday in December, 1803.

23. *Comparative Culture of Turnips.* For the best set of experiments made on not less than eight acres of land, four of which to be sown broad-cast, and four drilled, to ascertain whether it is most advantageous to cultivate turnips by sowing them broad-cast and hand-hoeing them, or by drilling them in equi-distant rows, and hand or horse-hoeing the intervals; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required that every operation and expense of each mode of culture be fully described, and that proper certificates of the nature and condition of the land, on which the experiments were made, together with the weight of the turnips grown, on a fair average sixteen perches of land, under each mode of culture, be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1803. The object which the Society have in view in offering this premium is experimentally to ascertain the most advantageous method of growing turnips. To do this in a satisfactory manner, both the drilled and broad-cast crops should have the advantage of the most perfect cultivation, consequently the drilled crops should have the intervals between the rows worked by the horse or hand-hoe, or by both these implements; and the rows should be either weeded or hand-hoed, or both weeded and hand-hoed. The broad-cast crop should have every advantage which weeding and hand-hoeing can give it, consistently with leaving the soil a flat surface.

24. The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1804.

25. *Parsnips.* To the person who, in the year 1802, shall cultivate the greatest quantity of land, not less than five acres, with parsnips, for the sole purpose of feeding cattle or sheep; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Certificates of the quantity of land so cultivated, with a particular account of the nature of the soil and weight of the produce on sixteen perches, and also of the condition of the cattle or sheep fed with the parsnips, and the advantages resulting from the practice, to be produced to the Society on or before the second day in November, 1803.

26. *Buck Wheat.* To the person who shall cultivate the greatest quantity of land with buck wheat, not less than thirty acres; the gold medal. It is required that the time of sowing and reaping be noticed, also a particular account of the species, cultivation, and expense attending it, the manner of reaping it, threshing it, and housing the grain, with proper certificates of the nature and condition of the land on which the experiments were made, and the name of the crop, if any, which the same land bore the preceding year, together with an account of the produce, and a sample of the seed, not less than a quart, be produced to the Society on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803.

27. For the next greatest quantity, not less than fifteen acres, on similar conditions; the silver medal. Information respecting its application to the feeding of cattle, hogs, and poultry, and other of its uses, is also desired. It is known to be particularly serviceable in furnishing honey to bees.

28. *Raising Grass Seeds.* To the person who shall raise the greatest quantity of each or any of the following named grass seeds, viz.—Meadow fox-tail (alopecurus pratensis,) sweet scented vernal grass (anthoxanthum odoratum,)Timothy grass, meadow Fescue grass, smooth-stalked meadow grass (poa pratensis,) rough-stalked meadow grass (poa trivalis); the silver medal, or ten guineas. It is required that certificates from persons who have viewed them in a proper state, to identify that they are one or other of the seeds above-mentioned, indicating clearly the particular species, and noticing the quantity produced of such seeds, free from weeds or mixture of other grasses, together with proper samples of the seeds, be produced to the Society on or before the first day of February, 1803.

29. The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be produced on or before the first day of February, 1804.

30. *Rotation of Crops.* To the person who shall,

between the 10th of August, 1801, and the 10th of September, 1803, cultivate the greatest quantity of land, not less than forty acres, in the following rotation, viz.—1st, winter tares; 2d, turnips; and 3d, wheat; and apply the two former crops, in the best and most farmer-like mannner, to the rearing, supporting, and fattening horses, cattle, sheep, or hogs, on the land which produced the crops; the gold medal, or one hundred guineas.

31. For the next in quantity and merit, on not less than thirty acres; the silver medal, or fifty guineas.

32. For the next in quantity and merit, on not less than twenty acres; the silver medal. It is required that every operation and expense be fully described, and that satisfactory certificates of the nature and condition of the soil on which the crops have grown, together with an account of their appearance, the number of horses and cattle, sheep or hogs, fed by the two green crops, and, as near as possible, the improved value of the live stock by the consumption of those crops, and also the quantity of wheat per acre, and its weight per bushel, be produced to the Society on or before the first day of November, 1804.

It is presumed that very great advantages will arise to such agriculturists as shall adopt this rotation of crops on a dry soil. They will be enabled, with the addition of a few acres of turnip-rooted cabbage for spring-food, to keep such large flocks of sheep and herds of neat cattle as may secure a sufficient quantity of manure to fertilize their land in the highest degree, and in every situation. It is farther conceived what wheats which will bear sowing in the spring will be particularly suitable for this premium.

33. The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be delivered on or before the first day of November, 1805.

34. *Preserving Turnips.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method of preserving turnips perfectly sound, and in every respect fit for the purpose of supporting and fattening sheep and neat cattle, during the months of February, March, and April; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. It is required that a full and accurate account of the method employed, and the expense attending the process, together with certificates that the produce of four acres at the least have been preserved according to the method described, and applied to the feeding of sheep and neat cattle; that the whole were drawn out of the ground before the first day of February, in order to clear the greater part of it previous to its being prepared for corn, and to save the soil from being exhausted by the turnips; and also of the weight of an average sixteen perches of the crop; be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1803.

N. B. It is recommended to those who may be induced to try the necessary experiments for obtaining this and the following four premiums to consider the method employed for the preservation of potatoes in ridges, (which the growers call pies,) and also the propriety of adopting a similar method in cases where they are previously frozen. It is supposed that, in the latter instance, the addition of ice or snow, and the construction of the ridges upon a large scale, may be sufficient to preserve the freezing temperature till the vegetables are wanted for the use of cattle or sheep, at which time they may be thawed by immersion in cold weather, and the rot which a sudden thaw produces may be prevented.

35. For the next in quantity and merit, on not less than two acres, the silver medal, or fifteen guineas.

36. *Preserving Cabbages.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method of preserving drum-headed cabbages perfectly sound, and in every respect fit for the purpose of supporting and fattening sheep and neat cattle during the months of February, March, and April; the gold medal, or thirty guineas.

37. For the next in quantity and merit, on not less than two acres, the silver medal, or fifteen guineas. Conditions the same as for preserving turnips, Cl. 34. And the accounts to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1803.

38. *Preserving Carrots, Parsnips, or Beets.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method of preserving carrots, parsnips, or beets, perfectly sound, and in every respect fit for the purpose of supporting horses, and fattening sheep and neat cattle, during the months of February, March, and April; the silver medal, or fifteen guineas. Conditions the same as for preserving turnips, Cl. 34. and the accounts to be delivered in on or before the first day in November, 1803.

39. *Preserving Potatoes.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method of preserving potatoes, two or more years, perfectly sound, without vegetating, and in every other respect fit for the purpose of sets and the use of the table, and, consequently of supporting and fattening cattle; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required, that a full and accurate account of the method employed, and the expense attending the process, with certificates that one hundred bushels at the least have been preserved according to the method described, and that one or more bushels of the same potatoes have been set, and produced a crop without any apparent diminution of their vegetative power; and also that they have been used at table, with entire satisfaction to the person who eat of them, together with a sample of one bushel, be sent to the Society, on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1804.

40. *Making Meadow Hay in wet Weather.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method, superior to any hitherto practised, of making meadow hay in wet weather; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. A full account of the method employed, and of the expense attending the process, with not less than fifty-six pounds of the hay; and certificates that at least the produce of six acres of land has been made according to the method described, and that the whole is of equal quality with the samples; to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

41. *Harvesting Corn in wet Weather.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and cheapest method, superior to any hitherto practised, of harvesting corn in wet weather; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. A full account of the method employed, and of the expense attending the process, with not less than two sheaves of the corn, and certificates that at least the produce of ten acres has been harvested according to the method described, and that the whole is of equal quality with the samples, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

42. *Ascertaining the component Parts of arable Land.* To the person who shall produce to the Society the most satisfactory set of experiments to ascertain the due proportion of the several component parts of rich arable land, in one or more counties in Great-Britain, by an accurate analysis of it; and who hav-

ing made a like analysis of some poor arable land, shall, by comparing the component parts of each, and thereby ascertaining the deficiencies of the poor soil, improve a quantity of it, not less than one acre, by the addition of such parts as the former experiments shall have discovered to be wanting therein, and therefore probably the cause of its sterility; the gold medal, or forty guineas. It is required that the manurings, ploughings, and crops, of the improved land, be the same after the improvement as before; and that a minute account of the produce in each state, of the weather, and of the various influencing circumstances, together with the method made use of in analysing the soils, be produced, with proper certificates, and the chemical results of the analysis, which are to remain the property of the Society, on or before the last Tuesday in November, 1803.

It is expected that a quantity, not less than six pounds, of the rich, of the poor, and of the improved soils, be produced with the certificates.

43. *Improving Land lying waste.* For the most satisfactory account of the best method of improving any of the following soils, being land lying waste or uncultivated, viz. clay, gravel, sand, chalk, peat-earth, and bog, verified by experiments on not less than fifty acres of land; the gold medal, or thirty guineas.

44. For the next greatest quantity, not less than thirty acres, the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required that the land before such improvement be absolutely uncultivated, and in a great measure useless, and that, in its improved state, it be enclosed, cultivated, and divided into closes. Certificates of the number of acres, of the quality of the land so improved, with a full account of every operation and expense attending such improvement, the state it is in as to the proportion of grass to arable, and the average-value thereof, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

45. *Manures.* For the most satisfactory set of experiments, to ascertain the comparative advantages of the following manures, used as top-dressings on grass or corn land, viz. soot, coal-ashes, wood-ashes, lime, gypsum, night-soil, or any other fit article: the gold medal, or the silver medal and twenty guineas. It is required that the above experiments be made between two or more of the above-mentioned manures, and that not less than two acres of land be dressed with each manure. An account of the nature of the soil, quantity and expense of the manure and crops, with certificates, to be produced on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1803.

46. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be produced on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1804.

47. *Gaining Land from the Sea.* To the person who shall produce to the Society an account of the best method, verified by actual experiment, of gaining land from the sea, not less than twenty acres, on the coast of Great-Britain or Ireland; the gold medal. Certificates of the quantity of land, and that the experiments were begun after the 1st of January, 1796, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in October, 1802.

48. The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in October, 1803.

49. The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in October, 1804.

50. *Machine for dibbling Wheat.* To the person who shall invent a machine, superior to any hitherto known or in use, to answer the purpose of dibbling wheat, by which the holes for receiving the grain may be made at equal distances and proper depths; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. The machine, with certificates that at least three acres have been dibbled by it, to be produced to the Society on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803. Simplicity and cheapness in the construction will be considered as principal parts of its merit.

51. *Machine for reaping or mowing Corn.* For inventing a machine to answer the purpose of mowing or reaping wheat, rye, barley, oats, or beans, by which it may be done more expeditiously and cheaper than by any method now practised, provided it does not shed the corn or pulse more than the methods in common practice, and that it lays the straw in such a manner that it may be easily gathered up for binding; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The machine, with certificates that at least three acres have been cut by it, to be produced to the Society on or before the second Tuesday in December, 1802. Simplicity and cheapness in the construction will be considered as principal parts of its merits.

52. *Threshing Machine.* To the person who shall invent a machine by which corn of all sorts may be threshed more expeditiously, effectually, and at a less expense, than by any method now in use, the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The machine or a model with proper certificates, that such a machine has been usefully applied, that at least thirty quarters have been threshed by it, and of the time employed in the operation, to be produced to the Society on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1803.

53. *Destroying the Grub of the Cockchafer.* To the person who shall discover to the Society an effectual method, verified by repeated and satisfactory trials, of destroying the grub of the cockchafer, or of preventing or checking the destructive effects which always attend corn, peas, beans, and turnips, when attacked by those insects; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The accounts, with proper certificates, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

54. *Destroying Worms.* To the person who shall discover to the Society an effectual method, verified by repeated and satisfactory trials, of destroying worms, or of preventing the destructive effects they occasion on corn, beans, peas, or other pulse; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The accounts, with proper certificates, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

55. *Destroying the Fly on Hops.* To the person who shall discover to the Society an easy and efficacious method of destroying the fly on hops, superior to any hitherto known or practised, on not less than four acres of hop ground, the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Accounts and certificates to be delivered to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

56. *Cure of the Rot in Sheep.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and most effectual method of curing the rot in sheep, verified by repeated and satisfactory experiments; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. It is expected, that the candidates furnish accurate accounts of the symptoms and cure of the disease, together with the imputed cause thereof, and the actual or probable means of prevention, which, with proper certificates, must be delivered to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

57. *Preventing the ill Effects of Flies on Sheep.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the most effectual method of protecting sheep from being disturbed and injured by flies; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required that the method be ascertained by repeated experiments, and that a certificate of its efficacy be delivered to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in December, 1802.

58. *Protecting Sheep.* To the person who, in the year 1802, shall protect the greatest number of sheep, not fewer than one hundred, by hovels, sheds, or any other means, and give the most satisfactory account, verified by experiment, of the advantages arising from the practice of protecting sheep from the inclemency of the weather, by hovels, sheds, or any other means; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. A particular account of the experiments made, with the advantages arising therefrom, together with the expense, and certificates of its utility, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1803.

59. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be delivered on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1804.

N. B. It is required that the certificates shall specify the length of time the sheep were so protected, and the manner in which they were maintained during that time; together with the general method of managing them.

60. *Improving the Condition of the labouring Poor, by erecting Cottages, and apportioning Land.* To the person who, in the year 1801, shall erect the greatest number of cottages for the accommodation of the labouring poor, and apportion not less than two acres of land to each cottage; the gold medal. The accounts and certificates to be delivered to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

61. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be delivered to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1804.

62. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be delivered to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1805.

63. *Improving the Condition of the labouring Poor, by apportioning Land to Cottages.* To the person who, in the year 1802, shall apportion to the greatest number of cottages, already built upon his or her estate, any quantity of land, not less than two acres to each cottage, for the better accommodation of the respective inhabitants; the gold medal. The accounts of the number of cottages, and of the quantity of land apportioned to each, to be delivered to the Society, with proper certificates, on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

64. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be delivered on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1804.

65. The same premium is extended one year farther. The accounts and certificates to be delivered on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1805.

66. *Raising Water for the Irrigation of Land.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the cheapest and most effectual method of raising water in quantities sufficient to be beneficially employed for the purposes of irrigating land, superior to and cheaper than any other method now in use; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. A model on a scale of one inch to a foot, with certificates that a machine at large on the same construction has been used, specifying the quantity of water delivered in gallons per hour, and the height to which it was raised, to be produced to the Society on or before the first of March, 1803.

The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be produced on or before the first of March, 1804.

67. *Culture of Hemp in certain Parts of Scotland.* The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce wishing to encourage the growth of hemp for the use of the navy, in certain parts of Scotland, comprehending the whole county of Argyle, that part of Perthshire situated to the north of the river Tay, and west of the Military Road (see Ainslie's Map of Scotland) leading from Logierait to the County of Inverness, and such other parts of Scotland as lie north of Inverness-shire, offers to the person who shall sow with hemp, in drills at least eighteen inches asunder, the greatest quantity of land in the above-mentioned district, not less than fifty acres statute measure, in the year 1802, and shall at the proper season cause to be plucked the summer hemp (or male hemp bearing no seed) and continue the winter hemp (or female hemp bearing seed) on the ground until the seed is ripe; the gold medal, or fifty guineas.

67*. To the person who shall sow with hemp (in drills at least eighteen inches asunder) the next greatest quantity of land in the same above-mentioned district, not less than twenty-five acres statute measure, in the year 1802, and shall at the proper season cause the same to be plucked as above-mentioned; the silver medal, or twenty-five guineas. Certificates of the number of acres, of the distance of the drills, of the plucking of hemp, with a general account of the soil, cultivation, and produce, to be delivered to the Society, along with fourteen pounds of the hemp, and two quarts of the seed, on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803.

Premiums for Discoveries and Improvements in Chemistry, Dying, and Mineralogy.

68. *Preserving Seeds of Vegetables.* For the best method of preserving the seeds of plants in a state fit for vegetation a longer time than has hitherto been practised, such method being superior to any known to the public, and verified by sufficient trial, to be communicated to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in December, 1802; the gold medal, or thirty guineas.

69. *Preventing the Dry-rot in Timber.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the cause of the dry-rot in timber, and disclose a certain method of prevention superior to any hitherto known; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The accounts of the cause, and method of prevention, confirmed by repeated experiments, to be produced to the Society on or before the second Tuesday in December, 1802.

70. *Preserving salted Provisions from becoming rancid or rusty.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best, cheapest, and most efficacious method of preserving salted provisions from growing rancid or rusty; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. A full description of the method, with proper certificates that it has been found, on repeated trials, to answer the purpose intended, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

71. *Clearing Feathers from their animal Oil.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best and most expeditious method, superior to any hitherto practised, of clearing goose-feathers from their offensive animal oil, for the use of upholders, in

making beds, cushions, &c. the silver medal, or twenty guineas. A quantity of such feathers unstripped and so cleared, not less than forty pounds weight, with a full account of the process, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

72. *Refining Whale or Seal Oil.* For disclosing to the society an effectual method of purifying whale or seal oil from the glutinous matter that incrusts the wicks of lamps and extinguishes the light, though fully supplied with oil; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. It is required that the whole of the process be fully and fairly disclosed, in order that satisfactory experiments may be made by the society to determine the validity of the claim; and certificates that not less than twenty gallons have been purified according to the process delivered in, together with two gallons of the oil, in its unpurified state, and two gallons so refined, be produced to the society on or before the second Tuesday in February, 1803.

73. *Manufacturing Tallow-Candles.* To the person who shall discover to the society a method of hardening or otherwise preparing tallow, so that candles may be made of it which will burn as clear and with as small a wick as wax candles, without running, and may be afforded at a less expense than any at present made with spermaceti; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Certificates that 112lb. of such tallow have been made into candles, and 12lb. of the candles made thereof, to be produced to the society on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803.

74. *Candles from Resin or other Substances.* To the person who shall discover to the society the best method of making candles of resin, or any other substance, fit for common use, at a price much inferior to those made of tallow only; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Six pounds at least of the candles so prepared, with an account of the process, to be delivered to the society on or before the first Tuesday in December, 1802.

75. *Method of separating Sugar in a solid Form from Treacle.* To the person who shall discover to the society the best method of separating sugar from treacle in a solid form, at such an expense as will render it advantageous to the public; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. A quantity of the sugar so prepared in a solid form, not less than thirty pounds weight, with an account of the process, and certificates that not less than one hundred weight has been prepared, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

76. *Proof-Spirit.* To the distiller who, in the year 1802, shall make the greatest quantity, not less than one hundred gallons, of a clean marketable spirit, from articles not the food of man or cattle, equal in strength or quality to the proof-spirit now in use, and at a rate not higher than the spirit produced from corn or melasses; the gold medal, or one hundred guineas. Ten gallons of the spirit, together with proper certificates, and a full account of the expense and mode of making it, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

77. *Increasing Steam.* To the person who shall invent and discover to the society a method, verified by actual experiments, of increasing the quantity or force of steam, in steam-engines, with less fuel than has hitherto been employed, provided that in general the whole amount of the expenses in using steam-engines may be considerably lessened; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. To be communicated to the society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

78. *Substitute for Tar.* To the person who shall invent and discover to the society the best substitute for Stockholm tar, equal in all its properties to the best of that kind, and prepared from materials the produce of Great-Britain; the gold medal, or one hundred guineas. A quantity of the substitute, not less than one hundred weight, with certificates that at least one ton has been manufactured, and that it can be afforded at a price not exceeding that of the best foreign tar, together with an account of the process, to be delivered to the society on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1803.

79. *Preparation of Tan.* To the person who shall prepare in the most concentrated form, so as to be easily portable, and at a price applicable to the purposes of manufactures, the largest quantity, not less than one hundred weight of the principle called by the French tannin, which abounds in oak-bark and many other vegetable substances; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. Certificates of the above quantity having been prepared, and a sample of not less than 28lb. to be produced to the society on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1803.

80. *Preparation of a red Stain for cotton Cloth.* To the person who shall communicate to the society, the cheapest and most effectual method of printing or staining cotton cloths with a red colour, by an immediate application of the colouring-matter to the cloth, equally beautiful and durable with the red colours now generally procured from decoctions of madder; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Certificates that the above process has been advantageously used on ten pieces of callico, each twenty-one yards or upwards in length, one piece of the callico so printed, a quart of the colour in a liquid state, and a full account of the preparation and application, to be produced to the society on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803.

81. *Preparation of a green Colour for printing Cotton Cloth.* To the person who shall communicate to the society the best and cheapest method of printing with a full green colour on cotton cloth, by an immediate application of the colouring-matter from a wooden block to the cloth, equally beautiful and durable as the colours now formed from the complicated process of the decoction of weld on alomine and the solutions of indigo by earths or alcaline salts; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Certificates and conditions as for premium 80.

82. *Substitute for the Basis of Paint.* To the person who shall produce to the society the best substitute, superior to any hitherto known, for the basis of paint, equally proper for the purpose as the white lead now employed; such substitute not to be of a noxious quality, and to be afforded at a price not materially higher than that of white lead; the gold medal, or one hundred guineas. A quantity of the substitute, not less than 50lb. weight, with an account of the process used in preparing it, and certificates that at least one hundred weight has been manufactured, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

83. *Red Pigment.* To the person who shall discover to the society a full and satisfactory process for preparing a red pigment, fit for use, in oil or

water, equal in tone and brilliancy to the best carmines and lakes now known or in use, and perfectly durable; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. One pound weight of such colour, and a full disclosure of its preparation, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

N. B. It is not required that the colour should resist the action of fire or chemical applications, but remain unaltered by the common exposure to strong light, damps, and noisome vapours.

84. *Ultramarine.* To the person who shall prepare an artificial ultramarine, equal in colour, brilliancy, or durability, to the best prepared from lapis lazuli, and which may be afforded at a cheap rate; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The conditions are the same as in the preceding premium for the red pigment.

85. *Analysis of British Minerals.* To the person who shall communicate to the society, the most correct analysis of any mineral production of Great-Britain, hitherto either unexamined or not examined with accuracy; the gold medal. The analysis and sufficient specimens to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

86. *Preparation of sulphuric Acid from Sulphur without the Use of any nitric Salt.* To the person who shall prepare the largest quantity (not less than one ton) of sulphuric acid from sulphur, without any nitric salt, of specific gravity, not inferior to the best sulphuric acid of commerce; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. Certificates that not less than the above quantity of such an acid has been prepared, together with a sample, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

87. *Preparation of any alkaline or earthly Nitrate.* To the person who shall prepare, in Great-Britain, the largest quantity, not less than one hundred weight, of any salt of nitric acid, with either earths or alkalies, by a method superior to those hitherto practised; the gold medal, or one hundred guineas. Certificates of the above quantity having been prepared, and a sample of not less than 28lb. to be produced to the Society on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1803.

88. *Fine Bar-Iron* To the person in Great-Britain, who shall make the greatest quantity of bar-iron, not less than ten tons, with coak, from coak-pigs, equal in quality to the best iron imported from Sweden or Russia, and as fit for converting into steel; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. Samples not less than one hundred weight, with certificates that the whole quantity is of equal quality, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

89. *Preserving Iron from Rust.* To the person who shall invent and discover to the Society a cheap composition, superior to any now in use, which shall effectually preserve wrought iron from rust, the gold medal, or fifty guineas. A full description of the method of preparing the composition, with certificates that it has stood at least two years unimpared, being exposed to the atmosphere during the whole time, to be produced to the Society, with ten pounds weight of the composition, on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

90. *Refining Block-Tin.* To the person who shall discover to the Society the best method of purifying or refining block-tin, so as to render it fit for the finest purposes to which grain-tin is now applied, and not higher in price; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. Certificates that not less than three tons have been refined or purified, with a full detail of the process, and a quantity, not less than one hundred weight, of the tin so refined, to be produced to the Society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

91. *Glazing Earthen-Ware without Lead.* To the person who shall discover to the society the cheapest, safest, most durable, and most easily-fusible, composition, fit for the purpose of glazing the ordinary kinds of earthen-ware, without any preparation of lead, and superior to any hitherto in use; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Specimens of the ware so glazed, with proper certificates of its having succeeded, and a sample of the materials made use of, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

92. *Refining Copper from the Ore.* To the person who shall descover to the society the best method of separating, purifying, and refining copper from the ore, so as to render it fit for the finest purposes to which fine copper is now applied, and by a process superior to any hitherto known or in use, and not higher in price; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. Certificates that not less than three tons have been so prepared or refined, and a quantity not less than one hundred weight of the copper so refined, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

93. *Mineralogical Map of England and Wales.* To the person who shall complete and publish an accurate mineralogical map of England and Wales, on a scale of not less than ten miles to an inch, containing an account of the situation of the different mines therein, and describing the kinds of minerals thence produced; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. Certificates of the accuracy of such map, together with the map, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1804. The map to remain the property of the society.

94. *Mineralogical Map of Ireland.* The same premium is offered for a mineralogical map of Ireland on similar conditions.

95. *Mineralogical Map of Scotland.* The same premium is offered for a mineralogical map of Scotland on similar conditions.

96. *Natural History.* To the author who shall publish, in the year 1804, the natural history of any county in England or Wales; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. It is required that the several natural productions, whether animal, vegetable, or mineral, peculiar to the county, or found therein, be carefully and specifically arranged and described, in order that the public may be enabled to judge what arts or manufactures are most likely to succeed in such county. The work to be delivered to the society on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1803.

Premiums in polite Arts.

97. *Honorary Premiums for Drawing, by Nobility.* For the best drawing, of any kind, made with water-colours, crayons, chalk, black lead, pen, Indian ink, or bister, by young gentlemen under the age twenty-one, sons or grandsons of peers, or peeresses in their own right, of Great-Britain or Ireland, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1803; the honorary medal of the society in gold.

98. The same in silver for the next in merit.

99, 100. The same premiums will be given, on the like conditions, to young ladies, daughters or grand-daughters of peers, or peeresses in their own right, of Great-Britain or Ireland.

101. *Honorary Premiums for Drawing, by Gentlemen.* For the best drawing, of any kind, made with water-colours, crayons, chalk, black lead, pen, Indian ink, or bister, by young gentlemen under the age of twenty-one; to be produced on or before the first Thesday in March, 1803; the gold medal.

102. For the next in merit, the silver medal.

103, 104. The same premiums will be given for drawings by young ladies.

N. B. As the foregoing honorary premiums are intended only for such of the nobility and gentry as may hereafter become patrons or patronesses of the arts; persons professing any branch of the polite arts, or any business dependent on the arts of design, or the sons or daughters of such persons, will not be admitted candidates in these classes.

105. *Drawings of Outlines.* For the best outline, after an original group or cast, in plaster, of human figures, by persons of either sex, under the age of sixteen, the principal figure not less than twelve inches; to be produced on or before the third Tuesday in February, 1803; the greater silver pallet.

106. For the next in merit; the lesser silver pallet.

N. B. These drawings are to be made on paper, and the original either to be produced to the society, or to be referred to for their examination.

107. *Drawings of Landscapes.* For the best drawing of a landscape after nature, by persons of either sex, under twenty-one years of age, to be produced on or before the third Tuesday in February, 1803; the greater silver pallet.

108. For the next in merit, the lesser silver pallet. Each candidate must mention, on the front of the drawing, whence the view was taken; and the drawings must be made with chalk, pen, Indian ink, water-colours, or bister.

109. *Historical Drawings.* For the best historical drawing, being an original composition, of five or more human figures; the height of the principal figure not less than eight inches; to be made with crayons, chalk, black lead, pen, Indian ink, water-colours, or bister, and to be produced on or before the third Tuesday in February, 1803; the gold pallet.

110. For the next in merit; the greater silver pallet.

111. *Chints Patterns for Calico-Printers.* For the best original pattern in a new taste, of light or dark ground chints for garment-work, fit for the purposes of calico-printers, by persons of either sex; the gold medal. To be produced to the society on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803; the pattern to which the premium is adjudged to remain the property of the society.

112. For the next in merit; the silver medal, on similar conditions.

113. *Copper-plate Patterns for Calico-printers.* For the best pattern, in a new style, fit for the purposes of calico-printers for garment-work; the silver medal. To be produced to the society on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803. The pattern to which the premium is adjudged to remain the property of the society.

114. *Line Engravings of Landscapes.* For the best line engraving of a landscape, published in the year 1803, the size of the engraving not less than eighteen inches by fourteen; the gold medal. To be produced to the society on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1804; and the impression to which the premium is adjudged to remain the property of the society.

115. For the next in merit; the silver medal, on similar conditions.

116. *Line Engravings of historical Subjects.* For the best line engraving published in the year 1802, of an historical subject, the size of the engraving not less than eighteen inches by fourteen; the gold medal.

117. For the next in merit; the silver medal, Conditions, &c. the same as in classes 114 and 115.

118. *Model in Clay or Plaster.* For the best model in clay or plaster of an ornamental design for the purpose of embellishing works of architecture; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. To be produced to the society on or before the last Thuesday in January, 1803. The model not to be less than thirty inches by twelve.

The following Premium (class 119,) is offered in conformity to the Will of the late John Stock, of Hampstead, Esq.

119. *Ornamental Drawings for architectural Designs.* For the best ornamental drawing for the purpose of embellishing architectural designs; a silver medallion with the following engraved inscriptions: "The Premium given by the Society for En- "couragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Com- "merce, in conformity to the Will of John Stock, "of Hampstead, Esq." The drawing to which the premium is adjudged to remain the property of the society.

120. For the best model in clay or plaster of a design for the same purpose; the silver medal. The performances in these two classes not to be less than thirty inches by twelve, to be made by persons under the age of twenty-one years. To be produced to the society on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1803.

121. *Perspective Drawings of Machines.* For the best perspective drawing of machines by persons under eighteen years of age; the greater silver pallet. To be produced to the society on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1803.

122. For the next in merit; the lesser silver pallet, on similar conditions.

123. *Engraving on Wood or Metal Blocks.* For the best engraving on wood, or metal blocks, of a subject or allegorical decoration for a volume of the Society's Transactions, proper to be prefixed to the premiums offered by the society, and capable of being worked with the letter-press; the gold medal. The engraved wood or metal block, and two or more impressions from it, to be produced to the society on or before the second Tuesday in February, 1803, and the engraved wood or metal block to which the premium is adjudged to remain the property of the society. The engraving to be of a proper size to form an octavo page in the volume.

124. For the next in merit; the silver medal, on similar conditions.

125. *Statuary Marble.* To the person who shall discover, within Great Britain or Ireland, a quarry of white marble fit for the purposes of statuary, and equal in all respects to those kinds now imported from Italy; the gold medal, or one hundred pounds. A block of at least three feet in

length, two in height, and two in width, with an account of the situation of the quarry, and certificates of its possessing considerable extent, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

N. B. In order to prevent useless expense or trouble to the claimant in forwarding so large a block, the society will be ready to examine any smaller specimen of the marble, and express their opinion of its value to the candidate before the block required by the above premium is produced.

126. *Bronzes.* For the best drapery-figure or group cast in bronze; if a single figure, not less than twelve inches high; and, if a group, not less than nine inches, and which will require the least additional labour to repair; the gold medal, or the silver medal and twenty guineas. The cast to be exhibited to the Society before it is begun to be repared, with the original figure or group, on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1802, together with a full explanation of the whole process.

Premiums for encouraging and improving Manufactures.

127. *Machine for carding Silk.* For the best machine, superior to any now in use, for carding waste silk equally well as by hand; to be produced, together with a specimen of the cardings, on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1802; the silver medal, or twenty guineas.

128. *Cloth from hop-stalks*, &c. To the person who shall produce to the society the greatest quantity, not less than thirty yards of cloth, at least twenty-seven inches wide, made in Great Britain, of hop-stalks or bines, or other raw vegetable substances, the produce of Great Britain or Ireland, superior to any hitherto manufactured from such substances, and which can be generally afforded as cheap as cloth of equal quality and appearance now made from hemp, flax, or cotton, and much finer in quality than any hitherto manufactured in England from hop-stalks, &c. the gold medal, or thirty guineas. One pound of the thread of which the cloth is made, and thirty yards of the cloth, together with proper certificates that the whole is manufactured from hop-stalks or bines, &c. to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in December, 1802.

N.B. The society is already in the possession of cloth made in England from hop-stalks or bines, which may be inspected by application to the housekeeper.

129. *Wicks for Candles or Lamps.* To the person who shall discover to the society a method of manufacturing hop-stalks or bines, or any other cheap material, the growth of Great Britain, so as to render them equally fit for the purpose of supplying the place of cotton, for wicks of candles or lamps; twenty guineas. Samples, not less than five pounds weight, of the wicks so prepared to be produced to the society, with certificates that the whole quantity is equal in quality to the sample, on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803.

130. *Paper from raw vegetable Substances.* To the person, in Great Britain, who shall, between the first of January 1802, and the first of January, 1803, make the greatest quantity, and of the best quality, (not less than ten reams) of good and useful paper, from raw vegetable substances, the produce of Great Britain or Ireland, of which one hundred weight has not been used in manufacturing paper previous to January, 1801, superior to any hitherto manufactured from such substances, and which can be generally afforded as cheap as paper of equal quality and appearance now made from rags; twenty guineas.

N.B. The object of the society being to add to the number and quantity of raw materials used in this manufacture, it is their wish to include every useful sort of paper, and to introduce such natural products as can be easily and cheaply procured in great quantities. The society are in possession of two volumes containing a great variety of specimens of paper made from raw vegetable substances, viz. — nettles, potatoe-haum, poplar, hop-bines, &c. which volumes may be inspected by any person on application to the housekeeper.

Certificates of the making such paper, and one ream of the paper, to be produced on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803.

131. *Transparent Paper.* To the person who shall discover to the society a method of making paper from the pulp that shall be perfectly transparent, and of a substance and body equal to fools-cap, that shall take and bear common writing ink with the same facility and correctness as writing paper generally in use; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. Certificates of the making such paper, an account of the process, and one ream of the paper, to be produced on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803.

132. *Taking Porpoises.* To the people in any boat or vessel, who, in the year 1802, shall take the greatest number of porpoises on the coast of Great Britain, by gun, harpoon, or any other method, not fewer than thirty, for the purpose of extracting oil from them; the gold medal, or thirty pounds. Certificates of the number, signed by the persons to whom they have been sold or delivered for the purpose of extracting the oil, to be produced to the society on or before the last Tuesday in January, 1803.

133. *Oil from Porpoises.* To the person who shall manufacture the greatest quantity of oil from porpoises taken on the coast of Great Britain, in the year 1802, not less than twenty tons; the gold medal, or thirty pounds. Certificates of the oil having been made from porpoises actually caught on the coast of Great Britain, and two gallons of the oil as a sample, to be produced to the society on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1803.

Premiums in Mechanics.

134. *Gunpowder-Mills.* To the person who, in the year 1802, shall invent and bring to perfection the most effectual method of so conducting the works of gunpowder-mills, in the business of making gunpowder, as to prevent explosion; the gold medal, or one hundred guineas. Certificates and accounts of the method having been put in practice in one or more gunpowder-mills in this kingdom, and that it promises, in the opinion of the best judges concerned in such works, to answer the purpose intended, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in Feb. 1803.

N.B. As an encouragement to persons to turn their thoughts to improvements of this nature, if any should be made on the present method of conducting the business of gunpowder making, which fall short of the total prevention of explosion, and they are sent to the society for the sake of humanity, the papers so sent in will receive due consideration, and such bounty or reward will be bestowed thereon as they appear to merit.

135. *Transit-instrument.* To the person who shall

invent and produce to the society a cheap and portable transit-instrument, which may easily be converted into a zenith-sector, capable of being accurately and expeditiously adjusted for the purpose of finding the latitudes and longitudes of places, and superior to any portable transit-instrument now in use; the gold medal, or forty guineas. To be produced on or before the last Tuesday in Jan. 1803.

136. *Taking Whales by the Gun-harpoon.* To the person, who, in the year 1802, shall strike the greatest number of whales, not fewer than three, with the gun-harpoon; ten guineas. Proper certificates of the striking such whales, and that they were actually taken in the year 1802, signed by the master, or by the mate when the claim is made by the master, to be produced to the society on or before the last Tuesday in December, 1802.

137. *Family Mill.* To the person who shall invent and produce to the society the best constructed mill for grinding corn for the use of private families, or parish-poor; the construction to be such as to render the working of the mill easy and expeditious, and superior to any hitherto in use; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. The mill, and certificates of its having been used to good effect, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

N.B. Cheapness and simplicity will be considered an essential part of its merit; and the mill, or the model, to remain with the society.

138. *Machine for raising Coals, Ore,* &c. &c. To the person who shall invent a machine for raising coals, ore, &c from mines, superior to any hitherto known or in use, and which shall produce the effect at a less expense than those already known or in use; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. A model of the machine, made on a scale of not less than one inch to a foot, with a certificate that a machine at large on the same construction has been advantageously used, to be produced to the society on or before the second Tuesday in February, 1803.

139. *Machine for raising Water.* To the person who shall invent a machine on a better, cheaper, and more simple construction than any hitherto known or in use, for raising water out of wells, &c. from a depth of not less than fifty feet; the gold medal, or forty guineas. Certificates of the performance of the machine, and a model of it, on a scale of not less than one inch to a foot, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

140. *Machine for making Bricks.* To the person who shall invent the best and cheapest machine for making bricks, superior to any hitherto known or in use, whereby the labour and expense of making bricks in the usual mode, by hand, may be greatly diminished; forty guineas. A model, with certificates that a machine at large, on the same construction, has been used to good effect for the purpose of making bricks, and that at least one hundred thousand statute-bricks have been made therewith, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1803.

141. *Boring and blasting Rocks.* To the person who shall discover to the society a more simple, cheap, and expeditious method than any hitherto known or in use of boring and blasting rocks in mines, shafts, wells, &c.; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Certificates of the method having been practised with success, with a full description thereof, to be delivered to the society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

142. *Heating Rooms for the Purposes of Manufacturers.* To the person who shall invent and discover to the society a method of heating rooms, superior to any hitherto known or in use, and at a moderate expense, for the purposes of painters, japanners, and other manufacturers, so as to avoid the necessity of iron or copper tunnels going through the rooms to convey the smoke, whereby the danger from such tunnels may be prevented; the gold medal, or forty guineas. A model, or complete drawing and description of the method, with certificates that it has been successfully practised, to be delivered to the society on or before the last Tuesday in March, 1803.

143. *Improved Ventilation.* To the person who shall invent and produce to the society a mode of permanently ventilating the apartments in hospitals, workhouses, and other crowded places, superior to any known or used; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. A model of the apparatus, and a full account of the means by which the effect has been produced, with proper certificates, to be delivered to the society on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1803.

144. *Mill-stones.* To the person who, shall between the first of February, 1802, and the first of February, 1803, prepare and bring into use the greatest number of mill-stones, taken from any quarry in the United Kingdoms, equal in quality to the French burrs, not less than thirty pairs; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Certificates that the said mill stones were all taken from the same quarry, with their prices and dimensions, that they are equal to the French burr, not less than three feet eight inches diameter, and are actually in use, to be produced to the society on or before the third Tuesday in February, 1803.

145. For the next greatest quantity, not less than twenty-five pair; the silver medal, or fifteen guineas, on similar terms.

146. *Preventing Accidents from Horses falling with two wheeled Carriages.* To the person who shall invent and produce to the society a method superior to any hitherto known or in use, to prevent accidents from the falling of horses with two wheel carriages, especially on steep declivities; the silver medal, or fifteen guineas. A model of the apparatus, and a full account of the means by which the effect has been produced, with proper certificates that the same has been used with success, to be delivered to the society on or before the second Tuesday in Jan. 1803.

147. *Clearing the Turnpike and other Roads in Winter from Mud, and in Summer from Dust.* To the person who shall discover to the society the most effectual and the cheapest method, verified by experiments, of clearing the turnpike and other roads of great resort, in winter from mud, and in summer from dust, or most effectually preventing the accumulation of either; the gold medal, or fifty guineas.

148. For the second best account; the silver medal, or twenty guineas. It is required that an accurate account of the method used, and every expense attending it, together with satisfactory certificates of its being effectual, be delivered to the society on or before the first Tuesday in March, 1803.

Premiums offered for the advantage of the British Colonies.

149. *Nutmegs.* For the greatest quantity of

merchantable nutmegs, not less than ten pounds weight, being the growth of his Majesty's dominions in the West Indies, or any of the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or the several islands adjacent thereto, and equal to those imported from the islands of the East Indies; the gold medal, or one hundred guineas. Satisfactory certificates, from the governor, or commander in chief, of the place of growth, with an account of the number of trees, their age, nearly the quantity of fruit on each tree, and the manner of culture, to be produced on or before the first Tuesday in December, 1802.

150. *Cloves.* For importing into the port of London, in the year 1802, the greatest quantity of cloves, not less than twenty pounds weight, being of the growth of some of the islands of the West Indies subject to the crown of Great Britain, or any of the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or the several islands adjacent thereto, and equal in goodness to the cloves brought from the East Indies; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. Samples, not less than two pounds weight, with certificates that the whole quantity is equal in goodness, together with satisfactory certificates signed by the governor, or commander in chief, of the place of growth, with an account of the number of trees growing on the spot, their age, and the manner of culture, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

151. *Plantations of Bread-fruit-trees.* To the person who shall have raised in any of the islands of the West Indies subject to the crown of Great Britain, or in any of the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or the several islands adjacent thereto, between the 1st of January, 1801, and the 1st of January, 1802, the greatest number of bread-fruit-trees, not fewer than one hundred, and properly fenced and secured the same, in order to supply the fruit to the inhabitants; the gold medal, or thirty guineas. Proper accounts and certificates, signed by the governor, or commander in chief, of the methods made use of in cultivating the plants and securing the plantation, and that the trees are in a growing and thriving state at the time of signing such certificates, to be produced to the society, with samples of the fruit, on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

152. *Kali for Barilla.* To the person who shall have cultivated, in the Bahama-Islands, or any other part of his Majesty's dominions in the West Indies, or any of the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or the several islands adjacent thereto, in the year 1801, the greatest quantity of land, not less than two acres, with Spanish Kali, fit for the purpose of making barilla; the gold medal, or thirty guineas.

153. For the next greatest quantity, not less than one acre, the silver medal, or fifteen guineas. Certificates, signed by the governor, or commander in chief, for the time being, of the quantity of land so cultivated, and of the state of the plants, at the time of signing such certificates, to be delivered to the society, with samples of the kali, on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1803.

154. The same premium is extended one year farther. Certificates to be produced on or before the second Tuesday in January, 1804.

155. *Destroying the Insect commonly called the Borer.* To the person who shall discover to the society an effectual method of destroying the insect commonly called the borer, which has, of late years, been so destructive to the sugar-canes in the West India islands, the British settlements on the coast of Africa, and the several islands adjacent thereto; the gold medal, or fifty guineas. The discovery to be ascertained by satisfactory certificates, under the hand and seal of the governor, or commander-in-chief, for the time being, and of some other respectable persons, inhabitants of the islands, or other place, in which the remedy has been successfully applied; such certificates to be delivered to the society on or before the first Tuesday in January, 1803.

156. *Cultivation of hemp in upper and lower Canada.* To the person who shall sow with hemp the greatest quantity of land in the province of Upper Canada, not less than six arpents (each four-fifths of a statute acre) in the year 1802, and shall at the proper season cause to be plucked the summer hemp (or male hemp bearing no seed) and continue the winter hemp (or female hemp bearing seed) on the ground until the seed is ripe; the gold medal, or one hundred dollars.

157. To the person who shall sow with hemp the next greatest quantity of land in the same province of Upper Canada, not less than five arpents, in the year 1802, in the manner above-mentioned; the silver medal, or eighty dollars.

158. For the next greatest quantity of land, in the same province, and in a similar manner, not less than four arpents; sixty dollars.

159. For the next greatest quantity of land, in the same province, and in a similar manner, not less than three arpents; forty dollars.

160. For the next greatest quantity of land, in the same province, and in a similar manner, not less than one arpent; twenty dollars. Certificates of the number of arpents, the method of culture, of the plucking of the hemp, with a general account whether sown broad-cast or in drills, the expense, soil, cultivation, and produce to be transmitted to the society, certified under the hand and seal of the governor or lieutenant-governor, together with 28lb. of the hemp, and two quarts of the seed, on or before the first Tuesday in November, 1803.

161, 162, 163, 164, 165. The same premiums are extended one year farther. Certificates, &c. as before-mentioned, to be transmitted to the society, on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1804.

166 to 176. Premiums exactly similar in all respects to those held out for the province of Upper Canada, are also offered for the province of Lower Canada, and are extended to the same period.

177. *Importation of Hemp from Canada.* To the master of that vessel, which shall bring to this country the greatest quantity of marketable hemp, not less than one hundred tons, in the year 1803, the produce of Upper or Lower Canada; the gold medal.

178. To the master of that vessel which shall bring the next quantity, not less than fifty tons; the silver medal. Certificates satisfactory to the society to be produced by the master of the vessel on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1804, to testify that such hemp was grown and prepared in Canada.

Premiums offered for the Advantage of the British Settlements in the East Indies.

179. *Bhaugulpore Cotton.* To the person who shall import into the port of London, in the year 1802, the greatest quantity, not less than one ton, of the

Bhaugulpore cotton, from which clothes are made in imitation of nankeen, without dying; the gold medal. A quantity of the cotton, not less than five pounds weight in the pod, and five pounds carded, to be produced to the society, with proper certificates, signed by the secretary to the board of trade of Bengal or Bombay, on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1803.

180. *Annatto.* To the person who, in the year 1802, shall import into the port of London, from any part of the British settlements in the East-Indies, the greatest quantity of annatto, not less than five hundred weight; the gold medal. A quantity of the annatto, not less than ten pounds weight, to be produced to the society, with proper *certificates*, signed by the secretary of the board of trade of the respective settlement, that the annatto is the produce of such settlement, on or before the last Tuesday in February, 1803.

181. *True Cochineal.* To the person who, in the year 1802, shall import into the port of London, from any part of the British settlements in the East-Indies, the greatest quantity of true cochineal, not less than five hundred weight; the gold medal. A quantity of the cochineal, not less than ten pounds weight, with proper *certificates*, signed by the secretary of the board of trade of the respective settlement, that the cochineal is the produce of such settlement, to be produced to the society on or before the first Tuesday in February, 1803.

Conditions for the Polite Arts.

No person who has gained the first premium in any class shall be admitted a candidate in a class of an inferior age: and no candidate shall receive more than one premium in one year; nor shall they, who for two successive years have gained the first premium in one class, be again admitted as candidates in that class.—No person shall be admitted a candidate in any class, who has three times obtained the first premium in that class.—No more than one performance in any class shall be received from the same candidate.—All performances (to which premiums or bounties are adjudged) shall remain with the society till after the public distribution of rewards in May, when they will be re delivered unless mentioned in the premiums to the contrary.—No performance shall be admitted, that has obtained a premium, reward, or gratification, from any other society, academy, or school, or been offered for that purpose.—All performances that obtain premiums in the polite arts must have been begun after the publication of such premiums, except line engravings.—To encourage real merit, and prevent attempts to impose on the society, by producing drawings made or retouched by any other person than the candidate, the society requires a specimen of the abilities of each successful candidate in classes 97 to 122 inclusive, under the inspection of the committee of polite arts, in every instance where such proof may appear necessary.—All candidates in the polite arts are required to signify, on their drawings, their age; and whether the performances are originals or copies; and if copies, whence they were taken.

Society's Office, Adelphi, June 1, 1802.

Ordered—That the several candidates and claimants to whom the society shall adjudge premiums or bounties, do attend at the society's office in the Adelphi, on the last Tuesday in May, 1803, at 12 o'clock at noon precisely, to receive the same; that day being appointed by the society for the distribution of their rewards: and before that time no premium or bounty will be delivered, excepting to those who are about to leave the kingdom.—In cases where the society may think fit to admit excuses for not attending in person, deputies may be substituted to receive the rewards, provided such deputies are either members of the society, or the superior officers thereof.

General Conditions.

As the great object of the society in rewarding individuals is to draw forth and give currency to those inventions and improvements, which are likely to benefit the public at large, candidates are requested to observe, that if the means, by which the respective objects are effected, do require an expense or trouble too great for general purposes, the society will not consider itself as bound to give the offered reward; but, though it thus reserves the power of giving in all cases such part only of any premium as the performance shall be adjudged to deserve, or of with-holding the whole if there be no merit, yet the candidates may be assured the society will always judge liberally of their severally claims.

It is required that the matters for which premiums are offered, be delivered in without names or any intimation to whom they belong; that each particular thing be marked in what manner each claimant thinks fit, such claimant sending with it a paper sealed up, having on the outside a corresponding mark, and, on the inside, the claimant's name and address; and all candidates are to take notice, that no claim for a premium will be attended to, unless the conditions of the advertisement are fully complied with.

No papers shall be opened, but such as shall gain premiums, unless where it appears to the society absolutely necessary for the determination of the claim; all the rest shall be returned unopened with the matters to which they belong, if inquired after by the mark, within two years; after which time, if not demanded, they shall be publicly burnt, unopened, at some meeting of the society.

All models of machines, which obtain premiums or bounties, shall be the property of the society; and, where a premium or bounty is given for any machine, a perfect model thereof shall be given to the society.

All the premiums of this society are designed for Great Britain and Ireland, unless expressly mentioned to the contrary.

The claims shall be determined as soon as possible after the delivery of the specimens.

No person shall receive any premium, bounty, or encouragement, from the society, for any matter for which he has obtained, or purposes to obtain, a patent.

A candidate for a premium, or a person applying for a bounty, being detected in any disingenuous method to impose on the society, shall forfeit such bounty, and be deemed incapable of obtaining any for the future.

The performances which each year obtain premiums or bounties, are to remain with the society until after the public distribution of rewards.

No member of this society shall be a candidate for, or entitled to receive, any premium, bounty, or reward, whatsoever, except the honorary me-

dal of the society. The candidates are, in all cases, expected to furnish a particular account of the subject of their claims; and, where certificates are required to be produced in claim of premiums, they should be expressed, as nearly as possible, in the words of the respective advertisements, and be signed by persons who have a positive knowledge of the facts stated.

Where premiums or bounties are obtained in consequence of specimens produced, the society mean to retain such part of those specimens as they may judge necessary, making a reasonable allowance for the same.

No candidates shall be present at any meetings of the society or committees, or admitted at the society's rooms, after they have delivered in their claims, until such claims are adjudged, unless summoned by the committee.

N. B. The society farther invite the communications of scientific and practical men upon any of the subjects for which premiums are offered, although their experiments may have been conducted upon a smaller scale than the terms of each require, as they may afford ground for more extensive application, and thus materially forward the views of the society and contribute to the advantage of the public. Such communications to be made by letter, addressed to the society, and directed to Mr. Charles Taylor, the secretary, at the society's office, in the Adelphi, London.

The models required by the society should be upon the scale of one inch to a foot. The Winchester bushel is the measure referred to for grain; and, as the acres of different districts vary in extent, it is necesary to observe, that the society mean statute acres, of five and a half yards to the rod or pole, when acres are mentioned in their list of premiums; and they request that all communications to them may be made agreeably thereto.

The society desire that the papers on different subjects sent to them may be full, clear, explicit, fit for publication, and rather in the form of essays than of letters.

*** To persons inclined to leave a sum of money to this society by will, the following form is offered for that purpose:

Item. I give and bequeath to A. B, and C. D, the sum of upon condition and the intent that they, or one of them, do pay the same to the collector for the time being, of a society in London, who now call themselves the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; which said sum of I will and desire may be paid out of my personal estate, and applied towards the carrying on the laudable designs of the society.

By order of the society,
Charles Taylor, Sec.

On Wednesday, the 2d of June, the society held the last meeting of that session, and adjourned to the fourth Wednesday in October next.

On Tuesday the 25th of May last, agreeably to the resolutions of the society, the premiums and bounties which had been then adjudged during the session, were delivered to the claimants from the chair, by his grace the Duke of Norfolk, the president, in presence of a very numerous and respectable assembly. The business was begun by an appropriate speech from the secretary, noticing the objects of the society from its institution, in the year 1754, to the present time, and particularising the rewards which had been then adjudged this session.

The rewards awarded, are arranged under the following classes.

In Agriculture.

To John Hunter, esq. of Gubbins, in Hertfordshire, for having planted 40,000 oaks, the gold medal.

Thomas Johnes, esq. of Hafod, in Cardiganshire, for having planted 400,000 forest trees, the gold medal.

John Christian Curwen, esq. of Workington-Hall in Cumberland, for having planted 84,900 larch trees, the gold medal.

Henry Vernon, esq. of Hilton Park, near Wolverhampton, for planting 10,000 silver firs, the gold medal.

James Beech, esq. of Shaw, near Cheadle, in Staffordshire, for his plantation of timber trees, the silver medal.

Rev. Richard Yates of Chelsea, for his Essay on raising and promoting the Growth of Oaks the silver medal.

Charles Gibson, esq. of Quermore Park, near Lancaster, for planting 6,000 elms, the silver medal.

William Fairman, esq. of Miller's House, near Sittingbourn, in Kent, for his experiments on extreme branch grafting of fruit trees, the silver medal.

Robert Brown, esq. of Markle, near Haddington, in Scotland, for his culture of beans and wheat in one year on the same land, the silver medal.

Mr. Frederick Clifford Cherry of New Wood farm, near Stoke d'Aubenton, in Surry, for planting 60 acres with osiers, the sum of thirty guineas.

Mr. Seth Bull, of Ely, in Cambridgeshire, for planting eight acres with osiers, the sum of ten guineas.

In Chemistry.

Mr. Thomas Willis, of Lime-Street, London, for his preparation of the bulbs of the hyacinthus non scriptus, or common field blue bells, as a substitute for gum arabic, the silver medal.

In Polite Arts.

George William Gent, esq. of Upper Guildford Street, for a drawing of Lewes Castle, in Essex, the gold medal. Cl. 89.

Miss Elizabeth Mac Dowall, of Brook-Street, Holborn, for a chalk drawing of the Virgin and Child, the gold medal. Cl. 91.

Miss Winnifred Barrett, of Stockwell, in Surry, for a drawing of a landscape, the silver medal, Cl. 91*.

Miss Jackson, of Hanover-Street, Hanover-Square, for a drawing in black chalk after an engraving by Bartolozzi, the silver medal.

Miss Blackburne, of Park-Street, Westminster, for a drawing of Demosthenes from a bust, the silver medal.

Miss Mary-Anne Gilbert, of Devonshire-Street, Portland-Place, for a miniature drawing of an old woman, after nature, the silver medal.

Miss Emma Farhill of Mortimer-Street, Cavendish-Square, for a drawing of peasants in a storm, the silver medal.

William-Stone Lewis, esq. of High Holborn, for a drawing of outlines of the Laocoon, from a cast, the large silver pallet. Cl. 92.

George Jones, esq. of Great Portland-Street, Mary-le-bone, for a drawing of outlines of Her

cules and Antæus, from a cast, the lesser silver pallet. Cl. 93.

Richard Speare, esq. of Dean-Street, Soho, for a drawing, a view at Eltham, in Kent, the greater silver pallet. Cl. 94.

Mr. Richard Cook, of Upper Charlotte-Street, Fitzroy-Square, for a drawing of Mutius Scævola, before Porsenna, the gold pallet. Cl. 96.

Mr. John Summerfield, of Packington, Coventry, for a stroke engraving, the subject Rubens and his wife, the gold medal. Cl. 98.

Mr. C. Nesbitt, of Fetter-Lane, for engravings on wood, the silver medal. Cl. 103.

Mr. Richard Austin, of Paul's-Alley, Barbican, for engravings on wood, the silver medal.

Mrs. Elizabeth Coppins, of St. Stephen's, Norwich, for a drawing in crayons of Belisarius, copied from a painting of Salvator Rosa, the greater silver pallet.

Miss Frances Talbot, of Wymondham, Norfolk, for a painting of an herb girl, from nature, the silver medal.

Miss Beauchamp, of Langley Park, near Beccles, in Suffolk, for a painting of a landscape, copied from both, the silver medal.

Dr. John Evans, of Shrewsbury, for two maps of North Wales, the sum of forty-five guineas.

In Manufactures.

Mr. Thomas Clulow, of Shoreditch, for his invention of weaving purses, pockets, and sacks, in a loom, and improving the construction of looms in general, twenty-five guineas.

In Mechanics.

Mr. Henry Greathead, of South Shields, in the bishoprick of Durham, for his construction of a cork boat, by which the lives of many persons shipwrecked have been preserved, the gold medal and fifty guineas.

William Hall Timbrel, esq. of Streatly, in the county of Berks, for an improved herniary truss, and new invented calico cushion, the gold medal.

Mr. Richard Knight, of Foster-Lane, Cheapside, for his method of clearing land from stumps of trees, and rendering them in a proper state for fuel, the silver medal.

Mr. James Brownhill, of Aloa Mills, near Stirling, in Scotland, for his discovery of a quarry of stone, proper for making mill stones, the sum of one hundred pounds.

Mr. John Webb, of Dorrington-Street, for an invention in gun locks, to prevent accidents in using guns or pistols, and to guard against their being improperly fired, the sum of twenty guineas.

Mr. James Woart, of Fulham, for securing beams of timber decayed by time, or injured by accidents, in buildings, the sum of ten guineas.

In Colonies and Trade.

Dr. Alexander Anderson, of St. Vincent, for the culture of cloves and cinnamon, the gold medal.

Hon. Joseph Robley, of Tobago, for a plantation of bread-fruit-trees, the gold medal.

DISPUTE

Between the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London.

This dispute is, in itself, of a very insignificant nature. It was begun, continued, and ended in a manner far from being dignified; yet, as it affects persons filling most important offices, and as it may possibly be revived at some future period, attended with consequences more serious, we think it right, after a few remarks by way of preface, to insert here all such documents relating to it as have not yet been laid before the public.

It is well known, that sheriffs who have been elected, not from the court of aldermen, but from the livery at large, have long been regarded by the mayor and aldermen as objects of jealousy, rather than respect. Notwithstanding this, the peace and harmony of the city remained undisturbed by the few trifling causes of pique, arising from the election of the present sheriffs until a short time before the last Easter festival, when a circumstance, purely accidental, appears to have led to the rupture in question. Previous to the execution of Governor Wall, there was a fear of popular tumult should he have been again respited, and the disgraceful shoutings of savage triumph at his execution fully justified the apprehension. It was the duty of the sheriffs (a duty for the discharge of which they were accountable to the King) to provide the means of resistance. They expected the city marshals to attend personally, with a sufficient number of constables. Some constables appeared in the morning, but no marshal to head them, in case of necessity. After the execution, however, one of the marshals appeared; but from having been detained by the lord mayor, the whole of the preceding night, to attend the lady mayoress's private rout, was so fatigued as to be incapable of any exertion. At the next court of aldermen, the sheriffs reported the absence of the marshals; but, out of compliment to the chief magistrate, forbore to insist on a minute inquiry.

Their having made this report, however, appears to have been the reason of their receiving the card (No. I.) on the 15th of April, instead of the usual Easter invitation. On the next morning they went to the Mansion-House expressing their surprise at so unofficial and unusual a proceeding, informing the lord mayor what was the custom, and impressing the peculiar propriety of their chaplains attending them. What they required, and what his lordship's answer was respecting *themselves*, may be gathered from their letters (No. II. and No. III.), but respecting their chaplain's attendance, he informed them, verbally, "that in Sir Richard "Glynn's mayoralty, they did attend, but that "Sir Richard personally told them they had "no right there, and absolutely *turned them* "*out of the house:*" to which Mr. Rawlins replied, "My lord, had I been sheriff, and my "chaplain turned out, representing as we do "the two great orders of the state, I would "have gone with him; for church and king "never should be separated." It may not be amiss to mention, that Sir Richard's friends positively denied the fact as stated by his lordship; and, to say the truth, such denial appears not altogether unnecessary to defend the me-

mory of the knight against the imputation of rudeness, insolence, and sectarism.

The day after this communication the sheriffs received the letter No. IV. and afterwards followed No. V. and No. VI. On Easter-Monday the sheriffs attended, with their chaplains, in the state carriages, at the hour precisely mentioned in the precept, and were kept in waiting among the mob, before the MANSION-HOUSE, *one hour and fifty minutes*, having refused, after what they conceived improper behaviour on the part of the lord mayor, to enter his lordship's *private* house. When the procession moved, they joined it, and attended the lord mayor back again, after which they drove off to Saint Bartholomew's.

On the next day, having waited so long before, they went an hour later, and were kept *more than two hours in the street*, whether by the intention of his lordship we do not pretend to decide. On the evening of this day the sheriffs sent a letter to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, which may be found in page 471 of the Register: a copy of that letter, and also of that of No. 6. was sent to the Mansion-House. His Royal Highness's reply may be referred to in the Register, p. 571.

It may be naturally supposed, that, after these occurrences, no great cordiality could be felt on either side, but some common friends interfered, to prevent the breach from becoming still wider, that the concerns of the city might not be impeded. They met for this purpose, neither side giving up their opinion, but reserving the claim to be argued and settled at a proper time and place.

No. I.

Copy of the Card which was sent to each Sheriff on the Evening of the 15th.

Mansion-House, 13th April, 1802.

The lord mayor presents his compliments to Mr. Sheriff * * * * and lady, and requests the honour of their company to dinner at the Mansion-House, on Monday the 19th of April, 1802, at five o'clock precisely. The favour of an answer is particularly desired.

No. II.

Mansion-House, 16th April, 1802.

GENTLEMEN,

When you honoured me with a call on Wednesday, and expressed an idea that you had equal right with the aldermen to the same number of admissions for the dinner on Easter-Monday, I told you that I had never heard of such a right, but, if I was mistaken, I certainly would disappoint my own family rather than deprive you of your right.

I also mentioned my intention of making inquiry and acquainting you with the result, on or before this day, as it would not be possible for me to do it sooner.

The opportunity had not occurred when you called on me again this morning, but feeling desirous to render every accommodation to gentlemen whose situation is so closely connected with the state of the city, as well as from the personal respect I bear you both, I offered you two tickets each, for your respective friends—this offer was declined on your part.

From all the inquiries I have been able to make, they have not as yet furnished me with any ground for the claim, and can only say, unless you can substantiate the right, I must still decline complying with your request as a matter of right.

I must request it may be understood it is material for me to keep inviolate the customs and precedents of my predecessors, which is the only motive I can have in not complying with your demand; but I will most chearfully present you both with any tickets you may desire for your friends, being anxious to contribute as much as possible to prevent any interruption of that harmony that has ever subsisted between us. I have the honour to be, with high regard and respect, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) John Eamer, Mayor.

W. Rawlins, and R. A. Cox, Esqs. Sheriffs of London.

No. III.

MY LORD,

In answer to your lordship's favour dated yesterday, but only received this day at half past two, we have to return your lordship our thanks for the personal civility expressed therein to ourselves; but, as sheriffs of London, we must beg to recall your lordship's attention to what passed between your lordship and ourselves on Wednesday at the Mansion House, when *your lordship denied the right of the Sheriffs of London to dine at the Mansion House on the Easter Monday but through your lordship's favour, as being your lordship's private dinner*; and with regard to what your lordship states, that yesterday morning you "offered us two "tickets each, but which we declined;" *we do not admit that any such offer was made*; though, if it had, as a matter of favour, after what had passed, it would have been impossible for us to have accepted it.

The sheriffs of London beg your lordship to understand that they consider it a duty to attend the public procession on Easter Monday, and claim the right to dine with the lord mayor and aldermen afterwards at the entertainment usually given on that occasion; and they also claim the right agreeable to uniform custom to have the same number of admissions that each alderman has in his own right. A part of this claim seems admitted by your lordship's letter, the sheriffs consider themselves as entitled to the whole. And they feel it would be inconsistent with the situation of sheriffs of London, and that it would be impairing the dignity of that office if they were to wave it. Thus circumstanced they have no alternative, and therefore, they still insist upon it; but in doing this they are equally anxious with your lordship that the state and splendour of the corporation should not be lessened on Easter Monday, at least by the sheriffs; and, therefore, they will

attend their duty in the procession according to ancient custom.—To dine with your lordship, as your lordship's *private* friends they must decline. We have the honour to be &c. &c.

(Signed) W. Rawlins, R. Albion Cox, } Sheriffs.

The Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor.

No. IV.

Mansion House, Saturday, 17th April, 1802.

GENTLEMEN,

Having been charged with a message to you from the lord mayor, and understanding you were waiting at the secondaries office for an answer to your letter, I went there for the purpose of delivering you such message by way of answer, in order that you might not be detained while a written answer was sending, but not being so fortunate to meet with you either at the secondaries, solicitors, or sheriffs offices, I beg you will allow me this opportunity of acquainting you, that I was requested by the lord mayor to wait upon you to acknowledge the receipt of your letter at that instant received; and to say, that he sent the cards of invitation for the dinner on Easter Monday to you as sheriffs of London, and for your ladies. He further requested me to say, as the matter of right is not ascertained, he will feel himself exceedingly sorry if you with your ladies do not honour him with your company to dinner, and if you will not also do *him* the further favour to accept of four tickets each for your friends. Agreeable to his lordship's request, I have therefore, enclosed herewith the cards and tickets. I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

W. Rawlins, R. A. Cox, Esqrs. (Signed) W. L. Newman, Sec.

No. V.

MY LORD,

As sheriffs of London we must beg leave to decline all the personal favours your lordship is pleased to offer us, in your private invitation to the public dinner this day at the Mansion House.

We have received some tickets late on Saturday evening, which were transmitted to us through the communication of Mr. Newman, and presuming this could not be made through your knowledge, as you yourself have passed the high office we have now the honour to serve, we think it proper to return them, unwilling to suppose you could mean to offer any further indignity to our situations. We have the honour to be, &c. &c.

W. Rawlins, R. Albion Cox, } Sheriffs.

Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor.

No. VI.

MY LORD,

We thought it necessary to justify our not waiting on the Prince of Wales when he visited the city on Easter Monday, and though your lordship did not either on that or the succeeding day treat us like gentlemen, yet we cannot descend from that character ourselves, and have therefore, enclosed a copy of the letter we yesterday sent to His Royal Highness.

With the greatest respect for your lordship's station, we remain your humble servants,

April 21st, 1802. (Signed) W. Rawlins, R. A. Cox, } Sheriffs.

To the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor.

COLLEGE OF NOVA SCOTIA.

Copy of His Majesty's Royal Charter for founding and incorporating King's College at Windsor, in the Province of Nova Scotia, dated 12th May, 42d George III, 1802.

George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, to all whom these presents shall come greeting:

Whereas we have declared our royal intention to establish, within our province of Nova Scotia, in North America, a College for the education of youth in the principles of true religion, and for their instruction in the different branches of science and literature, which are taught at our Universities in this Kingdom.

And whereas the sum of four thousand pounds granted by our Parliament in that part of our united kingdom, called Great-Britain, hath been applied in erecting a suitable building within the town of Windsor, in our said Province, on a piece of land which had been purchased by means of a grant of the General Assembly of our said Province for that purpose.

And whereas the said building hath been fitted for the residence of professors and students, and an endowment of four hundred pounds currency of that Province (equal to three hundred and sixty pounds British sterling) per annum, hath been granted for the support thereof, by the said General Assembly.

And whereas humble application hath been made to us by many of our loving subjects in our said Province, that we would be pleased to grant our ROYAL CHARTER for the more perfect establishment of the said College, and for incorporating the members thereof for the purposes aforesaid, and for such further endowment thereof as to us should seem meet.

We having taken the premises into our Royal Consideration, and duly weighing the great utility and importance of such an institution, are willing and desirous to condescend to their request: KNOW YE, therefore, that we, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion have willed, ordained and granted, and do by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, will, ordain and grant, that upon the said land, and in the building, or buildings so erected, or to be erected thereon *at our town of* WINDSOR, *in our said Province of* NOVA SCOTIA, *there shall be established from this time one College, the mother of an University, for the education and instruction of youth and students, in arts and faculties, to continue for*

ever; *and to be called* KING'S COLLEGE: and that our trusty and well-beloved *Sir John Wentworth, Baronet, Lieutenant-Governor* of our said Province, or the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of our said Province for the time being; the Right Reverend Father in God, *Charles Inglis, Bishop* of the Diocese of *Nova Scotia*, or the Bishop of the said Diocese for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved *Samuel Salter Blowers, Chief Justice* of our said Province of Nova Scotia, or the Chief Justice of our said Province for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved *Alexander Croke, Judge of our Court of Vice-Admiralty* in Nova Scotia, or the Judge of our Court of Vice-Admiralty in our said Province for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved *Richard John Uniacke, Speaker of our House of Assembly, and Attorney-General* of our said Province of Nova Scotia, or the Speaker of our Assembly, and the Attorney-General for our said Province severally for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved *James Stewart, Solicitor-General* for our said Province of Nova Scotia, or the Solicitor-General of our said Province for the time being; our trusty and well-beloved *Benning Wentworth, Secretary* of our said Province of Nova Scotia, or the Secretary of our said Province for the time being, together with such other person or persons as shall be elected in manner hereinafter mentioned, shall be GOVERNORS *of the said College*, and that the said College shall consist of *one* PRESIDENT, *three or more* FELLOWS *and* PROFESSORS, and *twelve or more* SCHOLARS, at such salaries, and subject to such provisions, regulations, limitations, rules, qualifications and restrictions as shall hereafter be appointed by the statutes, rules and ordinances of the said College, and until such statutes, rules, and ordinances shall have been framed, subject, in all respects, to the orders and directions, and eligible and removeable at the pleasure of the said Governors, or of the major part of them, and that the said Governors, or the major part of them, shall have the power of electing the president of the said College for the time being, to be a governor of the said College, and also of electing any other person or persons, not exceeding three in number (subject to such regulations as shall be appointed by the statutes, rules and ordinances of the said College) to be a governor or governors of the said College.

And we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and sucessors, will, ordain and grant, that the said governors, president, and fellows, and their successors for ever, shall be one distinct and separate body politic and corporate, in deed and in name, by the name and style of *the* GOVERNORS, PRESIDENT, *and* FELLOWS *of* KING'S COLLEGE *at* WINDSOR, *in the Province of* NOVA SCOTIA; and that by the same name, they shall have perpetual succession, and a common seal, and that they and their successors shall from time to time, have full power to break, alter, make new, or change, such common seal, at their will and pleasure, and as shall be found expedient; and that by the same name, the said governors, president and fellows, and their successors, from time to time, and at all times hereafter shall be a body politic and corporate, in deed and in law, and be able and capable to have, take, receive, purchase, acquire, hold, possess, enjoy, and retain; and we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant full authority, and free licence to them and their successors by the name aforesaid, to have, take, receive, purchase, acquire, hold, possess, enjoy and retain, to and for the use of the said College notwithstanding any statutes or statute of mortmain, any manors, rectories, advowsons, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, and hereditaments of what kind, nature or quality soever, so as that the same do not exceed in yearly value the sum of six thousand pounds above all charges: and moreover, to take, purchase, acquire, have, hold, enjoy, receive, possess, and retain, notwithstanding any such statute, or statutes to the contrary, all or any goods, chattels, charitable and other contributions, gifts and benefactions whatsoever: and that the said governors, president and fellows, and their successors, by the same name, shall and may be able and capable in law, to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, in all or any court, or courts of record or places of judicature within our United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, and our said Province of Nova Scotia, and other our dominions, and in all and singular actions, causes, pleas, suits, matters and demands whatsoever, of what kind and nature or sort soever, in as large, ample and beneficial manner and form, as any other body politic and corporate, or any other our liege subjects, being persons able and capable in law, may or can have, take, purchase, receive, hold, possess, enjoy, retain, sue, implead or answer, or be sued, impleaded, or answered in any manner whatsoever.

And we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, will, ordain and grant that the Governors of the said College, or the major part of them, shall have power and authority to frame and make STATUTES, RULES, *and* ORDINANCES, touching and concerning the good government of the said College, the performance of divine service therein, the studies, lectures, exercises, degrees in arts and faculties, and all matters regarding the same; the election, qualification and residence of the president, fellows, and scholars, the management of the revenues and property of the said College, the salaries, stipends and provision for the president, fellows, scholars and officers of the said College, and also touching and concerning any other matter or thing which to them shall seem good, fit, useful, and agreeable to this our Charter: and also from time to time, to revoke, augment, or alter all, every or any of the said statutes, rules, and ordinances, as to them or the major part of them, shall seem meet and expedient. Provided, that the said statutes, rules and ordinances, or any of them, shall not be repugnant to the laws and statutes

of this our realm, and of our said Province of Nova Scotia; provided also, that the said statutes, rules, and ordinances, or any revocation, augmentation, or alteration thereof, be subject to the approbation of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, and shall be forthwith transmitted to the said Lord Archbishop, for that purpose; and that in case the said Lord Archbishop shall signify, in writing, his disapprobation thereof, within three years of the time of their being so made and framed, or of their being so revoked, augmented, or altered, the same or such part thereof, as shall be so disapproved by the said Lord Archbishop, shall, from the time of such disapprobation being made known, be utterly void and of no effect, but otherwise shall be and remain in full force and virtue.

And we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, charge and command that the statutes, rules and ordinances aforesaid, subject to the said provisions, shall be strictly and inviolably observed, kept and performed, from time to time, so long as they shall respectively remain, in full vigour and effect, under the penalties to be thereby or therein inflicted or contained.

And we do by these presents for us our heirs and successors, will, order, direct, and appoint that the said *Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* for the time being shall be PATRON of the said College, and the *Bishop of Nova Scotia* for the time being, shall be VISITOR of the said College.

And we do further will, ordain and grant that the said College shall be deemed and taken to be an UNIVERSITY, and shall have and enjoy all such and the like Privileges as are enjoyed by our Universities in our United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, as far as the same are capable of being had and enjoyed, by virtue of these our Letters Patent. And that the students in the said College shall have liberty and faculty of taking the degrees of Bachelor, Master, and Doctor in the several arts and faculties at the appointed times: and shall have liberty within themselves of performing all scholastic exercises for the conferring such degrees in such manner as shall be directed by the statutes, rules, and ordinances of the said College.

And We will, and by these presents for Us our heirs and successors, do grant and declare, that these our Letters Patent, or the enrolment or exemplications thereof, shall and may be, good, firm, valid, sufficient and effectual in the law, according to the true intent and meaning of the same, and shall be taken, construed and adjudged, in the most favourable and beneficial sense for the best advantage of the said governors, president and fellows of the said College at Windsor aforesaid, as well in all our Courts of record as elsewhere, and by all and singular judges, justices, officers, ministers, and other subjects whatsoever, of us, our heirs and successors, any mis-recital, non-recital, omission, imperfection, defect, matter, cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding; without fine or fee, great or small, to be for the same in any manner rendered, done or paid to us in our Hanaper, or elsewhere to our use.

And lastly, we do hereby promise and declare for us, our heirs and successors, that we and they shall and will, at all times hereafter, give and grant to the aforesaid governors, president and fellows, and their successors, such other reasonable powers and authorities, as may be necessary for the government of the said college and the more effectual execution of the premises.

In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent.—Witness ourself at Westminster, the twelfth day of May in the forty-second year of our reign.

CHURCH AFFAIRS.

A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God to be used in all Churches and Chapels throughout those Parts of the United Kingdom called England and Ireland, on Tuesday the first Day of June, 1802, *being the Day appointed by Proclamation for a general Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for putting an End to the late bloody, extended, and expensive War in which we were engaged.*

¶ *The service shall be the same with the usual office for holy days, except where it is in this office otherwise appointed.*

¶ *Let him that ministereth read with a loud voice these Sentences of Scripture; and after them the Exhortation,* Dearly beloved Brethren, *&c.*

Ascribe unto the Lord, O ye kindreds of the people: ascribe unto the Lord worship and power.

Unto thee, O God, will I pay my vows: unto thee will I give thanks,

I will offer to thee the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and will call upon the name of the Lord.

¶ *Instead of the* Venite, *this Hymn shall be used.*

O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious, and his mercy endureth for ever.

Let them give thanks, whom the Lord hath redeemed, and delivered from the hand of the enemy.

O love the Lord all ye his saints, for the Lord preserveth them that are faithful, and plenteously rewardeth the proud doer.

The Lord shall stand by them, and save them; he shall deliver them from the ungodly, and shall save them, because they put their trust in him.

He ruleth with his power for ever: his eyes behold the people, and such as will not believe, shall not be able to exalt themselves.

It is of the Lord's mercy, that we are not consumed, because his compassions fail not.

Thou, O Lord, art my defender: thou art my worship, and the lifter up of my head.

I will always give thanks unto the Lord, his praise shall be ever in my mouth.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was, &c.

¶ *Proper Psalms.* XXIX. XXXIII. CXLVI.

¶ *Proper Lessons.* First, Levit. xxvi. 3—12. Te Deum. Second, Matt. v. 1—26.

Jubilate Deo.

¶ *The* Creed, *&c. to the end of the Lord's Prayer.*

¶ *Then the priest, standing up, shall say;*

Priest. O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us —Answ. And grant us thy salvation.—Priest. O Lord, save the king.—Ans. Who putteth his trust in thee.—Priest. Send him help from thy holy place.—Ans. And evermore mightily defend him.—Priest. Let his enemies have no advantage against him.—Ans. Let not the wicked approach to hurt him.—Priest. Endue thy ministers with righteousness.—Ans. And make thy chosen people joyful.—Priest. O Lord, save thy people.—Ans. And bless thine inheritance. —Priest. Give peace in our time, O Lord.—Ans. Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God.—Priest. O God, make clean our hearts within us.—Answ. And take not thy holy spirit from us.

¶ *Instead of the First Collect for the Day, the following Prayer shall be used.*

O Almighty Lord God, who rulest in all the kingdoms of the earth, bringing to nought by thy wisdom the devices of the prudent, and casting down by thy power the might of the stout-hearted; we yield thee thanks and praise for thy abundant loving kindness, in putting a stop to the rage and devastations of war, and restoring, to this and other countries, the blessing of peace. Give us grace, we beseech thee, to improve this thy great mercy to thy glory, the advancement of thy truth, and the good of mankind. Cleanse us, O Lord, from all our abominations, and renew a right spirit within us; that henceforth we provoke not, as many times heretofore we have done, thy wrath an indignation against us, but become a holy nation, an obedient people, walking in the ways of godliness, and knit together in love and charity, unity and concord. And mercifully vouchsafe to grant, that we may transmit to our posterity the blessings which, through thy goodness, we have so long enjoyed, of our free monarchy and pure religion. These things we humbly beg in the name and mediation of Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord. Amen.

¶ *Then shall follow the second and third Collects at Morning Prayer.*

¶ *In the End of the Litany, which shall be used on this Day, the following Prayer shall be said after the Collect,* "We humbly beseech thee, "&c".

O Lord our creator and preserver, who hast made of one blood all nations of men upon the face of the whole earth, hasten, we beseech thee, that blessed time, when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more; but the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever; and the whole earth shall be filled with the light of the glorious gospel of thy Son, to whom with thee, O Father, and with thee, O Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and thanksgiving, world without end. Amen.

¶ *Then read to the End of* Morning Prayer, *adding after the* General Thanksgiving *the following Thanksgiving for the Plenty of the last Harvest.*

O merciful Father, of whose gift it cometh, that the earth is fruitful, and animals multiply for the service and sustenance of man; we give thee humble thanks, that, of thy great bounty, thou hast crowned the year with thy goodness; causing both the sun to shine, and the rain to fall, in just measure and due season, and blessing the increase of our kine and of our sheep. Continue, we beseech thee, thy loving kindness towards us, and give us grace to improve thy mercies to thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Communion Service.

¶ *Instead of the Collect for the King,* "Al- "mighty God, whose Kingdom, *&c.*" *the following shall be used.*

O Almighty Lord God, to whose powerful protection righteous Kings owe the prosperity of their government, and the safety of their persons, we, thine unworthy servants, offer unto thee our unfeigned thanksgivings for thy great goodness, so often manifested to this nation, in the preservation of the life of thy servant our Sovereign, upon various occasions during the late political distractions, from the designs and attempts of wicked men; by which thou hast rescued this church and kingdom from destruction. Preserve him evermore, we beseech thee, from the gathering together of the froward, and from the insurrection of evil doers. Infatuate the counsels, and frustrate the attempts of his enemies. Grant him long to continue the nursing father of thy church, and the faithful minister of thy blessings to his people, that after a prolonged and prosperous reign on earth, he may receive in heaven the crown of glory which fadeth not away, through the merits of Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord. Amen.

Instead of the Collect of the Day.

O most merciful God, who, in thy mercy, hast given us rest from our enemies; give us also understanding to see, and hearts to follow, the things that be for our peace. Put away from us all bitterness and wrath, all malicious

and revengeful thoughts; and give us grace freely to forgive, as thou hast commanded, those who have injured or offended us, and to be reunited with them in the bands of Christian charity. Grant, O Lord, that being delivered from our enemies abroad, we may live in godliness and honesty at home, in dutiful subjection to the King, and in brotherly love and charity one towards another; that so in all things we may adorn the gospel of thy blessed Son, our Saviour, to whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

The Epistle. 1 John iv. 7—12.

Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love. In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein his love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another. No man hath seen God at any time. If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us.

The Gospel. St. Matthew v. ver. 43, *to the end.*

Ye have heard that it hath been said, thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the publicans so? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.

¶ *Then shall follow the* Nicene Creed; *and after that the Sermon.*

After the Prayer, "for the whole state of Christ's Church," *the following shall be used.*

O Lord our God, abundant in goodness and truth, whose tender mercies are over all thy works, we implore thy compassion for the whole race of man, but more especially we beseech thee to look down with pity on the Church, which thy Son has purchased with his blood, particularly on the reformed parts of it. And we humbly entreat thee, to enlighten all those who are in darkness and error, and to bring them to the understanding and acknowledgment of thy truth; that we may all become one fold, under one Shepherd, Jesus Christ the righteous, our only mediator and advocate. Amen.

Grant, O Lord, we beseech thee, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by thy governance, that thy church may joyfully serve thee in all godly quietness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty God, who hast promised to hear the petitions of them that ask in thy Son's name; we beseech thee mercifully to incline thine ears to us that have made now our prayers and supplications unto thee; and grant, that those things, which we have faithfully asked according to thy will, may effectually be obtained, to the relief of our necessity, and to the setting forth of thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ *Then the Priest (or Bishop, if he be present) shall let them depart with this Blessing:*

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. Amen.

Substance of the Speech of the Right Honourable Sir William Scott, *delivered in the House of Commons, Wednesday, April 7, 1802, upon a Motion for leave to bring in a Bill, relative to the Non-residence of the Clergy, and other Affairs of the Church.*

Mr. Speaker,

In pursuance of my notice, I have to move for leave to bring in a bill for amending the Statute of Henry the Eighth respecting the Clergy; and before I enter upon the subject itself, I must trouble you with a very few words in excuse of the person who has been rash enough to undertake it.—Sir, it is by no obtrusion of myself that this office has descended into my hands; no man could be more sensible of its difficulties, or less disposed to a personal encounter with them. But I have yielded to the judgments and inclinations of other minds, aided by a sense of public duty in my own; the House, therefore, will have the satisfaction of knowing, that what I have to offer to its consideration, is not the eager expression of any favourite, preconceived opinions; whatever other demerit may belong to it, it will come, I am sure, without the confidence, and, I trust, without the prejudice of system upon the subject.

The business is to review some of the provisions of the Statute of King Henry the Eighth.—The prosecutions recently brought in great numbers, and in different parts of the kingdom upon that statute, have imposed, what I may venture to call an *admitted* necessity upon the Legislature of reconsidering it. I say *admitted*, because the Legislature, under a sense of that necessity, forcibly impressed upon it last year by two most worthy members, representatives of western counties, has already agreed to suspend its operation. I meddle not with the motives, nor with the characters connected with those prosecutions; if any thing exceptionable belongs to either of them, I fear that the reproach must be shared by the Legislature which has addressed such motives and invited such characters. It is the less necessary for me to advert to them, because if no such pro-

secutions had existed, the statute would nevertheless be, in my opinion, a very fit subject of modern consideration. It is a statute upon important subjects immediately connected with the religion and morals of the country—but a statute made three hundred years ago, in a state of religion and manners very different from the present. It is a statute which enforces its operation by money-penalties—but those penalties prescribed under a very different valuation of money from that which obtains at present. On these considerations alone it might be deemed not unfit to revise this statute, even supposing it to be possessed of all the characters of original wisdom and justice, that are to be looked for in an act of the Legislature, framed with an attention to the exigencies of the times that gave it birth. It is admitted by Lord Coke, one hundred and fifty years ago, that "It then required alterations and addi-"tions, although excellent for its time."—Lord Hobart has likewise described it as a "most wise "and politic statute." May I be permitted to say, with all the profound reverence which I owe and feel to the opinions of very eminent persons (men of oracular weight upon questions of the existing law of their country, but, I may say without offence, not quite of such unappealable authority, upon questions of legislative policy) that I cannot help entertaining a doubt whether these panegyrics, on the original wisdom and equity of this statute, have not been somewhat liberally conferred?

It is impossible not to advert a little to the times in which it was produced, and the motives which, in part at least, operated in producing it. The times were times of great fervour and irritation—the corruptions of the Church collected during the grossness of the darker ages, and which that Church, by neglecting the favourable opportunity of reforming, has entailed upon itself the unhappy necessity of perpetuating and defending, had provoked great popular resentments; but, as was natural to be expected, resentments not always justly directed to their objects, nor very exactly proportioned in their measure. They overflowed upon the whole body of the clergy, deserving and undeserving (for unquestionably there were many of the first description), and upon all clerical claims, just and unjust, for it is equally unquestionable that there are both. In short, the times were exactly those which are the least fitted in any country for a happy exercise of deliberative wisdom, lying in that precise juncture, when ancient opinions and maxims have become the objects of contempt and aversion, and the new and improved system had not yet settled itself, in a firm and sober and correct possession of men's minds. The history of those times abounds with instances of the general animosity, that then prevailed against the clergy. It is a familiar anecdote in every body's mouth, of the observation made by the then Bishop of London in a letter respecting an idle and malicious charge of murder brought against his Chancellor, that a London jury was at that time so prejudiced against the clergy, that were a clergyman was concerned, they "were ready to find Abel guilty of the mur-"der of Cain." A more singular demonstration of the general prevalence of that sort of inveteracy, is recorded by one of the most exact inquirers into our national history, (particularly the ecclesiastical parts of it) Mr. H. Wharton, in his Remarks on Strype's Memorials of the Reformation. "Crimes of incontinence," he says, "were then, "as now, cognoscible only in the ecclesiastical "courts; but rapes were then, as now, triable "at the common law; and of this the laity took "such malicious advantage in times immediately "before the reformation, that they were wont to "pretend all acts, and even indications of incon-"tinence in ecclesiastics to be so many rapes, and "to indict them as such; insomuch, that scarce "any assizes passed at that time wherein several "clergymen were not indicted of rapes, and a "jury of laymen impannelled to try them, who "would be sure not to incur the guilt of shewing "too much favour in their verdicts." There is reason enough to suppose, that Parliament was sufficiently tinctured with the popular prejudice of the times. It had its particular resentments against that great minister and churchman Cardinal Wolsey: a man of great talents! *qui nihil humile aut sensit aut dixit!* but, who had likewise that pride and confidence of great talents, which, in a state of coarse manners, is with difficulty kept free from betraying itself in an oppressive insolence of language and demeanor. "They hated him, be-"cause he hated Parliaments," says Lord Coke in the passage I have alluded to, "and had been "the mean that no Parliament was holden in the "realm but one, for the space of fourteen years;" and it could not well be forgotten, Sir, that in that *one* Parliament, the very one in which *immediately* preceded the Parliament which made this statute, he had come into this room in all the pomp of the most ostentatious prelacy, and seating himself by your chair, had demanded "to know the reasons "of those members who opposed the King's High-"ness' subsidy, in order that he might confer with "them thereon." It is not out of our historical recollection, how severely an intrusion of the like kind cost the Sovereign of this country in the following century. As to the King, he had other passions, besides resentment, to animate him in these measures; he had two years before began the business of his divorce; it proceeded much too tardily for the impatience of such a lover; he had quarrelled with Wolsey on account of the delay, and was determined to menace the Pope into a compliance. "The King," says Bishop Burnet, "set the bills forward, and they were "agreed to and had the royal assent. The King "intended by this to let the Pope see what he "could do if he went on to offend him, and how "willingly his Parliamnnt would concur with him "if he went on to extremities."

Under this ferment of passions was this statute conceived; and if it *did* come into the world with the characters of wisdom and propriety appearing in its constitution, it would add one more instance to the number, which the experience of mankind has certainly furnished, of good effects produced by questionable and mixed causes. I have ventured to doubt the existence of such characters. The very policy of throwing matters of this nature into the general tribunals of the country is, in my apprehension, subject to very reasonable doubt. I shall speak with the less reserve upon this policy, because, finding it here established, it is not my intention to attempt to remove it, guarded, as I purpose it should be, by the correctives which I propose to apply to it. I cannot help remarking, that it was a violent innovation on the practice of the Church, not only of the

church then existing, but upon the general practice of the christian church, which has considered matters of this nature as administrable in a course of ecclesiastical discipline only. Take, for instance, the matter of residence. The power of enforcing, or dispensing with residence, belonged *de jure communi* to the bishop. *Super residentiâ faciendâ potest ordinarius gratiam dispensative ad tempus facere, prout causa rationabilis id expescit.* Such was the rule of the christian church. The oath of vicars, taken at institution, which has existed in this kingdom for six hundred years, down to the present hour, is, "that they will reside, unless dis-"pensed with by their ordinary." In the *reformatio legum*, a code drawn up for the use of the reformed church of England, by some of the most considerable persons of the age, both laymen and churchmen, the rule is, that absence is excused if the party is *annis gravis, morborum incursione extenuatus, vel ob quamcunque justam aliam causam episcopo approbandam.* And in fact, the power of dispensing with residence continued to be formally exercised by Cranmer, and other eminent prelates of the reformed church, down to a very late period, notwithstanding the apparent prohibition of this statute, as appears from the records of the office of faculties and from episcopal registers. I take such to be the practice of the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches. In that most respectable branch of the Calvinistic church, the church of Scotland, I understand it to be a matter of consistorial discipline; nor does this practice found itself merely upon high and exclusive notions of the immunities of the church; it is no more than what the policy of the law has found it convenient to apply to the regulation of the conduct of men in other professions, the peculiar duties of which are enforced not in the ordinary course of judicial proceeding, but in *forums* of their own, and in a course of official administration, confided to the vigilance and integrity of the respective superiors; nor is it to be alledged (as one sometimes hears,) that the interest, which the laity has in the good conduct of the clergy, makes this absolutely necessary, because, in the first place, no one will deny that they have a pretty considerable interest in the good conduct of other professions; in that, for instance, of their naval and military defenders: and in the next place, because their interest, give it what comparative magnitude you please, seemed to be sufficiently secured by the power which the laity then possessed, and still possess, of applying to the consistorial tribunals, and there enforcing a specific performance of canonical duties, in all cases where it was fit it should be enforced.

I do not, however, object merely on the ground of this policy being a novelty, and a novelty without a necessity, (though this alone is no contemptible objection in acts of legislation,) but, because it is a novelty that is unavoidably productive of practical injustice and inconvenience. When I use these words, let no man be perverse enough to impute to me, that I am hazarding irreverent expressions against the great tribunals of my country; no man venerates more, either the wise constitution, or the honourable administration of them. They have both of them, at all times, and at no times more than the present, been amongst the best securities, and the proudest ornaments of our country. But I may be permitted to express a doubt, whether in consequence of the very fact of their being so admirably adapted to the administration of general justice, they may not be less conveniently framed, for wielding the peculiar discipline of a peculiar profession.

Take, in illustration again, this matter of residence. The statute enacts that, "whoever is "wilfully absent from his benefice," (and which the courts of law have interpreted to be the parsonage house of that benefice) "for one month is "liable to a penalty." The courts have of course followed the strict construction, which as courts of law they were bound to do, and they have accordingly determined, (as far as can be inferred from the adjuged cases) that a wilful absence, is that absence which is not produced by some physical necessity; for I cannot find in any adjudged case, that any cause of absence has been allowed, besides these three: 1st. Imprisonment of the body elsewhere. 2dly, Infirmity of body; and 3dly, Want of habitation, or of an *ubi* in the parish; a plea which, I must observe, has been in effect disallowed, or at least contracted in some late determinations, in which it has not been admitted as a valid defence, unless it has been at the same time shewn, that the clerk has approximated his habitation to the parish, *cy près*, or as near as he could in some contiguous parish. These pleas likewise, (all of which are merely physical,) must be proved in an absolute degree. As to imprisonment of the body, that is not a matter which much admits of *plus* and *minus*, but the matter of infirmity of body must be proved to a degree, not merely of discomfort, but of something approaching to actual peril. With respect to habitation, I have only to mention the late case of the rector of Bow Church; that clergyman was shewn to be one of the most exemplary of his time; it appeared that he not only performed, in an assiduous and edifying manner, the public duties of his church, but in a manner equally assiduous and edifying, the more painful, but not less important offices, of private and constant ministration to the spiritual wants of his parishioners. It was admitted on the part of the prosecution, that on these very accounts he was selected for the purpose of shewing, that no merit could excuse the legal guilt of non-residence; for true it was, that he was legally a non-resident, living not in the parish of Bow Church, but in the no distant parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn; and under these circumstances, that the proper parsonage house was of such confined dimensions, that the only ground floor room was converted into a shop. Any enlargement of the house was hopeless, not only from the obstructions of the statute of Mortmain, but from the excessive value of ground, in that highly commercial part of this capital. Under this representation the jury were instructed, and properly instructed by the learned and noble judge, to consider whether this habitation, incommodious and uncomfortable as it might be, was not yet one in which a clergyman, submitting to a painful necessity, might contrive to live, and the jury found for the full penalties against the defendant. I mention this case to shew the degree in which even these legal pleas must be substantiated. As to pleas of necessity, merely moral, I cannot find the admission of any such, in the cases which the practice of three hundred years has furnished. I cannot deny that an attendance elsewhere, upon the last months of a declining wife, or parent, or child, or upon any other of the charities of life, is certainly a wilful absence, for it must be admitted, that it is produced by a mere determination of the will, though the will may be influenced in the particular case,

by causes as powerful, and as laudable, as any that can act upon human volition. In the consistorial courts acting under the episcopal discretion, or a discretion of the like nature, such pleas can have a reasonable attention paid to them. A court of law acting upon the express letter of a statute, assumes no such discretion itself; and it is expressly forbidden, by the same statute, to invoke or admit the interposition of episcopal discretion. As far as a court of law contemplates such a subject under such an authority, it has been, and, I presume, must be, upon the footing of a something, very little short of a hard and dry physical necessity.

So much as to the general policy—Are the specific provisions more clearly marked with wisdom? The provision made for carrying all its other provisions into effect, is by means of the common informer. Of that personage I shall take care to speak with all due caution, because I perceive, that although he is a very abhorred man, when he is blowing up a conspiracy against the state—not very gracious when he is enforcing a tax—yet that he is received with some degree of kind acceptation, when he betakes himself to the employment of *privateering* upon the church: all, therefore, that I shall venture to say of him, is, that it appears to be but a clumsy sort of policy at best, to make the avarice of mankind the grand instrument of religious and moral reformation. But, supposing it ever so decent a thing to dethrone the bishop, and to put the common informer in his place, look at the penalties with which he is armed!—perfectly ruinous to the majority of the clergy at the time, and in that respect directly contrary to every principle of our happy constitution—ten pounds for a month's absence! By the *valor beneficiorum*, made five years *after* the passing this statute, a very large proportion of the cures in this kingdom, were under ten pounds a year in value; so that the great body of the clergy were put into *this* state, that if they slept out of their parsonage-house, for one day above a month, they were deprived of all subsistence for above twelve months following.

What was the grand object to be secured to the public, by this unnatural change of the ecclesiastical constitution, bearing so hard upon the convenience of individuals? Is it a canonical residence? By no means. What is a canonical residence? not merely *residentia parochialis*, but *personalis ministratio* likewise—*residere in parochia, et deservire in ecclesia.* Such is the general language of the canon law, and mere bodily presence in a parish is no sufficient defence, in the ecclesiastical suit, for non-residence, if it is shewn that the clerk has not likewise performed the duties which ought to accompany it. But this statute takes the bodily presence, independent of the personal ministration—the *corpus sine pectore*—upon the presumption, which, the experience of the world proves, will often fail, that the man who is compelled to be upon the spot, will perform every thing for which he is compelled to be upon that spot. If a man does but sleep in his parsonage bed, he may sleep there from month's end to month's end; he may live in the most slovenly disregard, or in the most insolent defiance of every obligation of duty; and yet, as far as this statute reaches him, he may go utterly unwhipt of public justice. The residence, which this statute secures to the public, may be a parish nuisance, and a parish scandal, and nothing better.

In pointing out such passages in this statute, as appear to me to mark it rather as a statute of vengeance than reformation, as uniting in itself the extremes of violence and inefficiency, I cannot help adding, that if such provisions are really what they have been sometimes called, the *first fruits* of the reformation, they are fruits collected in a state of great acerbity—harsh, and crude, and unmellowed—much fitter to ferment than to compose the passions of mankind. Let me ask those who shelter this statute under the apology, that time may perhaps have rendered some of its provisions unseasonable, for what times such provisions as these could possibly be fit? "that no clergyman, beneficed or unbeneficed, should take a house, except in a city, market town, or borough, under a penalty of ten pounds a month? That no poor vicar could take a lease of the parsonage, to help out his own scanty endowment, under a penalty of ten times the value of the profits of such lease? That no clergyman can hold a lease of land, though not occupied by himself, and though descended to him from his family, under a penalty of ten times its annual value? That no clergyman possessed of a patrimonial freehold estate, in a grazing country, could buy and sell a cow, without a forfeiture of treble the value of that cow?" In my apprehension nothing could have concealed the vices and infirmities of this statute, but its having been consigned by almost general consent, to almost general inefficiency ever since its birth, till within the last two years, when it has been made the commercial bank of two or three trading attornies. Before that time it had rarely been heard of, but occasionally as a postscript to a dispute about tythes, or to some personal squabble between the parishioner and his parson, generally discountenanced in the particular instance by the excellent persons who have presided in the courts, who have repeatedly lamented their own inability to admit pleas, highly proper to be attended to, and that they were bound to consider the most conscientious clergyman, who after twenty years most sedulous performance of all his duties, absented himself for one month from his parish (or even from his parsonage-house, though doing the duties of his cure), and with the permission of his superiors, as a culprit—and as a culprit who was not to be exonerated, on any other plea than that which would exonerate a man from charges of the most atrocious kind—the plea, of having acted under something little short of an irresistible necessity.

But whatever may be the original character of this statute (on which I have ventured to express an opinion, contrary to opinions which I cannot but respect, when I look at those who have entertained them); it is not to be denied, that the change of time and manners has imported into it a degree of incongruity and injustice, which no man can be found to defend.

In the first place, the money-penalties have acquired an additional injustice, by acquiring an additional inequality. Many of the livings of this kingdom, that were meanly endowed with land or tythes, continue in their original poverty; others, better provided with those species of property, have risen into opulence: on the poor livings the statute operates with its original severity, aggravated by the consideration, that it touches the richer benefices, comparatively, with a feather. Its *utmost* effect upon a living of £1,200 per annum (of which there are several in this

kingdom), is compounded for by the payment of an income tax.

In the next place, the general alteration, which has taken place in the general system of life and manners, must be adverted to. The *native clergy* (as far as the statute applied at all to them) were single men, living in the habits of a secluded life. They generally fixed near the places of their nativity. I observe in most ancient catalogues of the English clergy, both secular and regular, that their names are usually taken from some neighbouring village or borough, to that where you find them settled. From the spot where they settled they had few possible calls; there was little communication between different parts of the country or with the capital; correspondence was rare, and carried on either by special messengers, or by the accident of pilgrims passing that way. The gentry themselves, excepting those who attended Parliament, ventured little beyond the sod of their own village, unless to the county court: the business of the county was transacted in the county. All this has undergone a great alteration; the different classes of men are no longer *glebæ adscriptitii*; communication is opened; much of the business of the kingdom is transacted in this town. The clergy are most generally beneficed in parts of the island remote from the places of their birth and education, and they have calls of family affection and duty to the relations they have quitted. Being invited by the reformation to marry, they form new family connexions which again produce calls of a similar nature; and, I presume, no reasonable man would wish that they should be deaf to such calls, and should turn their backs on the happy intercourses of family kindness. It is one of the best effects of the reformation, that by introducing them to the charities of domestic life, it has taught them a practical knowledge of the duties which belong to those charities. They have family property in other parts of the county; they are called to the capital for the transaction of family concerns; they are called to attend to the declining health of a wife or child, by a temporary change of air and situation. I am no advocate for dissipation when I observe, they have families of young persons who are not without their claims to reasonable indulgences for the purposes of health, of education, of improvement, and, I venture to add without fear, even of innocent curiosity and relaxation.

In the next place, the change, not only of the manners, but of that which is every day assuming a greater importance in the country, its agriculture, makes a change of the provisions of the statute relative to farming quite indispensable. It is impossible for me to state this effect half so well in any words of my own, as in those which compose a letter, written to me by two most respectable clergymen of the west of England, and which, with the permission of the House, I beg leave to read as a part of what I have to offer.

"Whilst we were thus indulging in what we "conceived to be innocent pursuits, we find ourselves amenable to that part of the statute of "Henry VIII. which interdicts us from buying "and selling, and an avowed informer, who has "come into the country with an express intention of prosecuting the clergy on the other parts "of the Act, has just began to enforce this tremendous clause.

"What constitutes the peculiar hardship of "the modern clergy is, that the restraint in question did not materially, if at all, affect their "predecessors at the time the Act was made, "but has, for the most part, been occasioned by "the alteration, that has taken place in the general state of society, and our habits of life.

"The facility with which all our wants are at "present supplied, was in the sixteenth century "wholly unknown. Our ancestors, who resided "in the country, derived from their estates the "most ample maintenance for themselves and "dependants. The provisions, which were laid "up against winter in the great mansions, fill "with astonishment the mind of a modern housekeeper. In conformity to this general practice, "the resident country clergyman had, comparatively speaking, few demands for money, the "glebe and tythes supplying all his necessaries; "his wheat provided bread, and the barley, under "his own eye, was converted into malt—most of "the old rectorial houses having, even now, a "building formerly appropriated to that purpose; "the wool was spun under his own roof, and "wrought into cloth in the neighbouring towns; "the cattle, fattened during the summer (there "was no winter feeding), were slaughtered and "laid up for the remainder of the year; and, as "his family must have been large, the day labourer and occasional artificer being fed from "his table, it is reasonable to suppose, that he "had little to spare beyond his own consumption—add to this, that he was then a solitary "being, deprived by superstition of those endearing connexions, which impel mankind to "look beyond themselves, to the welfare of those, "who are of far more importance to them.

"His situation is now totally changed—Commerce, and the influx of wealth have entirely "overthrown his domestic arrangements; money "is the medium through which all his wants are "to be supplied; he therefore sells his wheat to "pay his workmen: barley, the laws of his country restrain him from making into malt, he "sends it to a market, and with the money received in return purchases beer—the wool is "disposed of to a distant manufacturer, and with "its value, himself and family are clothed: the "fat cattle are sold instead of being salted, and "the profit ensures a weekly supply of fresh meat, "till the return of summer.

"The expenses also attendant on a marriage-"state (to say nothing of the various and heavy "taxes) occasion repeated demands on him for "money, which were wholly unknown to the "clergy at the time of Henry the Eighth.

"A revolution equally great has taken place "even in our system of agriculture—Formerly a "part of every farm was appropriated to tillage, "another to pasture, and a due proportion of "calves and lambs were annually reared; but by "experience it is found, that some districts are "fitter for each separate purpose, so that a glebe "may be wholly given up to corn, or pasture, "according to its soil, to the great advantage of "the proprietor and the public. In one instance, "different sorts of grain will be sent to market, "in the other, the return must be in fat cattle. "By occupying his lands in this manner, the "modern clergyman doth not violate the spirit "of the Act; though he *buys* to *sell again*, yet "it is a *buying and a selling incidental* to the "farming of his glebe; he is not carrying on a "traffic, which is evidently the offence prohibited,

" but only in conformity with the improved mode " of husbandry, cultivating his ground to the best " advantage. Enforce the statute literally, and at " once he is deprived of his principal support; " it will be impossible for him to farm his glebe, " which he must immediately let, to the incalcu- " lable loss of himself and the community; as " instead of being (which whilst in the hands of " the clergy it will generally be found to be) in " a progressive state of improvement, it will gra- " dually become worse, no tenant chusing to risk " his money in manuring premises, the possession " of which cannot be assured to him for a single " day.

" The foregoing observations apply for the " most part to our own case, but it would be sel- " fish in the extreme were we not to remark, that " there are many of our brethren of opulence " and great respectability, who actuated by the " most politic motives, have, by occupying their " own estates as well as their glebes, held up a " superior mode of husbandry to their neigh- " bourhood, and done essential service to the " country.

" To take them also out of the hands of infor- " mers, would be conceived to be an act well " worthy your serious consideration. Any un- " due restraint on their exertions must prove a " manifest injury to the community at large, and " agriculture in its present state may be consi- " dered so far from an illiberal pursuit, that it is " hard to say how any clergyman can employ " his hours of relaxation (and such hours must " occur in every professsion) with more innocence " to himself, and benefit to the public, than in " the moderated study and practice of its various " branches."

I have my doubts, from what passed within these walls last year, whether the House will quite go along with the sentiments expressed in the last paragraph. I confess that my own sentiments are considerably mollified, since the last year, in favour of farming; I see that in this country the parish priest is, by the very constitution of his office, *in some degree*, an agriculturist; he is, *ex officio*, *in part* a farmer. He is to take care, undoubtedly, that the ecclesiastic shall not merge in the farmer, but shall continue the presiding and predominating character; but the moderated and subordinate practice of farming, supplies many means of cheap subsistence for the clergyman and his family; many means of easy kindness and hospitality to his poorer parishioners; many opportunities of distinguishing the industrious and well-disposed by the favour of employment; and many motives of pleasing attachment to the place, which furnishes the healthy and amusing occupation of his vacant hours. Personal debasement must be guarded against; but when I recollect that it has been the opinion of all antiquity that *agriculturâ libero homine nihil dignius*, and that the practice of modern times reconciles it with the dignity, and even the majesty of the most exalted stations, I am not prepared to admit that personal debasement is a necessary consequence; and in the example of the illustrious Hooker tending his sheep on Barham Downs, I think I see, that even some of its humble occupations may be performed without degradation.

But what above all creates a necessity for new moulding this statute is, the extreme depauperated state of many of the churches and parochial clergy of this kingdom. The statute makes one uniform demand of universal residence, under one uniform penalty; and universal residence cannot be had, without universal competency. If all the benefices in the kingdom were equal and competent, an equal obligation, enforced by an equal penalty, might be applied to them all universally. But the fact is, that the inequality is great, and has greatly increased since the passing of this Act; since it is certain, that if many benefices have increased in value, many have been comparatively depauperated by the Reformation.

The appropriation of the church revenues to the religious houses, was in ancient times a subject of loud and energetic complaint from Parliament. This House represented, " That the reli- " gious men mischievously, under divers colours, " appropriated benefices, and grievously threw " down the houses of the same to the ground, " and cruelly did take away, and destroy divine " service, hospitality, and other marks of cha- " rity; and the clergy from promotion did bar, " in offence to God, confusion of their own souls, " grievous desolation of their country, final de- " struction of the clergy, great impoverishment " of the kingdom, and irrevocable ruin of the " church of England." But the clergy, though pillaged of their glebe and tythes by the monks, had their resources. In market-towns they had a variety of small devotional offices to perform for individuals, for which they were paid. In the country they farmed from the monks the glebe and tythes which they formerly possessed; but their grand resource was in the authority of the bishops, who had a power, and occasionally exercised it, to compel the monks to raise their stipends, as the times required. Temporary vicars, who answer to modern curates, had been raised successively up to ten marks, *consideratâ temporum qualitate*, which Spelman computes to be equal to sixty pounds a year, and the perpetual vicar was raised to twelve marks, equal to seventy pounds a year. They were single men, of small wants, and generally smaller learning; he who had Latin enough to read the office to those who could not read English, had no call for an expensive library. This statute, followed by the Reformation, struck a severe blow at their means of subsistence. In the country it put an end to their farming the glebe and tythes, a grievance bitterly complained of, by the Convocation of the same year with this statute, which represented that the statute had *non-nihil iniquitatis* in it, by robbing the *miseros vicarios*, the miserable vicars of this advantage. The Reformation swept away in towns all the traffic of private superstitious offices; but the great blow was struck by the Statute of Alienations, or rather by the construction which has since grown upon it, and which has now exonerated the impropriated parsonages, from any power of the bishops to provide for the better maintenance of the officiating minister; for though the statute expressly reserved all rights, and transferred these church revenues to the crown, and consequently to its grantees, in the same state and condition, " as " they now be, as held by the religious houses," yet it is settled law, in later times, that these impropriations, being lay fees, are no longer subject to the authority of the bishop.

It is now, Sir, too late to undo what was done at the Reformation in this matter. The property has for three hundred years passed into circulation—is become family inheritance—possessed by as good a title, and as safe a conscience, as other

family inheritance; but, when I observe, that it is to be lamented that a better provision was not, at that time, made out of these revenues, for the support of the national religion, I say no more than what is supported by high authority, particularly by that of a person who was a great favourite and ornament of this House, and no partial friend to ecclesiastical claims—Mr. Selden; and by that of another person of still more elevated character, the ornament of his age and country! whose voice, when not perverted by passions or interests of his own, was the voice of reason and philosophy itself!—the great Lord Bacon. The former expresses himself thus, "I "doubt not, but that every good man wishes "that at our dissolution, their land and tythes, "and churches, had been bestowed rather for the "advancement of the church, to a better maintenance of a labouring, deserving ministry, relief "of the poor, and other such good uses, (as have "in them a character of the good wishes of those "who first dedicated them to God) than conferred, with such a prodigal dispensation, on "those who stood ready to devour what was "sanctified." The latter, thus—"It were to be "wished, that impropriations were returned to "the church, as the most natural and proper endowments. In mine own opinion and sense, I "must confess, (I speak it with all reverence) "all the Parliaments since the 27th and 31st of "Henry VIII. which gave away the impropriations, seem to me to stand, in a sort, obnoxious to God in conscience to do somewhat for "the Church, and to bring the patrimony thereof "back to a due competency."—May I presume with all humility to impress these memorable words upon the recollection of the House! Till that is done, which Lord Bacon says, "ought in "the conscience of Parliament to be done," all legislative provisions I fear, can be mere temporary palliatives and no better.

The truth is, that King Henry VIII. put the matter of the Church establishment into such a state, that without some forcible interposition of Parliament, it is become remediless in all time coming. The poverty-struck condition of the clergy, at that period, is recorded in an hundred striking instances, by Strype, by Kennet, by Wharton, and other collectors. The venerable Latimer, in a sermon preached before King Edward, says, "We of the clergy had too much, but "that is taken away, and now we have too little; "for my own part I have sufficient, God is my "judge, I crave nothing of any man, but I know "them that have too little; there lieth a great "matter by these appropriations, great reformation is to be had in them; I know where there "is a great market town with divers hamlets and "inhabitants, where do rise yearly of their labour "to the value of £50, and the vicar that serveth "hath but 12 or 14 marks, being so great a cure; "so that of his pension he is not able to buy "books, nor give his neighbour drink; all the "great gain goeth another way—A redress God "grant!" The same collectors record similar complaints made in a popular publication of that day, called "the Supplication of the Beggars."—"Your pretence to put down the abbeys, was to "put away what was *amiss*: It was *amiss*, that a great "part of their land was spent on a few superstitious monks, who gave not £40 alms, when they "should have given £200: it was *amiss*, that "monks should have benefices, and preach once "a year to them that paid their tithes of the "parsonage? It was amiss, that scarcely among "twenty, they set one sufficient vicar to preach. "But see now how that was *amiss*, is amended,—"marry as the *devil* amended his dame's leg; "when he should have set it right, he broke it in "pieces. The monks gave little alms, and set "unable men in their benefices; but now where "£20 was given to the poor, in more than a hun"dred places, not one meal's meat is given: *that's* "*a fair amendment*. Where they had always one "or other vicar to preach, now no vicar at all, "but the farmer is vicar and parson altogether, and "only a cast away monk or fryer, which can hardly "say matins, is hired for twenty or thirty shil"lings, and meat and drink, yea, in some places, "for meat and drink only. I know, and twenty "thousand more men know, more than five "thousand benefices thus well and gospelly "served."

The fact of the reduced condition of the clergy, is admitted by the Legislature itself, not only by the acts of shortly afterwards passing the Statutes of Union of Benefices, and of Dilapidation, (which for the first time found their way into our municipal code, from a necessity then first emerging in any pressing degree,) but it is expressly recorded in the preamble of these statutes, lamenting "the "decay of parsonage houses, and the insufficiency of single benefices for the maintenance of "a minister."

The condition of the superior clergy was comparatively little better. Crammer, in a letter to his friend, Sir Wm. Cecil, who had just taken to himself a handsome estate from the newly erected see of Peterborough, and immediately thereon had reproached the Bishops with covetousness, (as was customary, if the Bishops shewed the least repugnance to the operation of being stripped of their property) replies, "As for your admonition, "I take it most thankfully; for the saying of St. "Paul, that they who would grow *rich* fall into "temptation—I fear, it is not half so much, as "*stark beggary*. And if I knew any Bishop that "were covetous, I would surely admonish him, "but I know none but all *very beggars*, except it "be one, and yet I dare well say, *he* is not over "rich!" The general condition of churchmen at that time, affords a solution natural enough of that otherwise extraordinary fact, of their general and hasty relapse into the ancient superstition.

Succeeding times have provided nothing like a sufficient remedy. On a complaint made to King Charles the first by Parliament against non-residents, he answered them, "He recommended "to this House to make due provision, that every "parish should allow a competent maintenance "for an able minister;" and it was upon that occasion well observed in the House, "that scan"dalous livings made scandalous ministers." From that time nothing was done, till the splendid benefaction of the first fruits and tenths made by Queen Anne; on which occasion, Her Majesty observed, "that she had taken into her princely "consideration the mean and insufficient maintenance belonging to the clergy in divers parts of "this kingdom;" and the Parliament in the preamble to the Act, recites, "that a sufficient set"tled provision for the clergy, in many parts of "this kingdom, hath never yet been made."

This fund has now been in operation for near a century, under the administration of a Board composed of persons of high station, both in

Church and State. The number of livings returned, certified to this Board and to the Exchequer, were not exceeding

Per annum.	Livings.
£10 - - - - - - - - - -	1071
20 - - - - - - - - - -	1467
30 - - - - - - - - - -	1126
40 - - - - - - - - - -	1049
50 - - - - - - - - - -	844
Total Livings under £50 per annum	5597

Since the first returns, many hundred cures have been returned as of small value, some not more than twenty or forty shillings—so that their being about eleven thousand seven hundred and odd livings in the kingdom, about one moiety of the whole were under fifty pounds a-year, and upon an average less than twenty-three pounds a-year. Private benefactions and accidental improvements have aided the operation of this charity; the two lowest classes have all received an actual augmentation from it; and a third class is now receiving the same benefit. But by a paper from the Secretary of that Board, which I hold in my hand, it appear, that "if we compute the "number of livings under £50 per annum to be "as above about six thousand, a moiety of which "were actually under £30 per annum; and if we "reckon that they have been since improved by "the governors, and by other means upon an "average *two thirds*, which is a *very liberal allowance* "*indeed*, it follows that there are now six thousand "livings in England and Wales, that do not ex-"ceed upon an average £85 per annum, and that "a very great proportion of them are, at this "time, not £30 per annum, and so progressively "from *L.*30 to *L.*40 and from *L.*40 to *L.*50." In a document with which I am favoured, by M. Archdeacon Plymley of Salop, I am informed, "that "of one hundred and sixty-eight churches in that "Archdeaconry, (which, as he justly observes, "comprehends a part of five different counties, "and has within it specimens of almost every na-"tural and artificial situation) one hundred and "nine only have any parsonage house. Indepen-"dent of this deficiency of fifty-nine parsonage "houses, many of those in existence are totally "unfit for the residence of any clergyman's fa-"mily; forty-seven churches have no glebe land. "Where there is a house or land to build one "upon, the want of a sufficient residence would "be an excuse, if the livings could afford money "to repair or to build: But twenty-seven churches, "exclusive of those that are subordinate churches, "and which for the most part have no indepen-"dent income, have from *L.*2: 5s. a year, only, "to *L.*50 a year: No living would remain so low "as *L.*2: 5s. a year, if the patrons would accept "of augmentation from Queen Ann's bounty; "but this is declined for fear of putting them "under the Bishop's jurisdiction. Of the livings, "twenty-seven are under *L*50,—thirty-three above "*L.*50, but under *L.*100,—twenty-three above "*L*100, but under *L.*150—twenty four above *L*150, "but under *L.*200 per annum: There are but "nineteen livings of the whole hundred and sixty-"eight, that are above *L.*200 per annum; and "this in a country, in which the ecclesiastical "state is conceived to be much more respectable, "than in the average state of the kingdom."

In adverting to this subject, I just venture to remark, that in a publication of an Honourable Baronet, upon the revenues of the kingdom, (whom I do not see in his place,) it is stated, "that the revenue of this charity of Queen Anne's "bounty, at first amounted to about *L.*14000 per "annum; and on the 1st of January, 1735, the "governors of that charity, possessed, besides "from savings and private benefactions, the sum "of *L.*152,500 of Old South Sea annuities, and "*L.*4857 of cash in the hands of their treasurer; "the state of that fund has of late years been "carefully concealed, but it probably yields at "present from 40 to *L.*50,000 per annum." The Honourable Baronet will, I am sure, thank me for using the present opportunity of correcting such a misapprehension. It is perfectly true, that such a sum existed in the funds in the year 1735; but it is equally true, that this was a sum fully appropriated to a great number of livings, to which it was paying a money interest 'till proper purchasers of land could be found; and whereever there is a surplus of such interest, it is made principal, and is applied in a similar manner. Its present income is, with very slight accidental variations, the same as its original income, between *L.*14000 and *L.*15000 per annum. It would be difficult, indeed, to conceive any reason for an idle unproductive accumulation of the money of this charity, to the prejudice of its present numerous objects; though, if any such practice could exist, I certainly should not be much surprised, at the careful concealment of it.

To the mischiefs arising from the extreme poverty of many parochial benefices, I have heard it suggested in this house as a cure, that there should be an equalization. Equality is in these days the grand panacea for all disorders. Unfortunately, besides twenty other objections, arising from the general interests of the civil and religious policy of the country, there are two objections that seem to dispose of it completely: one is, that it could not be effected without a most enormous plunder of the laity; and the other, that if done, it would not answer the purpose for which it is intended. In the first place, advowsons, though originally perhaps mere trusts, are now become lay fees. They are bought and sold, and are lay property, just as much as any other tenements or hereditaments. And they are not merely lay property in law, but a very large proportion of them is so in fact; for of the *eleven thousand six hundred* and odd livings in this kingdom, two thousand five hundred may be in ecclesiastical patronage, the rest, (exclusive of those which belong to the crown, amounting to near eleven hundred,) either belong to various lay corporations (for even colleges are such,) or to lay individuals, who alone possess near six thousand of the whole number. Now, Sir, in this state of things, I desire to ask, upon what ground I can be called upon to give up half the living, the advowson of which I have purchased, upon a price relative to its value, in order that that moiety may be transferred to improve another living, belonging to another patron, who has paid nothing for that moiety, and who has no other title to it, but that he happens to possess the advowson of a smaller living? I see no ground except such an one as would justify the legislature in taking away half of any other estate I had purchased, in order to give it to my neighbour, because he happened to have less. Let gentlemen consider the effect of such speculations! In the next place, suppose, that this was accomplished in a way consistent with the rights of property

what would follow? Equalize all the clergy, and you in effect degrade them all, for it is the grossest of all mistakes, that the *parochial* church of England is amply endowed. It is demonstrated by a very exact inquirer upon these subjects, Mr. Cove, that if even all the preferments of every species, belonging to the church of England, were moulded into one common mass; and thence distributed—if the venerable fabrick of the hierarchy was dissolved, (a matter not to be effected without a convulsion and laceration of the civil state of the country, of which no man can foretell the consequences) and its funds parcelled out amongst the parochial clergy, the maximum of an English benefice would be not more than *L.*167 a year—an income by no means adequate in the present state of the world, to the demands which society makes upon that profession in point of education, of attainments, of manners, of general appearance in life. As the revenues at present are distributed, the clergy, as a profession, find an easy and independent access to every gradation of society, and maintain a fair equality, as they ought to do, with the other liberal professions; and the elevation of the highest ranks give something of a dignity to the lowest: alter the mode of distribution, and you run the risk of producing a body of clergy, resembling only the lower orders of society, in their conversation, in their manners, and their habits; and it is well, if they are not infected by a popular fondness, for some or other species of a gross, a factious, and a fanatical religion.

An invidious parallel is sometimes stated, between the sister churches of England and Scotland, upon this matter, and particularly upon the opinion of Dr. Adam Smith, to the disadvantage of the former. With all respect to the talents of a very acute and accomplished person, I am disposed to stop a little short of an unlimited subscription to his opinions, on many subjects, and particularly upon the subject of the English church, and the English universities; both of which I have had means of knowing, in consequence of causes from which I can claim no merit, in a mode of personal observation and experience, which that eminent person never possessed. Sir, when I consider the extraordinary men which the church of Scotland has produced, *(quales viros Caledonia emisit*, if I may use the words of Tacitus respecting their ancestors) I cannot help adverting to the circumstance, that their harvest of literature has been principally produced within the last thirty or forty years; within which time, I understand, a more liberal provision has, by the authority of the courts of justice, been made for their clergy. Sir, I presume that I state a fact that is generally admitted, that from the revolution downwards till that time, the clergy of Scotland had not taken a distinguished share in the literary occupations of Europe, even in those of a theological nature. They have amply paid up their arrears, and their country has, in part at least, paid up its arrears to them, of a due and honourable maintenance. The improvements of their incomes have been very considerable in late times. I know not whether Bishop Burnet, who certainly had the means of knowing, is correct in saying, that in Charles the Second's time, all benefices in Scotland were raised to £50 sterling; but I have been given to understand, that the church of Scotland, particularly taking into consideration the cheapness of education and cheapness of living, may be deemed a better endowed church than the parochial church of England. Which distribution of the church revenues is preferable, is a question (if it can possibly be made a question in the actual state of things) which must be examined not simply by a view of the distributions themselves, but with reference to many important circumstances, connected with the civil policy of the two parts of the island? This I may venture to say, as a general position, in spite of the bright exception of the church of Scotland, that the general effect of an equality and mediocrity of provision, is to produce an equality and mediocrity of talent; and I think I do not misrepresent in saying, that it has had some such effect upon the foreign protestant churches, when I refer what they have produced, to any comparison with the splendour of the literary fame of the church of England. One thing I am sorry to learn from the statistical accounts of the worthy Baronet, that the number of youths educating for the church, in many parts of Scotland, is considerably falling off. It rather looks as if the profession, notwithstanding the kinder treatment it has lately received, has not yet obtained its fair share in the growing prosperity of that country.

Sir, I have to apologize for digressing to these topics; in returning, I must observe, that, in the state of the church I have described, universal residence is out of the question. How can the public demand, under pains and penalties, that there shall be a resident incumbent in each parish, when so large a proportion of the benefices in the kingdom, do not pay more than what most of us in this house pay to our upper servants? There are, I suppose, three thousand livings not exceeding fifty pounds a year, and many below it. When I look at the real situation of the clergy, at the distresses and difficulties of a very large proportion of them, men must be made of sterner stuff than I happen to be composed of, who can say, that this matter is to be put upon the footing of a rigid, universal, unbending obligation, to be applied with a mathematical apathy to all cases, without the least consideration of men's families or their fortunes! Let us remember, that we are providing, not physical laws for the government of matter, but moral regulations for the conduct of a great number of men, placed in an infinite variety of situations, the effects of which must be taken into the account, and with a candid and humane consideration.

Gentlemen say, and I am sure with the very best intentions, "Give us clear general rules; we de-"sire to have nothing to do with any man's dis-"cretion." My answer is, "Give me a subject "that admits of clear general rules; this is not "one of them." If the benefices of the kingdom were all equal, and the men who held them were all single men, it would be easy to take the compasses out of one's pocket, and to mete out exactly the extent of indulgence, that might universally be granted to men, simply and uniformly situated; but you cannot apply a straight rule to a surface infinitely uneven and irregular. Here are above eleven thousand persons in conditions of great disparity, of different habits of life, of no small difference of education and attainments, of church incomes that bear no proportion to each other, and of family circumstances that are equally disproportionate. What is to be done? The rule, that would be no more than a just rule, applied to the opulent rector, would be a rule of severe oppression upon the poor man, with his benefice of thirty pounds a-year, who is driven to eke out his family subsistence by a more beneficial employ-

ment of himself elsewhere. Will you construct your rule upon the scale of the value of benefices? To say nothing of the different value of money, in different parts of the island, the different state of men's families will still create a monstrous inequality; for no man will deny, that a single man, and a married man with ten children, living each upon the same income of seventy pounds a year, are in a state of great inequality. All that can be done in such a subject is, to call in a discretion, to operate on this infinite variety of circumstances. God forbid, that I should mean an interested jobbing partiality; I mean a prudent and humane discretion, that is to distribute itself honestly and honourably, between the just rights of the publick service on the one side, and the necessity of private convenience on the other, as far as the infirmity of human judgment will allow. Another consideration calls with a loud voice for the existence and exercise of a discretion—I mean the consideration, that must be had of that meritorious body of men, the curates. Establish a rigid rule of residence to be carried into a hasty effect, under the letter of a statute, and you turn these persons adrift, from situations where they have spent their lives innocently and usefully, to seek their bread where, on a supposition of universal residence, it is not to be found—perhaps at an advanced time of life, and with families dependent upon them. These persons *must* be *tenderly* considered; if there is a curate who has long demeaned himself with propriety in a station, it would, in my opinion, be not more than a just exercise of discretion, to bear with the absence of the incumbent, till that curate is removed, in some way consistent with the attention due to his interests; otherwise the reformation of incumbents will be the persecution of curates. A discretion therefore must be called in, at least till the charity and piety of Parliament has put the lower parts of the church establishment on a more favourable footing: and the only question can be, Where shall that discretion be placed? And of *that* question, I say, that it must be determined by the result of *this* question, Where can it be most *constitutionally placed?* that is, with reference to the general frame of the church establishment, to the principles on which it is founded, and to the nature and character of the authorities that exist in it?

Upon all the different grounds I have stated, a necessity exists of revising the statute. What I have to offer, I desire to propose as merely a provisional or *interim* bill; for I can never repeat too frequently, that till the situation of the lower clergy is improved with respect to their incomes, their parsonage houses, and other circumstances, which I trust will soon become the subjects of parliamentary attention, nothing radical, nothing permanent, can be projected. But, so far as the present bill is concerned, I beg leave to state the principles, on which, I conceive with all deference, the legislature ought to proceed to the consideration of such a subject. In the first place, not to recede from ancient foundations, not to attempt reformations, particularly in the present disordered state of the church finances, upon high, *à priori*, notions of a theoretical perfection, but to use and apply the existing means in the constitution, in order to obtain such a quantity of good effect, as is really attainable; to keep to that, which, considering the familiarity of ancient usage, the attachment of habit, and the uniformity of general system, promises to be practically the most commodious—to give confidence, and to allow discretion where the constitution has vested discretion, has required confidence—and to guard, by reasonable caution, against the perils of a blind confidence and an abused discretion. Secondly, not to look to a petty harassing system of regulations, that is to be dogging and hunting men, in every hour of their lives, and at every turn of their steps, for no sufficient purpose of respectable utility, but to a substantial *bonâ fide* enforcement of substantial *bonâ fide* duties, that the public may not be told *that there is nobody responsible*—and, in truth, as the matter stands at present, there are but few, comparatively, who are responsible. I have no wish to deny, that there are many offensive cases of non-residence; though the majority of cases, I am persuaded, are such, as a man of even strict religious principles, tempered with a little human feeling (possibly not much the worse for that temperature), would find to contain circumstances of more extenuation than he had supposed. But, even in the offensive cases, it is difficult to say, who is responsible beyond the individuals themselves—certainly not the governors of the church in hardly any case—for I must, in justice, let out to the House a secret, a little dangerous perhaps to be communicated at large, that in truth there is hardly one act of discipline, which a bishop can execute upon his clergy (if it is at all resisted) but at the expense, and the vexation, and hazard of a law suit. Take this matter of residence—A bishop admonishes his clerk to reside, and the clerk turns a deaf ear; what is to be done? The bishop has only this election, whether he shall employ the compulsion of the ecclesiastical process, or the common law compulsion of this statute; for a suit of one kind or other he must have. For a bishop to be dragging his clergy, in the character of common informer, into every assize town of his diocese, subject to all the publick freedom of discussion (necessary, I admit, in that mode of inquiry), and to all the levity of remark (allowable, I likewise admit, in the advocate who has to carry his present point with his jury), is no very seemly sight; I cannot help thinking, that more harm is done to the modest dignity of religion, by such exhibitions, than balances the advantage of the success of the particular prosecution. On the other hand, if the bishop repairs to the ecclesiastical court, I certainly cannot venture to describe a penal suit travelling through the consistory, the arches, and finally the delegates, as any luxury to the man who has to pursue it; certainly very far from it, looking at the expense and the vexation that may travel along with it. No man can expect a bishop to venture upon the use of such remedies, but in very enormous cases indeed. The constitution, in theory, supposes the governors of the church to have all necessary powers; but they are powers which can hardly be deemed to exist to any practicable effect. Give the governors of the church, *not* new and unknown powers, but prompt and commodious means of applying those they have, an awful responsibility will immediately arise; they will feel, that the expectation of the publick is upon them; that the publick requires that the powers so given *shall be used*, and *used* for the purposes for which given. If they *are not used*, or not *so used*, it may give rise to a suspicion (which God avert), that the episcopal go-

vernment of the church, high and sacred as its origin may be, is, in the present state of manners, less favourably adapted to the care of its interests and duties, than the civil constitution of the country had hitherto supposed.

In the third place, that this enforcement of duties should be framed with as little vexation to its objects, as is consistent with its efficacy; without any unnecessary harshness or restraint, still less with disrespect and degradations; with all decent attention to the situation of the order in the state, and to the personal convenience of individuals. Their profession is in all countries of most important use to society, and its general utility depends upon its general estimation. In this country it is an eminent order of the state: it has always stood by the state with firmness, and in no times more meritoriously than in the present. The individuals are, in a large proportion of them, men of learned, and many of them of elegant education. Literature, both useful and ornamental, has been in no country so largely indebted to its clergy. Many of them are taken from among the best and most respected families of our country; and it is on all accounts, religious, moral, and political, anxiously to be wished, that the families of our gentry should continue to supply a large proportion of our clergy. Such men are not the subjects of an extreme and overstrained legislation. Something must be trusted to their own sense of duty; something allowed to their personal convenience. They are to be governed, it is true, but *lenibus imperiis*, by an authority efficacious in its results, but mild in its forms and just in its indulgences. May I add, that whilst we have seen, in other countries, Christianity suffering in the persons of the oppressed clergy, it imposes a peculiar obligation upon us, to treat our own with kindness and respect, and to beware of degrading religion, by an apparent degradation of its ministers. If there has been an undue laxity in this matter, let the legislature signify firmly that they should generally repair to their benefices; but not as men stigmatised and relegated—carrying their resentments to their solitudes—and from whom, after unkind treatment, a chearful and ardent performance of duty can hardly be expected. Surely, Sir, it is upon such subjects, more than any others, that one ounce of sweet spontaneous duty, is worth whole pounds of compelled performance.

Whether these principles, on which I have endeavoured to construct this bill, are just, or the provisions well adapted to carry them into effect, is for the House to judge. I shall state briefly its general provisions, both on the part of the public, and on the part of the clergy, referring for further and more minute detail to the bill itself, which I shall move for leave to have printed, for the use of the members during the recess.

On the part of the public, I propose to guard against what the House appeared to consider as the abuses of the clergymen's farming, and to enforce the duty of residence, in a double manner more effectually, by enabling the Bishops to exert the authority, which the constitution has given them, and by giving the common prosecutor, where he is permitted to act, an increased reward of his diligence. On the part of the clergy, there is offered: 1st, An entire amnesty for past neglect, where no prosecution had been commenced; and, 2dly, Where *there had been*, An exemption from further prosecution, on payment of costs already incurred. 3dly, On the matter of farming, a liberty given in the cases, where they were injuriously prohibited by the ancient statute. 4thly, On the matter of residence, to give a fair and reasonable allowance of time, to the clergyman for the occasions of private life, free from the doggings of any informer, though still subject to the superintendance of his proper superior—to allow an *ipso facto* exemption from all penalties, for clergymen bearing certain offices, during the times required for the duties of those offices—to restore the power to Bishops to grant licences for absence, in certain enumerated and expressed cases, which licences shall protect from the common prosecutor—and in other cases, which cannot be specifically foreseen, or provided for, to allow the concurrence and consent of the metropolitan to have that effect.

Sir, these are the outlines of the proposed bill. I have only to add, that having felt the difficulties of the subject in undertaking this matter, I have not felt my sense of its difficulties diminished, by having contended with them. The subject has deep foundations in legal and ecclesiastical antiquity; it has wide and diffusive bearings in the present system of life and manners, and certainly a very serious influence upon the good order of society, as well as the comfort of individuals. I could have wished, that it had fallen into other hands, particularly those to which is confided the care of the great establishments of the Empire; for unquestionably in a country which, with a most fortunate wisdom, makes its religion an essential part of its civil polity, the establishments of religion are amongst the greatest. Far be from me the vanity of supposing that any bill which I can construct on a subject so loaded with practical difficulties, can find a ready acceptance amongst the various opinions which prevail upon it. For I must honestly confess, that since it has been devolved upon me, I have rarely conversed with any gentleman, who did not favour me with an opinion, that was not directly the reverse of the last opinion, I had been favoured with upon the subject. All I have to say is, that if with the improvements the bill shall receive from the wisdom of the House, it should finally succeed, I shall be glad to have been the instrument of introducing it to its notice. If it should fail, I shall write *satisfeci* upon my own mind and conscience, under the conviction, that I have with fair intentions pursued a most desirable object, and only failed under difficulties, to which humble talents are very unequal.

Sir, I move, that leave be given to bring in a bill—and *leave being given*—that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Attorney and Solicitor General, the Members for the two Universities of England, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Gregor, Dr. Duigenan, and Dr. Laurence, do prepare and bring in the same.'

A Bill [as amended on re-commitment] to amend and render more effectual an Act, made in the Twenty-first Year of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, intituled, "Spiritual Persons abridged from having Pluralities of Livings, and from taking of Farms, &c."

Whereas many of the provisions of an act, made in the 21st year of the reign of his Majesty

King Henry the VIIIth, intituled, "Spiritual "Persons abridged from having Pluralities of "Livings, and from taking of Ferms, &c." have been found inconvenient; and it is therefore expedient that certain of the provisions of the said act should be repealed, and that other provisions should be made in lieu thereof, and that the said act should be amended;

May it therefore please your Majesty, That it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this act, every spiritual person who shall, before the passing of this act, have incurred any pecuniary penalty or penalties, or any forfeiture or forfeitures, under the said recited act, and against whom no action, suit, bill, plaint, or information shall have been brought in respect thereof under the said act, shall be and is hereby indemnified, freed, and discharged from the same, any thing in the said recited act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding; and all contracts, agreements, and leases, made by words or otherwise before the passing of this act, by any spiritual person, either by himself or any other to or for his use, which if made after this act would according to the provisions thereof be good and valid, shall, notwithstanding the said recited act, or any other act or law or laws to the contrary, be and be deemed to be as good and valid in the law, to all intents and purposes, as if the same had been made after the passing of this act.

And be it further enacted, That immediately from and after the passing of this act, it shall be lawful for any person or persons against whom any original writ, suit, action, bill, plaint, or information shall have been sued out, commenced, or prosecuted, before the passing of this act, for any pecuniary penalty or penalties, or any forfeiture or forfeitures incurred or alledged to be under the said recited act, to apply to the court in which such original writ, suit, action, bill, plaint, or information shall have been sued out, commenced, or prosecuted, if such court shall be sitting, or to any judge of any such court when not sitting, for an order that such writ, suit, action, bill, plaint, or information shall be discontinued, upon payment of the sum of ten pounds in every case where a verdict shall be obtained, together with the costs, and where no verdict shall have been obtained, upon the payment of the costs incurred up to the time of such application being made, all such costs to be taxed as between attorney and client, according to the practice of such court; and every such court or judge is hereby authorized and required, upon such application, to make such order as aforesaid; and upon the making such order and payment of such costs as aforesaid, such writ, suit, action, bill, plaint, or information, shall be forthwith discontinued; and in every case, until such application shall be made as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the plaintiff or plaintiffs in any such original writ, suit, action, bill, plaint, or information, to proceed therein as if this act, or an act passed in the forty-first year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An "Act to stay, until the twenty-fifth Day of "March One thousand Eight hundred and "Two, Proceedings in Actions under the Sta-"tute of King Henry the Eighth, for abridg-"ing Spiritual Persons from having Pluralities "of Livings, and from taking of Ferms," had not been passed; any thing in this act or the said last recited act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, it shall be lawful for any spiritual person to take to farm, to himself or to any person or persons to his use, by lease, grant, words, or otherwise, for term of life, for term of years, or at will, any messuage, mansion, or dwelling house, with or without orchards, gardens, and other appurtenances, although not in any city, borough, or town, any thing in the said recited act or any other act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding; and it shall also be lawful for any spiritual person having or holding any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, not having any sufficient or convenient glebe or demesne lands annexed to or in right of or by reason of his benefice or cure, in like manner, and with the consent or approbation of the bishop of the diocese, signified in writing, to take to ferm to himself, or to any person or persons to his use, any farm or farms, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, that may under all the circumstances appear to such bishop proper to be taken, held, or occupied by any such spiritual person, for the better support and maintenance of himself or family without being subject or liable to any pains, penalties, or forfeitures under the said first-recited act, or any other act by reason thereof, any thing therein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to authorize any non-residence of any such spiritual person, as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, it shall be lawful for any spiritual person or persons, by himself or themselves, or any other to his or their use, to have, hold, use, or occupy, in ferm or otherwise, any manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, demised, leased, or granted, or in any way belonging to such spiritual person or persons, as the property or estate of such spiritual person or persons, or to take purchase, or receive, as the property and estate of such spiritual person, any lease or leases for life or lives, or for term or terms of years determinable on any life or lives, any manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, usually demised in such manner, or any lease for any term of years of any manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments usually demised in such manner, of any body politic, corporate, or collegiate, corporation aggregate or sole, guild, mystery, fraternity, or brotherhood, corporate or not corporate, or any trustees

for charities or other public purposes, or of any other person or persons, or any other lease or leases for life, or lease or leases for years, or to take any annual rent or other annual advantage or profit, by occasion of any lease or ferm of any manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, the property or estate of any such spiritual person or persons, belonging to him or them either in his or their own right, or in the right of any other person or persons, or in right or by reason of his or their having or holding any spiritual dignity or benefice, or so taken, purchased, or renewed as aforesaid, as the property or estate of such spiritual person, without being subject to any pains, penalties, or forfeitures whatever under the said first-recited act or any other act, any thing therein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to authorize any spiritual person to take any such manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, after the passing of this act, for the purpose of occupying or to occupy the same, for the cultivation thereof or procuring profit therefrom, by himself, or any bailiff or bailiffs, or servant or servants, for his use, unless by the consent or approbation of the bishop as aforesaid, for such purposes as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, it shall be lawful for any spiritual person having or holding any spiritual dignity or benefice, or any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, or for any stipendiary curate, by himself, or by any other for him or to his use, to bargain and buy to sell again for any lucre, gain, or profit, any manner of cattle that may be necessary, proper, or convenient to be bought, sold, kept, or maintained by such spiritual person, or any other person for him or to his use, for the occupation, manuring, improving, pasturage, or profit of any farms, lands, tenements, or hereditaments that may, under and by virtue of any law or laws now in force, or under any of the provisions of this act, be lawfully held and occupied, possessed or enjoyed by such spiritual person, or any other for him or to his use, without being subject to any pains, penalties, or forfeitures by reason thereof, under the said first-recited act, or any other act, or any thing therein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding: Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to authorize any such spiritual person to buy or sell any cattle as aforesaid, in person, in any market, fair, or place of public sale.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, it shall be lawful for any spiritual person having or holding any vicarage or perpetual cure, or for the stipendiary curate thereof, to occupy, by himself or by any other to his use, in ferm of the lease or grant of any person or persons, the impropriate, parsonage, rectory, or vicarage, or any part thereof, of the parish of which such spiritual person shall be the vicar, or perpetual curate, or stipendiary curate, or any part or parts thereof, or to take any profit or rent out of any such farm, without being subject to any pains, penalties, or forfeitures by means thereof under the said first-recited act, any thing therein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, no lease or leases of any glebe or demesne lands or of any tythes belonging to any spiritual person, of what degree soever he may be, as annexed to or in right of any spiritual dignity or benefice, or donative or perpetual curacy, and leased by such spiritual person, shall be vacated or made void, or be deemed or construed to be void, nor shall the incumbent for the same forfeit any profit of his said benefice, by reason of the non-residence of any such spiritual person, in any case where such spiritual person shall be exempt from any pecuniary penalties on account of such non-residence, under any of the provisions of the said first-recited act or this act, or any other act, by reason of any license or otherwise, any thing in an act passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of her late Majesty Queen Elizabeth, intituled, "An Act touching Leases of Benefices and "other Ecclesiastical Livings with Cure," or any other act or acts contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, so much of the said first-recited act as imposes the penalty of ten pounds, in the said act mentioned, on any spiritual person therein described, who shall not keep residence on one of his dignities, prebends, or benefices, but absent himself wilfully by the space of one month together, or by the space of two months to be accounted at several times in any one year, shall be and the same is hereby repealed; and that from and after the passing of this act, every spiritual person, being beneficed with any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or any perpetual curacy, who shall, without such sufficient cause, as in the said first recited act or under an act passed in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, intituled, "An Act that every Judge of the High Courts "may have One Chaplain beneficed with Cure," or of another act passed in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, intituled, "The Bill for Non-residence of Spi-"ritual Men and their Benefices," or of another act, passed in the thirty-third year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, intituled, "An Act for the Chancellor of the Duchy of "Lancaster and others to have Chaplains," is specified, or such other sufficient cause as would exempt such spiritual person from any of the pains, penalties, and forfeitures under the said recited acts for any non-residence, and who shall not have any such license as is in this act mentioned for that purpose, wilfully absent himself for the space of three months together, or to be accounted at several times in any one year, and make his residence and abiding at any other place or places by such time, shall, when such absence shall exceed such period as aforesaid,

and not exceed six months, forfeit and pay one-fourth of the annual value (deducting therefrom all actual outgoings, except any stipend paid to any curate) of the parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, from which he shall so absent himself as aforesaid, and when such absence shall exceed six months and not exceed eight months, one-third of such annual value, and when such absence shall exceed eight months, a moiety of such annual value, and when such absence shall have been for the whole of the year, three-fourths of such annual value, to be recovered by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, in any of his Majesty's Courts of Record at Westminster, or the Courts of Great Sessions in Wales, wherein no essoign, privilege, protection, or wager of law, or more than one imparlance, shall be allowed; and the whole of every such penalty or forfeiture shall go and be paid to the person or persons who shall inform and sue for the same, together with such costs of suit as shall be allowed according to the practice of the court in which such action shall be brought.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That no spiritual person being beneficed with any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, who shall have made his residence and abiding at his said benefice for the space of one whole year, without wilful absence therefrom for any longer time than three months together, or in the whole at several times, shall be liable to any of the pains, penalties, or forfeitures in this act or the said recited act contained, for any previous non-residence.

And be it further enacted, That no spiritual person having or holding any office which, under any of the provisions of the said first-recited act, or of an act passed in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, intituled, "An Act that every Judge of the High Courts "may have one Chaplain beneficed with Cure;" or of another act, passed in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, intituled, "The Bill for Non-residence of Spi-"ritual Men and their Benefices;" or of another act, passed in the thirty-third year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, intituled, "An "Act for the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lan-"caster and others to have Chaplains;" would exempt such spiritual persons from residence, or from the penalties and forfeitures in the said Act contained for non-residence; or actually serving as a chaplain of the House of Commons, or as clerk of his Majesty's closet, or deputy clerks thereof, during the times of their attendance, or as chaplain general of his Majesty's forces, or brigade chaplain on foreign service, or chaplains on board any of his Majesty's ships, or in any of his Majesty's garrisons, or chaplains of his Majesty's corps of artillery, doing duty therewith, or in any British factory, or in the household of any British ambassador or public minister residing abroad; or as principal, surrogate, or official, in any ecclesiastical court of any diocese, or as prebendary or canon, minor canon or vicar choral, or priest, vicar, or other public officer, in any cathedral or collegiate church, during the times for which they may be required, by the canons or local statutes thereof, to reside at such cathedral or collegiate church, and actually reside and perform duty at the same; or as preachers or readers in any of the inns of court, or at the rolls, or as bursar, dean, vice-president, or public tutor, or other public officer, in any college or hall in either of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, during the period for which they may respectively be required, by reason of any such office, to perform the duties of any such office, and actually perform the duties of the same; or as public librarian, or public registrar or proctor, or public orator, or other public officer, in either of the said universities, during the period for which they may respectively be required by reason thereof, to perform the duties of any such office, and actually perform the duties of the same; or as librarian at the British Museum; or of Sion College, or as fellows of colleges in either of the universities, during the time for which they may be required to reside by any charter or statute, or by any lawful authority in the same, and actually reside therein, or as warden or provost of Eton or Winchester College, or fellow or schoolmaster in the same, or as schoolmaster of Westminster school, or as professor of Gresham College during the terms in which he may be required to read lectures therein, and shall actually read lectures in the same; nor any person holding a dignity, donative, or perpetual cure, in conjunction with a benefice or donative, or perpetual cure, during the times that he is residing upon either the dignity, benifice, or donative, or the perpetual cure, or one of them, shall be liable to any of the pains, penalties, or forfeitures in the said first recited act or this act contained, for or on account of any non-residence on any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy; any thing in the said act or this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, that from and after the passing of this act, no person or persons mentioned in an act, passed in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, intituled, "The Bill for Non-residence "of Spiritual Men on their Benefices," and entitled, under the provisions of the said act, to the privilege and liberty of non-residence until after and above the age of forty years, shall be, by reason of any of the provisions of the said act, entitled to enjoy the privilege and liberty of non-residence after or above the age of twenty-six years; any thing in the said act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, that no penalty and costs incurred by reason of any non-residence shall be levied by execution against the body of any spiritual person who shall continue to hold any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual cure, out of the profits of which the same can be levied by sequestration.

And be it further enacted, that from and after the passing of this act, it shall be lawful

for the several bishops respectively in that part of the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland called England, upon application made for that purpose by petition in writing or otherwise, by any spiritual person having or holding any parsonage or vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, locally situated within their respective dioceses, upon such proofs as to any facts stated in any such petition, by affidavit made before any surrogate or master extraordinary in chancery (which oath any surrogate or master extraordinary in chancery is hereby authorized and required to administer, of such spiritual persons, in case the same shall be required by the bishop to whom any such petition is presented, or application made under this Act) or by such other proof as any such bishop may think necessary, to grant, in every case where on due consideration of all the circumstances stated in any such application, such bishop shall in his discretion think it fit to grant the same, a licence in writing, in such cases and under such circumstances as are hereinafter enumerated, to such persons, under their hands, in relation to the residence or non-residence of such spiritual persons on their respective benefices, for the purpose of exempting such persons from the pecuniary penalties and forfeitures in this Act, or in the said recited Act contained, under and subject nevertheless to the regulations, provisions, and restrictions in this Act contained.

And be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for any bishop to grant licences to any spiritual persons having any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, within his diocese, for the purposes aforesaid, to reside out of the proper house of residence, or out of the parish, as the case may appear to such bishop to require, if upon the consideration of all the circumstances of any such case such bishop shall in his discretion think the same fit and proper, in the several cases hereinafter mentioned (that is to say); to any spiritual person who shall be prevented by actual illness or infirmity of body of himself, or wife or child making part of and residing with him as part of his family; and also to any spiritual person having or holding any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, wherein there shall be no house of residence, or where the house of residence shall be unfit for the residence of such ecclesiatical person, such unfitness not being occasioned by any negligence, default, or misconduct of such ecclesiastical person; and also to any spiritual person having or holding any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, and having or possessing, or occupying, in the parish of such parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual cure, any mansion or messuage belonging to himself or any relation, to reside in such mansion or messuage, such spiritual person keeping the house of residence in good, sufficient, and tenantable repair and condition, to the satisfaction of the bishop; and also for any spiritual person having or holding any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy of small value, and serving as a stipendiary curate elsewhere, with the licence of the bishop of his diocese, and providing for the serving of such his parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, to the satisfaction of the bishop of his diocese; and also to any master or usher of any endowed school duly licensed by the bishop, and actually employed in teaching therein; and also to any masters or preachers of hospitals or incorporated charitable foundation, during the period for which they may be required to reside, by any charter or statute of any such hospital or incorporated charitable foundation, or by any other lawful authority in the same; or to any person holding any endowed lectureship or endowed chapelry; or to the trustees of Lord Crewe's charity, during the times of their personal attendance on the duties of their office: provided always, that for any such licence the party obtaining the same shall not pay more to the secretary or officer of the bishop, than the sum of ten shillings, exclusive of any such stamps as may be required by law: provided always, that if any spiritual person applying to any bishop for any such licence shall think himself aggrieved by the refusal thereof, it shall be lawful for such spiritual person to appeal to the archbishop of the province, who shall forthwith, either by himself, or some commissioner or commissioners appointed from among the bishops of his province under his hand, make or cause to be made inquiry into the same, and to confirm such refusal, or grant a licence under this Act, as shall seem just and proper: provided nevertheless, that the party appealing shall give security to the bishop for the payment of such reasonable expenses occasioned by the appeal, as the archbishop, or his commissioner or commissioners, shall award.

And be it further enacted, that from and after the passing of this Act, it shall be lawful for any such bishop, as aforesaid, in any cases not hereinbefore enumerated, in which under all the circumstances, of any such case such bishop shall think it expedient, to grant to any such spiritual person, upon any petition by and with the recommendation of the archdeacon of the archdeaconry within which the parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, in respect whereof such licence shall be applied for, is locally situate, previously signified by such archdeacon, or where any such archdeacon shall refuse such recommendation, then upon petition, stating the refusal of such archdeacon, and the grounds assigned by such archdeacon of any such refusal, a licence to reside out of the proper house of residence, or out of the parish, as the case may appear to such archdeacon and bishop respectively to require: provided always, that in every such case the nature and special circumstances thereof, and the reasons that have induced such bishop to grant such licence as aforesaid, shall be entered at length in a book to be kept for that purpose, and an exact copy of such entry shall be transmitted to the archbishop of the province to which such bishop shall belong, who shall forthwith, by himself or by some commissioner or commissioners appointed

for that purpose from among the bishops or archdeacons of such province, by writing under his hand, which commissioner or commissioners is and are thereupon authorized to take upon himself or themselves the execution of the said commission, examine into such case, and make such enquiries as to any particulars relating thereto, as such archbishop, or commissioner or commissioners so appointed as aforesaid, may think necessary, and shall thereupon allow or disallow such licence, in the whole or in part, or make any alteration therein, as to the period for which the same may have been granted, or otherwise, as to such archbishop or commissioner or commissioners shall seem fit; and no such licence shall be good, valid, or effectual under this act, for any purpose whatever, unless it shall have been so allowed and approved by such archbishop, or commissioner or commissioners on his behalf, such allowance thereof being signified by the signing thereof by such archbishop: provided always, that it shall not be necessary in such licence to specify the cause of granting thereof: provided also, that no licence granted by any bishop or archbishop under this act, shall be made void by the death or removal of the bishop or archbishop granting thereof, but the same not having been revoked, shall be and remain good and valid notwithstanding any such death or removal, unless the same shall be revoked by the next or any succeeding bishop or archbishop: provided always, that any spiritual person may appeal against any such revocation by the bishop, in like manner as is hereinbefore directed in case of any refusal of any licence: provided also, that the respective archbishops may in their respective dioceses of which they are bishops, grant licences under the provisions and regulations in this act contained, in all cases in which any licences may be granted by any bishop under this act, either by his own authority, or with the allowance and approval of the archbishop as aforesaid: provided also, that it shall be lawful for any such archbishop to order and direct such reasonable fees and charges to be paid by any such spiritual person appealing as aforesaid, in respect of any such proceedings as aforesaid, as he shall in his discretion think fit: provided always, that in every case when any costs and charges shall remain unpaid for the period of one month after demand thereof, left at the usual or last place of abode of the person liable to the payment, it shall be lawful for such bishop or archbishop respectively, to cause the same to be recovered by sequestration of the profits of the parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy of such spiritual person as aforesaid.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for any bishop or archbishop, who shall have granted any such licence as aforesaid, or any successor of any such bishop or archbishop, to revoke any such licence in any case in which it may become proper and expedient: provided also, that no licence granted under this act shall continue in force for more than two years from the granting thereof.

And be it further enacted, that every such bishop to whom any such petition shall be presented, and who shall grant or revoke any licence founded thereon, shall and he is hereby required to cause a copy of such licence or revocation to be filed in the registry of the diocese within which such parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, in respect whereof any such licence shall be granted or revocation made, shall be locally situate, with the register of such diocese; and an alphabetical list of such licences and revocations shall be made out by such register, and entered in a book, and kept for the inspection of all persons upon payment of the sum of one shilling and no more; and a copy of every such licence and revocation shall be delivered to the churchwardens of the parish, within one month after the grant of such licence or revocation thereof: and a copy of the same shall likewise be publicly read at the visitation of the archdeacon of the archdeaconry within which the parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, in respect whereof the licence shall have been granted, or revocation made, shall be locally situate, immediately next succeeding the granting or revocation thereof.

And be it further enacted, that it shall be lawful for any spiritual person to whom any such licence shall be granted, and against whom any action shall hereafter, during the continuance of this act, be brought, for any penalty or forfeiture under the said recited act, by reason of any non-residence, or any matter or thing relating thereto, to plead such licence in bar of any such action; and if the plaintiff in such suit or action shall be non-suit, or shall discontinue any such suit or action after any plea of licence shall have been pleaded thereto under this act, then and in such case the defendant in such suit or action shall have full costs of suit; and if in any such suit or action a verdict shall be given for the defendant, the defendant shall have treble costs, and have the like remedy for the same, as any defendant hath in other cases to recover costs by law.

And be it further enacted, that nothing in this act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to repeal or annul any canonical or ecclesiastical censures, or to be pleadable in bar of any proceedings that shall hereafter be instituted in any ecclesiastical court, in order to cause the same to be inflicted, in relation to the non-residence of any spiritual person having or holding any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy: provided always, that from and after the passing of this act, no such censures, by reason of any non-residence, not exceeding three months, shall be enforced, nor shall any proceeding be admitted in any ecclesiastical court, against any such spiritual person, for such non-residence, at the suit of any person or persons other than the bishop or archdeacon only of the diocese, within which such parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, in respect whereof such non-residence shall have taken place, shall be locally situated, any thing in any law or laws, or ecclesiastical canon or canons, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, that in every case

in which it shall appear to any such bishop as aforesaid, that any spiritual person, having or holding any parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, does not sufficiently reside on such parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, it shall be lawfull for such bishop to issue or cause to be issued a monition to such spiritual person forthwith to proceed to and reside thereon, and perform the duties thereof, and to make a return to such monition within a certain number of days after the issuing thereof; so as that in every such case there shall be thirty days between the time of delivering such monition to such spiritual person, or leaving the same at his then usual place of abode, or last place of abode, if not there to be found, and with the officiating minister, or one of the church-wardens, and the time specified in such monition for the return thereof; and every such monition shall, immediately on the issuing thereof, be filed in the registry, and open for inspection, on the payment of one shilling, and no more; and the spiritual person to whom any such monition shall be sent under this act, shall, within the time specified for that purpose, make a return thereto; and it shall be lawful for the bishop to whom any such return shall be made, to require such return, or any facts contained therein, to be verified by the oath of such spiritual person or others, to be taken before some surrogate or master extraordinary in chancery, which oath any such surrogate or master extraordinary in chancery is hereby authorized and required to administer, on application being made for that purpose; and in every case where no such return shall be made, or where such return shall not state such reasons as shall be deemed satisfactory by such bishop for the non-residence of the spiritual person to whom such monition shall have been sent as aforesaid, or where the same or any of the facts contained therein shall not be so verified upon oath as aforesaid when the same shall have been required, then and in such case it shall be lawfull for such bishop to sequester the profits of such parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy of such spiritual person as aforesaid, until such monition shall be complied with, or such sufficient reasons for non-residence stated and proved as aforesaid, and to direct any order to be made for that purpose under his hand, the application of such profits, after deducting the necessary expenses of serving the cure, either in the whole or in such proportion as he shall think fit, in the first place, to the payment of such reasonable expenses as shall have been incurred in relation to such monition and sequestration, and in the next place towards the augmentation or improvement of any such parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, or the house of residence thereof, or any of the buildings and appurtenances thereof, or towards the improvement of any of the glebe or demesne lands thereof; or may order and direct the same or any proportion thereof to be paid to the governors of the bounty of Queen Anne, for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy, to be applied for the purpose of such augmentation, as such bishop shall in his discretion under all the circumstances think fit and expedient; and it shall also be lawful for any such bishop to remit any such spiritual person any part or proportion of such sequestered profits, or cause the same or any part thereof, that shall have been paid or directed to be paid to such governors of Queen Anne's bounty, to be repaid to such spiritual person, which repayment the said governors are hereby authorized and required, upon an order under the hand of any such bishop, to make out of any money then in their hands, or if no money shall then be in their hands, out of the next money that shall come to their hands, in any case in which by reason of tho subsequent obedience of any such spiritual person to any such monition, or the stating and proving such sufficient reasons as aforesaid, such bishop shall think the same proper: Provided always, that when any such spiritual person shall think himself aggrieved by reason of any such sequestration, it shall be lawful for any such spiritual person, within fourteen days after the making any order for any such sequestration as aforesaid, and upon notice thereof, the bishop to appeal to the archbishop of the province to which such bishop shall belong, who shall forthwith, either by himself, or some commissioner or commissioners appointed from among the bishops or archdeacons of his province for that purpose, under his hand and seal, make or cause to be made due enquiry into the same, and make such order therein or relating thereto, or to the profits that shall be so sequestered as aforesaid, for the return to such spiritual person of the same, or any part thereof, or otherwise, as shall, under all the circumstances of the case, appear to such archbishop or his commissioner or commissioners, to be just and proper: Provided always, that the party so appealing shall give security to the bishop for the payment of such reasonable expenses occasioned by the appeal as the archbishop, or his commissioner or commissioners, shall award: Provided also, that no such order for any sequestration shall be put in force during such appeal as aforesaid, and until the same is determined.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, That every spiritual person to whom any such monition shall be sent as aforesaid under this Act, who shall be at the time of the issuing thereof absent from residence in his parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, contrary to the provisions of the said first-recited act and this act, but who shall, in obedience to such monition, forthwith return to due residence, and the profits of whose parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, shall, by reason of such return, not be sequestered, shall nevertheless pay all costs, charges, and expenses, incurred by reason of the issuing and serving such monition, to be levied as any cost may be levied on any spiritual person by any archbishop or bishop under any of the provisions of this act.

And be it further enacted, That if any clerk shall continue under such sequestration for non-residence for the space of three years, the parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual cure, in relation whereto the said non-residence shall have been committed, shall become *ipso facto* void, and the patron shall present or nominate another clerk thereto, as if the same had been avoided by the natural death or resignation of the party.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That where any action, suit, bill, plaint, or information shall have been commenced or brought against any spiritual person, to whom any monition shall be sent as aforesaid, before the issuing thereof, for any penalty or forfeiture incurred by reason of the non-residence of any such spiritual person before the issuing of such monition, then and in such case the bishop sending such monition as aforesaid shall, upon notice of such action or suit, cause to be retained the profits, or so much of the profits of the parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy, in respect whereof such action or suit shall be brought and monition issued as aforesaid, and which may under this act be sequestered as aforesaid, as will be sufficient to satisfy any penalty or penalties for which any such action or suit shall be brought, together with such costs as the plaintiff or plaintiffs therein may be entitled to, if any; and shall, if a verdict shall be given for the plaintiff or plaintiffs in such action, and final judgment obtained therein, after deducting all the charges which shall have been occasioned by the said sequestration to the bishop, or any person or persons who shall have acted therein under his authority, pay or cause to be paid to such plaintiff or plaintiffs the sum or sums of money that shall be recovered in any such action or suit to the plaintiff or plaintiffs therein: Provided always, that if at the time of filing any such monition as aforesaid, no action for any such penalty or forfeitures shall have been already commenced against such spiritual person, then and in such case no such action, suit, bill, plaint, or information, shall be afterwards brought, for any penalty or forfeiture incurred by reason of any non-residence of such spiritual person, before the issuing of such monition, or during any proceedings that may be had under such monition; and if any such action or suit shall be so commenced, the defendant therein may plead in bar thereof, that such a monition as aforesaid has issued in respect of the same parsonage, vicarage, donative, or perpetual curacy.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, no oath shall be required of or taken by any vicar, in relation to residence on his vicarage; any law, custom, constitution, or usage to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this act, all and every the clauses, provisions, penalties, and forfeitures in the said first-recited act and this act contained, in relation to residence on benefices, or to any other matters and things relating thereto, shall extend and be deemed and construed to extend to all parsonages with cure, vicarages, donatives, perpetual curacies, and all parochial chapelries, exempt as well as not exempt, and all peculiars, as fully and amply, to all intents and purposes, as if the same had been and were in the said first-recited act or were in this act particularly mentioned and specified; any thing in any act or acts, law or laws, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, That every archbishop, bishop, and archdeacon, within the limits of whose province, diocese, or jurisdiction respectively, any such parsonage with cure, vicarage, donative, perpetual curacy, or parochial chapelry, exempt, as well as not exempt or peculiar, shall be locally situate, or where any such parsonage, vicarage, donative, perpetual curacy, or parochial chapelry, exempt as well as not exempt or peculiar, shall be within the limits of more than one province, diocese, or jurisdiction aforesaid, or shall be situate between any two or more provinces, diocese, or jurisdictions, then the archbishop, bishop, and archdeacon, to whose province, diocese, or jurisdiction such parsonage, vicarage, donative, perpetual curacy, or parochial chapelry, exempt as well as not exempt or peculiar, shall be nearest in local situation, shall have, use, and exercise all the powers, authorities, and jurisdictions necessary for the full execution of all the provisions of this act, and for enforcing the same as fully and amply in every respect as if such parsonages, vicarages, donatives, perpetual curacies, or parochial chapelries, exempt as well as not exempt or peculiar, were *bonâ fide* subject in every respect to such jurisdiction, and as if the same had been and were specified in all the clauses of this act, any thing in any act or acts, law or laws, usage or usages to the contrary thereof notwithstanding; provided, that the peculiar belonging to any archbishopric or bishopric, though locally situated in another diocese, shall continue subject to the archbishop or bishop to whom they belong, as well for the purposes of this act as for all other purposes of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the law whatsoever.

Provided always, and be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall extend, or to be construed to extend, to alter or affect His Majesty's Royal Prerogative, in the granting of dispensations for non-residence upon benefices, as the same now exists by law.

LIST OF PROMOTIONS,

From January 1, *to June* 30, 1802, *inclusive.*

Ordnance-Office, Jan. 1, 1802.

Royal Regiment of Artillery.—Brevet Col. Rob. Lawson to be Col. en second, vice Lemoine, deceased, dated Dec. 25, 1801. Brevet Lieut. Col. Geo. Glasgow to be Lieut. Col. vice Lawson, dated as above. Brevet Maj. John A.

Schalch to be Major, vice Glasgow, dated as above. Capt. Lieut. Chas. Godfrey to be Capt. vice Schalch, dated as above. First Lieut. Tho. Ellison to be Capt.-Lieut, vice Slesson, retired, dated Dec. 23, 1801. First Lieut. Fran. Smyth to be Capt. Lieut. vice Godfrey, dated Dec. 25, 1801. Second Lieut. Jas. Lloyd to be First Lieut. vice Ellison, dated Dec. 23, 1801. Second Lieut. Hen. C. Martin to be First Lieu. vice Smyth, dated Dec. 25, 1801. Second Lieut. Nich. H. Nicholas to be First Lieut. vice English, deceased, dated Dec. 27, 1801.

War-Office, Jan. 5, 1802.

1st Reg. Dragoons.—Lieut. Ralph Creyke to be Capt. by purchase, vice Gratrix, who retires.

7th Reg. Light Dragoons.—Cornet John Campbell to be Adj. vice Hunt, promoted.

14th Ditto,—Geo. Aug. Fenwick, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Sir John Cox, promoted.

19th Ditto,—Surgeon John Abercrombie, from the 85th Foot, to be Surgeon, vice Brown, who exchanges.

1st Battalion 1st Reg. Foot, Ens. Joseph Moore to be Lieut. vice Falconer deceased. Ens. Jos. Anderson to be Lieut. vice Eddie, deceased.

7th Reg. Foot,—Lieut. Jos. Taylor to be Adj. vice Parsonage, promoted in the 1st Battalion Royals.

11th Ditto,—John Robson, Gent. to be Ens. vice Macgregor, deceased.

41st Ditto,—Lieut. Rich. Steeman, from the 76th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Gooch, who retires.

60th Ditto,—Lieut. Wm. Gab. Davy, from the 61st Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Claus, who retires.

63th Ditto,—To be Lieutenants: Ensign John O'Hara, vice Dexter, deceased. Ens. Henry Whitestone, vice M'Alister, deceased. Ens. J. Haggarty, vice Wm. Shiels, deceased. Ens. Wm. Farrell, vice O'Hara, deceased. Ens. Mich Murphy, vice Haggarty, deceased. Ens. Fran. Gualy, vice M'Donnell, deceased. Fns. Nich. Brown, vice Patrickson, deceased. To be Ensigns: Nath. Gledstanes, Gent vice Murphy, Adj. Jas. Allen Crowder, vice Gualy. Edw. Wright, Gent. vice Brown. Rob. Wren, Gent. vice Hobart, deceased. Wm. Dunlop, Gent. vice Irvine, deceased. To be Assistant-Surgeon: Hospital-Mate Rob. Hartle, vice Muston, deceased.

70th Ditto,—Ens. Jas. Cox, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Loch, promoted in the 83d Foot.

85th Ditto,—Surgeon Thos. Browne, from the 19th Light Dragoons, to be Surgeon, vice Abercromby, who exchanges.

3d West-india Reg.—Quart.-Master Alex. Jesseman to be Ens. without purchase, vice Robertson, appointed Quart-Master. Quart-Master Jas. Thornton, from the half-pay of the late Royal Hospital Corps, to be Ens. vice Cotterell, who exchanges. Ens. Jas. Robertson to be Quart-Master, vice Jesseman.

8th Ditto,—John Herdman, Gent. to be Ens. vice Maclean, deceased.

9th Ditto,—Jas. Marulaz, Gent. to be Quart-Master, vice Cessy, deceased.

11th Ditto,—Lieut. John Burke to be Capt. with temporary Rank in the Army, vice Collins, deceased. Ens. Ned Ali Dey to be Lieut. vice Burke——Collins, Gent. to be Ens. vice Dey.

12th Ditto,—Wm. Crossling, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Nugent, promoted in the 60th Foot.

Invalids.—Ens. Fran. White, from the Invalids at Plymouth, to be Ens. in Capt. Rogers's Independent Company of Invalids in the Tower of London, vice M'Gregor, who exchanges Ens. John M'Gregor, from the Invalids in the Tower of London, to be Ens. in the (late Major Bulkeley's) Independent Company of Invalids at Plymouth, vice White, who exchanges.

Brevet.—Capt. Alex. Bryce, of the Royal Engineers, to be Maj. in the Army.

Royal Clarence Volunteers—Lieut. Rich. Dickens to be Capt. of a Company.

Hambledon and Wickham Volunteers.—Js Hoade, Gent. to be Ens. vice Palmer, who resigns.

Memorandum.—Veterinary Surgeon Sam. Ferguson, of the 9th Lt. Dragoons, superseded, being absent without leave. Capt. Edw. Bailey, of the 15th Foot, superseded, being absent without leave. Lieut. Grenville Bradford, of the 68th Foot, superseded.

Northumberland Militia, (Commissions signed by the Deputy Lieutenants.)—Sam. Barber, Gent. to be Lieut. dated Oct. 3, 1801. Wm. Pringle, Gent. to be ditto, dated Dec. 8, 1801.

War-Office, Jan. 9, 1802.

Royal Pembrokeshire Militia, (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieut.)—Capt. Owen Philips to be Maj. dated Aug. 24, 1801. Sam. Harries, Esq. to be second Lieut. vice John Lloyd, deceased, dated, Nov. 27, 1801. Sam. Harries, Esq. to be Adj. vice John Lloyd, deceased, dated as above.

County of Lancaster, (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant.)—Rich. Cardwell, Esq. to be Deputy Lieut. dated Nov. 14, 1801. Hen. Fielden, Esq. to be ditto, dated as above.

War-Office, Jan. 16, 1802.

26th Reg. Lt. Dragoons,—Ens. Thos. Jarmy, from the 8th Foot, to be Cornet, vice Rogers, who exchanges.

York Hussars, W. C. H. de Goesnitz, Gent. to be Cornet without purchase, vice Strutterenheim, who resigns.

1st Reg. Foot Guards,—Ens. Hen. Shum to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Lord Vis. Tamworth, who retires.

8th Reg. Foot,—Cornet Thos. Rogers, from the 26th Lt. Dragoons, to be Ens. vice Jarmy, who exchanges.

9th Ditto,—Ens. Franc. Glasse, from the 26th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Ferrier, promoted.

20th Ditto,—Ens. Wm. Harding, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Hames, promoted.

24th Ditto,—Lieut. And. Forster, to be Capt. vice Francis, deceased. Ens. Thos. Minister, to be Lieut. vice Forster. Ens. John Galway to be Lieut. vice Bayfield, deceased. Arthur Blake, Gent. to be Ens. vice Minster. Volunteer,—Price, to be Ens. vice Galway.

52d Ditto,—Surgeon, Simon Rawling, from the 56th Foot, to be Surg. vice Jordan, who exchanges.

54th Ditto,—Ens. C. Vincent to be Lieut. vice Metcalf, deceased. Arch. Ross, Gent. to be Ens. vice Vincent.

56th Ditto,—Surg. Chas. Jordan, from the 52d

Foot, to be Surgeon vice Rawling, who exchanges.

58th Ditto,—John Macklain, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Hart, promoted in the 90th Foot.

60th Ditto,—Lieut. John Jefferis, from the 87th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Walker, who retires. Thos. Pierce Harte, Esq. to be Paymaster of the 3d Battalion, vice Leigh, deceased.

80th Ditto,—Clement John Cozens, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Campbell, promoted in the 76th Foot.

82d Ditto,—Lieut. John Woolsey to be Capt. by purchase, vice Kell, who retires.

90th Ditto,—Ens. John Hart from the 58th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Dickson, who resigns.

New South Wales Corps,—Ens. Nicholas Bayly to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Kemp, promoted.

Queen's German Reg. —— Ens. —— Blount to be Lieut. vice Grau, promoted in the Minorca Dragoons. —— Miller, Gent. to be Ens. vice Thorne, promoted. Albert Zehender, Gent. to be Ens. vice Boucheporne, promoted. J. Noel Dejean, Gent. to be Ens. vice Blount.

Barracks,—John Flynn, Esq. late Capt.-Lieut. in the Royals, to be Barrack-Master of Shelbourne, in Nova Scotia, vice Ogden, who has retired from that Province.

Bury Volunteers,—Sir Rob. Peel, Bart. to be Lieut.-Col.-Commandant. Wm. Yates, Esq. to be Maj. To be Captains, Rob. Peel, Jun. Esq. John Alsop, Esq. John Gorton, Esq. John Johnson, Esq. To be Capt.-Lieut. John Scholes, Esq.

To be Lieutenants, Wm. Norris, Gent. Tho. Meadowcroft, Gent. John Brandwood, Gent. Tho. Norris, Gent. Rich. Hodgson, Gent. To be Ensigns, Jos. Harrison, Gent. Jas. Rostron, Gent. Henry Gorton, Gent. Rich. Alsop, Gent. Jas. Hartley, Gent. To be Adjutant, Ens. Rich. Aslop.

Cardross Volunteers.—Iver Campbell, Esq. to be Capt. Alex. Campbell, Gent. to be Lieut. John Tod, jun. Gent. to be Ens.

Loyal Carrick Volunteers.—Second-Lieut. Hugh Cunningham to be First Lieut. vice M'Jannett, who resigns. Dav. Gibson, Gent. to be Second-Lieut. vice Cunningham.

Loyal Exminster Hundred Reg. of Volunteers — Wm. Vis. Courtenay to be Lieut-Col. Commandant. Wm. Rainsforth, Esq. to be Major.

Royal Newton and Wallaceton Volunteers.—Hugh Ackers, Gent. to be Second-Lieut. vice Heron, who resigns.

Memorandum.—Lieut. John Moore and Ens. Pat. M'Dermott Roe, of the Loyal Tarbert Fencibles, are superseded, being absent without leave.

War-Office, Jan. 19, 1802.

5th Reg. of Dragoon Guards, Cornet Arthur Chichester to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Irwin, promoted.

4th Reg. Foot, Lieut. Alex. Bassett, from the 69th. Foot, to be Lieut. vice Leaky, who exchanges.

22d Ditto, Peter Cockburn, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Hamilton, promoted.

44th Ditto, Capt. Charles Phillips to be Maj. by purchase, vice Mall. who retires. Lieut. Fountain Elwin to be Capt. vice Phillips.

49th Ditto, Wm. Collins, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Gollack, promoted.

58th Ditto, Assist. Surg. —— Campbell, from the 89th Foot, to be surg. vice Grieves, promoted.

69th Ditto, Lieut. John Tho. Leaky, from the 4th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Basset, who exchanges. John Francis Byrne, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Best, removed to the 66th Foot.

89th Ditto, Hospital Mate —— Steel to be Assist. Surg. vice Campbell, promoted in the 58th Foot.

Argyllshire Volunteers.—Colin Campbell, Gent. to be Second Lieut. vice Alex. Campbell, appointed to the 3d Foot Guards.

Honiton Volunteers.—Ens. Edw. Smark to be Lieut. vice Lee. Tho. Roskilly, Gent. to be Ens. vice Smark.

2d Battalion Manchester and Salford Volunteers.—Capt. Wm. Leaf to be Maj. vice Marriott, who resigns. Capt. Lieut. Tho. Rothwell to be Capt. vice Leaf. Lieut. Wm. Tate to be Capt. Lieut. vice Rothwell. Ens. Tho. Hindley to be Lieut. vice Tate. Rob. Killer, Gent. to be Ens. vice Hindley.

Memorandum.—Capt. Edw. Bailey, of the 15th Foot, who was superseded in the Gazette of the 5th instant, is reinstated in his rank. Ens. Hen. Shee, of the 25th Reg. Foot is superseded.

Ordnance Office, Jan. 22, 1802.

Royal Regiment of Artillery.—First Lieut. Cha. Egan, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Holmes, deceased, dated Jan. 9th. 1802.—Second Lieut. Wm. Clibborne, to be First Lieut. vice Egan, dated as above.—Second Lieut. Benj. Lefroy, to be first Lieut. vice Purcell, retired, dated Jan. 13, 1802.

War-Office, Jan. 26, 1802.

Royal Reg. of Horse Guards. Cornet Brotherton Brown, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Foster, who retires. George Berkley, Gent. to be Cornet, without purchase, vice Browne.

1st Reg. Dragoons. Cornet Peter Hawker, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Wright, promoted in the 60th Foot.

21st Reg. Lt. Dragoons. Lieut. Caleb Underwood. from the half-pay of the late 99th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Pearce, who exchanges.

1st Reg. Foot Guards. Jos. Lauteur, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Clifton, promoted.

37th Reg. Foot. Surg. George Heatherley, from the 3d West India Reg. to be Surg. vice Burke, promoted.

42d Ditto. Lieut. Jas. Walker, to be Adjt. vice Frazer, promoted.

1st West-India Reg. Ens. Hen. Holebrooke, to be Lieut. vice Byrne, deceased. Volunteer. Jas. Quin, from the 9th West-India Reg. to be Ens. vice Holebrooke.

3d Ditto. Assist. Surg. Wm. King, from the 60th Foot, to be Surg. vice Heatherley, removed to the 37th Foot.

7th Ditto. Ens. Sam. Watts, from the 11th West India Reg. to be Ens. vice Egan, who exchanges.

8th Ditto. Lieut. Cha. Carlton Kennett, from the 7th Lt. Dragoons, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Cooke, who retires.

11th Ditto. Ens. John Harriott, to be Lieut. vice Brice deceased. Sam. Watts, Gent. to be Ens. vice Harriott. Ens. Tho. Egan, from the 7th West-India Reg. to be Ens. vice Watts, who exchanges.

Hospital Staff.—Apothecary Wm. Warcop to be

Garrison Surg. in the island of Martinique, vice Thompson, promoted. Surg. W. A. Burke, from the 37th Foot, to be Apothecary to the Forces, vice Warcup, promoted.

York Reg. Fencible Infantry. Capt. Lieut. Frederick Tomkins, on the half-pay of the late Royal Irish Artillery, to be Lieut. vice Lawson, whose appointment has not taken place.

3d (or Lanark) Reg. of North British Militia, (commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant.) Ens. And. Bogle, to be Lieut. vice Boyes, resigned, dated October 24, 1801. Dugald John Campbell, Gent. to be Ens. vice Alex. Hamilton, resigned, dated November 24, 1801. Colin Hamilton, Gent. to be Ens. vice Bogle, promoted, dated December 24, 1801.

Ordnance-Office, February 4, 1802.

Royal Reg. Artillery.—Cap. Lieut. Gother Mann to be a Quart. Mast. vice Cha. Godfrey, promoted, dated Jan. 1, 1802.

War-Office, February 6, 1802.

1st Reg. Life Guards, Lieut. Wm. Stanton to be Cap. by purchase, vice Imhoff, promoted in the 4th Foot. Lieut. Geo. Herbert to be Cap. by purchase, vice Batson, who retires. Cornet and Sub-Lieut. Step. Lancaster to be Lieut. vice Stanton. Cornet and Sub-Lieut. Hen. Reynolds Hinde to be Lieut. vice Herbert. Fran. Scrimes Pilcher, Gent. to be Cornet and Sub-Lieut. vice Lancaster. Franc. Wm. Sandford, Gent. to be Cornet and Sub-Lieut. vice Hind.

4th Reg. Dragoon Guards, Cornet Sam. Weyment Harrison, from the 27th Lt. Dragoons, to be Cornet, by purchase, vice O'Reilly, promoted.

11th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Capt. Tho. Browne to be Maj. by purchase, vice Anderson, who retires. Lieut. Wm. Onslow to be Capt. vice Browne. Cornet Pat. Craufurd to be Lieut. vice Onslow. Surg. John Bullock, from the 9th Foot, to be Surg. vice Hunter, deceased.

14th Ditto. Cornet Aldborough Richardson to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Kemble, who retires.

26th Ditto. Hospital-Mate, Tho. Davis to be Assist. Surg. vice Meade, promoted to the 40th Foot.

2d Reg. Foot, Assist. Surg. Wm. Maxton, from the 18th Foot. to be Surg. vice Wells promoted.

8th Ditto. Hospital-Mate John Browne to be Assist. Surg. vice Morlen, promoted in the 54th Foot.

9th Ditto. Assist. Surg. —— Stewart, from the 11th Lt. Dragoons, to be Surg. vice Bullock, removed to the 11th Lt. Dragoons.

13th Ditto. Hospital-Mate Franc. Coull, to be Assist. Surg. vice Macklin, deceased.

15th Ditto. Franc. Jack Needham, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Wood, promoted.

18th Ditto. Hospital-Mate Walter Carver to be Assist. Surg. vice Maxton, promoted in the 2d Foot.

24th. Ditto. Ens. Hen. Colls to be Lieut. without purchase.

26th Ditto. Eman. Shaw, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Glasse, promoted in the 9th Foot.

27th Ditto. Assist. Surg. —— Degan, from the Queen's German Reg. to be Surg. vice Halliday deceased.

42d Ditto, Hospital-Mate Donald Macleod to be Assist. Surg. vice Patton, promoted in the 13th Foot.

44th Ditto. Hospital-Mate Geo. Norman to be Assist. Surg. vice Owen, deceased.

30th Ditto. Assist. Surg. Mat. Lamert, from the 90th Foot, to be Surg. vice Blackwell, promoted.

53d Ditto, T. C. Andrews, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice John Grant, jun. promoted.

54th Ditto. Assist. Surg. Wm. Morlen, from the 8th Foot, to be Surg. vice Ross, promoted.

58th Ditto. Hospital-Mate Hen. West to be Assist. Surg. vice Urie, deceased.

60th Ditto. G. Ramsay, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Bell, promoted. Hospital-Mate Da. Browne to be Assist. Surg. vice Cooper, deceased.

79th. Ditto. Assist. Surg. Geo. Cockell, from the 54th Foot, to be Surg. vice Egan, promoted.

82d Ditto, Ens. W. M. Greenhill to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Woolsey, promoted.

85th Ditto, Assist. Surg. Jas. M'Farlane to be Surg. vice Browne, who retires upon half-pay.

90th. Reg. Foot, Hospital-Mate Sam. Gissing, to be Assist. Surg. vice Lamert, promoted in the 50th Foot.

4th West-India Reg. Ens. Jas. Douglas Johnstone, from the half-pay of the late Independent Companies, to be Ens. vice Bowers, who exchanges. Arch. Cunningham, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Browne, promoted in the 59th Foot.

Staff.—Col. Alex. Mackenzie, of the 36th Foot, to be Brig. Gen. of the Army serving in the Mediterranean only. Tho. Asten Coffin, Esq. to be Commissary of Accompts in British North America.

Hospital Staff.—Assist. Inspector Alex. Robertson to be Dep. Inspector of Hospitals to the Forces. Surg. Adair Blackwell, from the 50th Foot, to be Surg. to the Forces, vice Webb, promoted.

Apothecaries to the Forces.—Surg. Tho. Ross, from the 54th Foot, vice Findlay, deceased. Surg. Mich. Egan, from the 79th Foot.—Surg. Fletcher Wells, from the 2d Foot.

Barracks.—Rob. Collier, Esq. late Capt. in the Scotch Brigade, to be Barrack-Mast. in Great Britain, vice Marshal, who retires.

Manx Fencible Infantry.—Lieut. Wm. Kewley to be Adj. vice Horner, deceased.

Loyal Haverfordwest Fuzileers.—John Lewis, Gent. to be Adj. vice Johnstone.

Marazion Volunteers.—John James, Jun. Esq. to be Capt. vice Gluyas, who resigns.

North Shields and Tynemouth Volunteers.—Maj. Wm. Linskill to be Lieut.-Col. Comman. Capt. Wm. Clarke, jun. to be Maj. vice Linskill. First Lieut. Tho. Frank to be Capt. vice Clarke. Second Lieut. Tho. Walmsley to be First Lieut. vice Frank. To be Second Lieutenants—And. Trotter, Gent. vice Walmsley. Wm. Robson, Gent. vice Cram, promoted. John Hutchinson, Gent. Rob. Shield, Gent.

Swansea Artillery Volunteers.—Lieut. Henry Perrott, from the Swansea Volunteers, to be First Lieut. vice Prance, who resigns.

Memorandum.—Ens. Hen. Shee, of the 25th Reg. Foot, who was superseded in the Gazette of the 19th ult. is reinstated in his rank.

Cheshire Militia, (Commission signed by the Lord Lieutenant.) Morton John Eden, Esq. to be Capt. of a Company, vice Carr, deceased, dated Jan. 18, 1802.

War-Office, Feb. 9, 1802.

8th Reg. Foot.—To be Lieutenants without purchase.—Lieut. Wm. Robinson, from the 17th

Foot, vice Forsteen, promoted in the 12th Foot. Ens. Tho. Couche, vice Annesley, deceased. Ens. Franc. Campbell, from the 50th Foot, vice Church, deceased. To be Ens.—Adj. Peter Myles, vice Couche.

9th Ditto, Ens. Evan John M'Gregor Murray, from the 81st. Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Southcott, who retires.

15th Ditto, Capt. Lieut. Chas. Dalyrmple to be Capt. by purchase, vice D'Arcy. Lieut. Alex. Milne to be Capt. by purchase, vice Innes, who retires. Ens. R. N. Nickle to be Lieut. vice Milne.

17th Ditto, Ens. Oliver Long, from the 82d Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Robinson, removed to the 8th Foot.

20th Ditto, Hospital-Mate Wm. Miller to be Assist. Surg. vice Rooke, who resigns.

25th Ditto, Hon. Chas. Stanhope to be Ens. without purchase.

31st Ditto, Ens. Wm. Murphy to be Lieut. vice Walker, deceased.

40th Ditto, Ens. J. S. Price to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Jarvey, promoted in the Cape Reg. Ens. ——Christian to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Warner, removed to the 10th Lt. Dragoons.

52d Reg. Foot, Ens. Wm. Shaw to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Dewes, who retires. Ens. Robert C. Harker, from the Argyll Fencibles, to be Ens. by purchase, vice Shaw.

61st Ditto, Ens. Jas. Charmichael to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Davy, promoted in the 60th Foot.

86th Ditto, Maj. Hen. Torrens, from the Surrey Rangers, to be Maj. vice Baillie, who exchanges.

A Corps of Infantry, Col. John Fraser to be Col. Command.

Brevet.—Capt. John Taylor, of the 25th Foot, to be Maj. in the Army, dated Sept. 2, 1801.

Surrey Rangers.—Brev. Lieut. Col. Hugh Baillie, from the 86th Foot, to be Maj. vice Torrens, who exchanges.

Devonshire Militia (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant.)—To be Deputy Lieutenants—Geo. Barbor, Esq. dated Sept. 9, 1800. Peter Ilbert, Esq. Oct. 11, 1800. Rich. Lang, Esq. Aug. 22, 1801. Edm. Nath. Wm. Fortescue, Esq. and Wm. Strode, Esq. dated as above, Paul Treby Treby, Esq. Oct. 22, 1801. John Parker, Esq. Dec. 19, 1801. Edm. Lane, Esq. Dec. 20. 1801.

North Devon. Reg.—To be Capt.—John Boger, Esq. dated Oct. 2, 1801. To be Capt. Lieut.—Wm. Chave, Esq. Oct. 4, 1801. To be Lieuts.—Tho. Fisher, Esq. Aug. 18, 1800. Wm. White, Esq. Nov. 26, 1800. Nath. Thorn, Esq. Aug. 1, 1801. Step. Shute Rowe, Esq. Oct. 3, 1801. John Spencer Colepepper, Esq. and Val. Hewlett, Esq. Oct. 4, 1801. To be Ensigns.—John Spencer Colepepper, Esq. Aug. 24, 1800. John Val. Hewlett, Esq. Oct. 20, 1800. Weymond Cory, Esq. Jan. 12, 1801. Hen. Hanson, Esq. Jan. 19, 1801. Wm. Chave, Esq. Aug. 25, 1801. John Lavington Roope, Esq. Sept. 29, 1801.

South Devon. Reg.—To be Captains.—Wm. Strode, dated Sept. 5, 1801. Jas. Brown, Esq. (by Brev.) Jan. 8, 1802. To be Lieuts.—Tho. Wollacombe, Esq. Jan. 8, 1801. Rob. Palk, Esq. Nov. 9, 1801. Wm. Hen. Symonds, Esq. Nov. 10, 1801. To be Ensigns.—Rob. Palk, Esq. March 4, 1801. Wm. Hen. Symonds, Esq. March 5, 1801.

East Devon. Reg.—To be Captains.—Edm. Kenn, Esq. dated Sept. 4, 1801. Edm. Lane, Esq. Sept. 5, 1801. To be Capt. Lieutenants—Sir John De la Pole, Bart. May 4, 1801. Edm. Kenn, Esq. July 24, 1801. Geo. S. Fursdon, Esq. Sept. 8, 1801. Wm. Hare, Esq. Oct. 10, 1801. To be Lieuts.—John Kelly, Esq. July 24, 1801. Chas. Saunderson, Esq. Sept. 7, 1801. Edw. Ellicott, Esq. Sept. 26, 1801. To be Ensigns—Edm. Lane, Esq. July, 24, 1801. Tubal Lewis, Esq. Aug. 13, 1801. Wm. Collins, Esq. Sept. 7, 1801.

Cardigan Militia, (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant.)—Lieut. Col. John Brooks to be Lieut. Col. Command. vice Lieut. Col. Lewis, resigned, and Adj. and Lieut. Edw. Lawford Cole, late Lieut. in His Majesty's 75th Reg. Foot, to be Capt. by Brevet, dated Jan. 25, 1802.

War-Office, Feb. 16, 1802.

1st Reg. Dragoon Guards, John Carpenter, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Naylor, promoted.

2d Ditto, Capt. Geo. Pownal Adams to be Maj. by purchase, vice Taylor, promoted in the 9th West-India Reg.

12th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Cornet Fran. Raynes to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Coutts, promoted.

29th Ditto, Bravill Cox Way, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Pedder, promoted.

11th Reg. Foot, Capt. Lieut. Wm. Gordon M'Gregor to be Capt. vice Evans, deceased. Lieut. Colquhoun Grant to be Capt. Lieut. vice M'Gregor, Ens. John Lynch to be Lieut. vice Grant. Ens. Tho. Egan, from the 11th West-India Reg. to be Ens. vice Lynch.

37th Ditto, Lieut. Tho. Moss Clayton to be Capt. by purchase, vice De Carteret, whose appointment does not take place.

44th Ditto, Ens. Jas. Clegg Kennedy, from the 3d Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Graham, promoted.

49th Ditto, Ens. John Doherty to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Gollock, who retires.

57th Ditto, Ens. Hen. Balguy to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Roberts, promoted.

60th. Ditto, Brev. Lieut. Col. Rob. Lethbridge to be Lieut. Col. vice Craufurd, removed to the 86th Foot. Hospital-Mate Edw. Jarvis to be Assist. Surg. vice Bromwich, deceased. Hospital-Mate John Freeman to be Assist. Surg. vice King, promoted in the 3d West-India Reg.

68th Ditto, Capt. Lieut. Wm. Cox to be Capt. vice Edwards, deceased. Lieut. John Reid to be Capt. Lieut. vice Cox. To be Lieuts. without purchase—Ens. Chas. Tuton, vice Hewetson, deceased. Ens. J. A. Crowder, vice Bowker, who resigns. Ens. And. Creagh, from the 87th Foot, vice Reed. To be Ensigns.—George Pepyutt, Gent. vice Tuton. Wm. Gillan, Gent. vice Crowder.

78th Ditto, —— Kennedy, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Turner, whose appointment does not take place.

86th Ditto, Lieut. Col. Rob. Craufurd from the 60th Foot, to be Lieut. Col. vice Bell, who retires.

87th Foot, Wm. L. Darling, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Creagh, promoted in the 68th Foot.

New South Wales Corps, Ens. —— Laycock to be Lieut. vice Craufurd, deceased. Tho. Dereny Turner, Gent. to be Ens. vice Laycock. Colonel Fraser's Corps of Infantry. Ens. John Kingsley to be Lieut. vice Laidlow, deceased.

3d West India Reg. Lieut. Sam. Rome, from the

4th West-India Reg. to be Capt. by purchase, vice Fraser, who retires. Serj. J. Hawksworth to be Adj. vice Thornton, who resigns.

4th Ditto, Ens. Anth. Cruice to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Rome, promoted in the 3d West-India Reg.

8th Ditto, Ens. Edw. A. Wastneys to be Lieut. vice Brockey, deceased. Lewis Gordon, Gent. to be Ens. vice Wastneys.

9th Ditto, Maj. Herbert Taylor, from the 2d Dragoon Guards, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Druault, who retires. John B. Du Mouchet, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Saunderson, removed to the 3d Foot.

16th Ditto, Capt. Hen. C. Darling, from the 3d Foot, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Percin, who retires. Volunteer Jos. Lanbiere to be Ens. vice Pressus, deceased.

11th Ditto, —— Mackay, Gent. to be Ens. vice Egan, removed to the 11th Foot.

12th Ditto, Capt. Rich. Collins, from the 4th West India Reg. to be Maj. by purchase, vice Laurence, who retires.

Staff.—Burnet Bruce, Esq. Advocate, to be Deputy Judge Advocate, and Clerk of the Courts Martial in North Britain, vice Tytler, appointed to a Seat in the Court of Session.

Hospital Staff.—Garrison Surg. —— M'Dowall of the Island of St. Lucia, to be Garrison Surg. of Antigua, vice Muttlebury, removed to the Home Staff.

1st Batt. Dundee Volunteers.—First Lieut. James Mitchell to be Capt. vice Yeaman, deceased. Second Lieut. James Gray, to be First Lieut. vice Mitchell. Jas. Watt, Gent. to be Second Lieut. vice Gray.

Falmouth or Pendennis Artillery Volunteers.—Second Lieut. John Michell to be First Lieut. vice Corfield, who resigns. Sam. Corfield, Gent. to be second Lieut. vice Michell.

Huddersfield Volunteers.—Capt. Lieut. Jos. Scott to be Capt. of an additional Company. Lieut. Walter Wm. Stables to be Capt. Lieut. vice Scott. John Woolley, Gent. to be First Lieut. vice Stables. Jarvis Chas. Seaton, Gent. to be Second Lieut. Tho. Atkinson, Gent. to be Second Lieut. Joshua Crossland, Gent. to be Ditto.

East Sutherland Volunteers.—Capt. John Sutherland, of the late Sutherland Fencibles, to be Second Lieut. of the Brora Company, vice John Sutherland, who resigns.

Isle of Sky Volunteers.—Don. M'Leod, Gent. to be Adj. vice Macdonald, who resigns. D. Mac Cummin, Gent. to be Quart. Mast. vice Steele, who resigns.

Memorandum.—Ens. John Charlton, of the 15th Reg. Foot, superseded, having deserted.

Erratum in the Gazette of the 26th September last. —37th Reg. Foot—For Ens. And. Tilt to be Lieut. by purchase, vice De Carteret, promoted —Read Ens. And. Tilt to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Clayton promoted.

Royal South Lincoln Militia, (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenan.)—Wm. Disney, Gent. to be Lieut. dated May 4, 1801. Geo. Rogers, Gent. to be Ens. April 23, 1801. Peter Foster, Gent. to be Ens. May 4, 1801.

War-Office, February 23, 1802.

3th Reg. Dragoon Guards. John M'Alyward, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Chicester, promoted.

10th Reg. Lt. Dragoons. Lieut. Blake, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Cross, who retires. Cornet John Nixon, to be Lieut. vice Blake.

29th Ditto, Cornet Geo. King, to be Lieut. by purcase, vice Montalembert, promoted in the 69th Foot.

3d Reg. Foot Guards. Lieut. Wm. Stothart, from the 27th Lt. Dragoons to be Ens. by purchase, vice Duff, promoted.

1st Batt. 1st Reg. Foot. Capt. Fred. Muller, from the 52d Foot, to be Capt. vice Sir Geo. Ogilvie, who exchanges.

2d Batt. of Ditto, Serjeant-Major —— Robinson, from the Royal Fusileers, to be Adj. vice Graham, promoted in the 18th Foot.

4th Reg. Foot, Lieut. Jos. Hammont, from the 11th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Britton, who exchanges.

11th Ditto, Lieut. John Britton, from the 4th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Hammont, who exchanges.

23d Ditto, Lieut. Wm. Keith, to be Capt. by purchase, vice M'Donald, promoted in the 55th Foot.

35th Ditto, Lieut. Alex. Mackenzie, from the 78th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Campbell, who exchanges.

40th Ditto, Lieut. Tim. Fitzpatrick, from the ancient Irish Fencibles, to be Ens. without purchase, vice Price, promoted. Lieut. Michael Lynch, from the Tarbart Fencibles, to be Ens. without purchase, vice Christian, promoted.

50th Ditto, Capt. Edw. Atkin, from the Ancient Irish Fencibles, to be Ens. without purchase, vice Campbell, promoted in the 8th Foot.

52d Ditto, Capt. Sir Geo. Mulgrave Ogilvy, Bart. from the 1st Bat. Royals, to be Capt. vice Muller, who exchanges. David Miller, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Smith, promoted.

65th Ditto, Murrough O'Bryen, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Fulla, promoted in the 61st Foot.

78th Ditto, Lieut. Colin Campbell, from the 35th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Mackenzie who exchanges.

82d Ditto, Ens. Chas. Huxley, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Woolsey, promoted. Town Adj. of Valetta, Rich. Williams, to be Ens. without purchase, vice Long, promoted in the 17th Foot.

8th West-India Reg. Lieut. Hugh B. M. Ghee, from the 1st Bat. Royals, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Wright, who retires.

Queen's German Reg. J. Introina, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice May, promoted.

Memorandum.—The appointment of Robert Anstruther Thompson, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, in the 58th Reg. Foot, vice Harvey, promoted in the 7th Foot, as stated in the Gazette of March 1801, has not taken place. The appointment of Ens. W. Greenhill, to be Lieut. without purchase, in the 82d Reg. Foot, vice Woolsey, promoted, as stated in the Gazette of the 8th inst. has not taken place.

Ordnance-Office, Feb. 23, 1802.

Royal Reg. Artillery —Capt. Lieut. Franc. Rey to Capt. vice R. King, deceased; dated Feb. 3, 1802. First Lieut. Geo. Massey to be Capt. Lieut. vice Rey; Second Lieut. Jas. Grant to be First Lieut. vice Massey. Brev. Lieut. Col. Abram Du Vernett to be Lieut. Col. vice G. Wilson, invalided; Brev. Maj. Hen. Rogers to be Maj. vice Du Vernett; Capt. Lieut. Chas. Gold to be Capt. vice Rogers; First Lieut. Hen. Hickman to be Capt. Lieut. vice Gold; Second Lieut.

Wm. Power to be first Lieut. vice Hickman; dated Feb. 11; Brev. Lieut. Col. Jas. Butler to be Lieut. Col. vice S. Rimington, invalided; Brev. Maj. Jas. Miller, to be Maj. vice Butler; Capt. Lieut. Jos. Carncross to be Capt. vice Miller; First. Lieut. Philip Meadows to be Capt. Lieut. vice Carncross; Second Lieut. Guy C. Coffin to be First Lieut. vice Meadows; Brev. Maj. Hen. Hutton to be Maj. vice G. F. Lewis, invalided; Capt. Lieut. Alex. Watson to be Capt. vice Hutton; First Lieut. John Matthews to be Capt. Lieut. vice Watson; Second Lieut. Wm. Scott to be First Lieut. vice Matthews; Second Lieut. John Orlebar to be First Lieut. vice J. G. Burslem, invalided; and First Lieut. Step. J. Rawlinson to be a Quart-Mas. vice Gold, promoted; dated as above, Feb. 11, 1802.

War-Office, Feb. 27, 1802.

2d Reg. Dragoon Guards, Lieut. Sir John Leman Rogers, Bart. to be Capt. by purchase, vice Adams, promoted. Cornet John Grosser to be Lieut. vice Sir John Rogers.

7th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Cornet —— Cavendish to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Kennet, promoted in the 8th West-India Reg.

10th Ditto, Ens. the Hon. Fred. Howard, from the 85th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Lord Jas. Murray, promoted.

4th Reg. Foot, Major Chas. Imhoff to be Lieut-Col. by purchase, vice Kane, who retires. Capt. Norman Macleod to be Major, vice Imhoff. Ens. W. O. Brigstoke, from the 8th West-India Reg. to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Swinton, promoted.

9th Ditto, Lieut. Rob. H. Hanslip to be Capt. by purchase, vice Craufurd, promoted.

17th Ditto, Lieut. the Hon. Rich. King, from the 11th Lt. Dragoons, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Sapte, who retires.

18th Ditto, Lieut. Edw. Walker to be Capt. by purchase, vice Stuart, who retires.

25th Ditto, Lieut. Geo. Tripp to be Capt. by purchase, vice Allen, who retires.

29th Ditto, Capt. Hen. Sullivan, from the 2d West-India Reg. to be Capt. vice Dalmer, who exchanges.

35th Ditto, Ens. Dan. Gardner, from the 43d Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Finnan, who retires.

53d Ditto, Wm. Thos. Pass, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Thompson, promoted.

67th Ditto, Lieut. John Williams Watson to be Capt. by purchase, vice Manwaring, promoted.

70th Ditto, Captain James Williamson to be Major, by purchase, vice Kennan, who retires. Lieut. Benj. Lawrence to be Capt. vice Williamson. Captain Hamer Gaskell, from the Cambrian Rangers, to be Ens. by purchase, vice Cox, promoted.

Royal Irish Invalids, Lieutenant John Adolphus Burton, from the Durham Fencibles, to be Lieut. vice Smyth, deceased.

2d West-India Reg. Capt. Geo. Dalmer, from the 29th Foot, to be Capt. vice Sullivan, who exchanges.

Auchtertool Volunteers, Wm. Lewis, Gent. to be Lieut. vice Balfour, who resigns. James Nicholl, Gent. to be Ens. vice Greig, superceded, having absented himself without leave.

Belville Volunteers, Ans. Macpherson, Gent. to be Ens. vice Macpherson, deceased.

Royal Clarence Volunteers, 2d Lieut. Wm. Jas. to be 1st Lieut. vice Edward Davies, who resigns; 2d Lieut. Thos. Noot, to be 1st Lieut. to be 2d Lieutenants —Hen. Peach, Gent. vice James Griffith Jenkins, Gent. vice Noot, John Edwards, Gent.

Eastern District Fifeshire Volunteers, Ens. Peter Curie to be Lieut. vice Todd, dismissed; Rob. Wilkie, Gent. to be Ens. vice Currie.

Lanivet Volunteers, Lieut. Nicholas Grose to be Capt. vice Cole, deceased; Ens. Nicholas Cole to be Lieut. vice Grose; Roger Henwood, Gent. to be Ens. vice Cole.

1st Bat. Manchester and Salford Volunteers, Wm. Simmons, Gent. to be Ensign.

Mearnshire Volunteers, Geo. Read, Gent. to be second Lieut. vice Thorne, superseded.

(Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Kent, dated Jan. 20, 1802,) To be Deputy-Lieutenants: The Earl of Radnor, Charles Lord Whitworth, K. B. Geo. Harris, Esq. Cholmeley Dering, Esq. Philip Martin, Esq. Thos. Lane, Esq. Francis Hubble Douce, Esq. John Lade the younger, Esq. Edward Taylor, of Bifrons, Esq. Edward Hussey the younger, Esq. Baldwin Duppa Duppa, Esq. Francis Markett, Esq. Francis Lucius Austen, Esq. John George Children, Esq.

West Kent Militia, (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant, dated Sept. 29, 1801.)—Hen. Hawley, Esq. to be Second Major.

First (or Argyllshire) Regiment of North British Militia, (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant, dated June 24, 1801)—Lieut. Alex. Campbell to be Capt. vice David Campbell, promoted.

War-Office, March 9, 1802.

1st Reg. Dragoons,—John Armstrong, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Hawker, promoted.

19th Reg. Lt. Dragoons,—Lieut. Rich. Miller, from the 17th Lt. Dragoons, to be Lieut. vice Vaughan, who retires.

27th Ditto,—Geo. Isaac Call, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Harrison removed to the 4th Dragoon Guards.

Hompesch's mounted Riflemen,—Caleb Blenman, Gent. to be Veterinary Surg. vice Cordeaux, removed to the York Hussars.

Coldstream Reg. Foot Guards,—Battalion Surg. John Gilham to be Surg. vice Knight, appointed Inspector-General of Army Hospitals. Assist. Surg. John Burnall to be Battalion Surg. vice Gilham.

4th Reg. Foot,—Captain-Lieut. Annesley Gore, from the 88th Foot, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Dunne, who exchanges.

21st Ditto,—Second Lieut. Robert Stephens to be First Lieut. by purchase, vice Cunningham, who retires. Second Lieut. Donald Mackay to be First Lieut. by purchase, vice Edwards, who retires.

35th Ditto,—Lieut. —— Dennis, from the 43d Foot, to be Lieut. vice Gardner, who exchanges.

42d Ditto,—Ens. Pat. Innes to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Hillas, who retires.

43d Ditto,—Lieut. Dan. Gardner, from the 35th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Dennis, who exchanges.

47th Ditto,—Rob. Gordon, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Bate, promoted in the 61st Foot.

56th Reg.—Nich. Wrixon, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Rob. Wrixon, who retires.

71st Ditto,—A. King, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Grant, promoted.

72d Ditto,—Ens. Neale M'Neale to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Simon Fraser, who retires.

88th Ditto,—Capt.-Lieut. John Dunne, from the 4th Foot, to be Capt.-Lieut. vice Gore, who exchanges.

Queen's German Reg.—Lieut. Nich. Toler Kingsley, from the 2d Life Guards, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Armstrong, who retires.

Staff,—Lieut.-Col. Kenneth Alexander Howard, of the Coldstream Foot Guards, to be Dep. Inspector-General of Foreign Corps in His Majesty's Service, vice Lieut.-Col. Couper.

Royal Military College,—Lieut.-Col. Jas. Butler, of the Royal Artillery, to be Superintendant of the Junior Department.

North Lowland Reg. Fencible Infantry,—Lieut. Rob. Christie, to be Adj. vice Fraser, deceased.

West Kent Militia, (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant,)—Ens. Edw. Chamberlayne to be Lieut. vice Douse, promoted, dated March 3, 1802. Ens. Wm. Gilder to be Lieut. vice Wilmott, resigned, March 4, 1802.

War-Office, March 16, 1802.

2d Reg. Life Guards,—Cornet and Sub-Lieut. Lawrence Neville, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Kingsley, promoted in the Queen's German Regiment, Lieut. Geo. Treacher, from the 15th Foot to be Cornet and Sub-Lieut. vice Neville.

Coldstream Reg. Foot Guards,—Surgeon John T. Simpson, from the Invalids at the Town of London, to be Surg. of the Reg. vice Gilham, who exchanges. John Gordon Mackenzie, Gent. to be Assist. Surg. vice Burnall, promoted.

3d Reg. Foot Guards,—Ens. Rob. Mercer, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Robinson, who retires.

1st Bat. 1st Reg. of Foot,—Ens. S. B. Torrens, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Vance, who retires.

4th Reg. of Foot,—Ens. John Franc. Byrne, from the 69th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase; vice Sutton, who retires.

15th Reg. of Foot,—Maj. Duncan Macdonald, to be Lieut.-Col. without purchase, vice Lord Sinclair, who retires. Capt. Thos. Sidney Beckwith, from the Rifle Corps, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Macdonald.

16th Ditto,—Lieut. Rob. Grant, from the 71st Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Nagle, who retires.

24th Ditto,—J. Lambert Heatly, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Brown, promoted.

44th Ditto,—Colin Mackissan, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Edgar, who retires.

[illegible]th Ditto,—Thos. Mac Gregor, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Walker, promoted in the 18th Foot.

[illegible]st Ditto,—Mathias Abel, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Williams, appointed to the 8th Lt. Dragoons, John Eley, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Macpherson, removed to the 9th Foot.

[illegible] West-India Reg.—Capt. Hen. Edw. Bunbury, from the 16th Lt. Dragoons, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Laureal, who retires.

Corps of Riflemen,—Lieut. John Stewart, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Belkwith, promoted to the 15th Foot. Ens. Rich. Green, from the 9th Foot, to be second Lieut. by purchase, vice Mitchell, promoted

Major Armstrong's Levy,—Thos. Borrow, Gent. to be Ens.; Edw. Ormancy Wrench, Gent. to Ens.

Invalids,—Surg. John Gilham, from the Coldstream Foot Guards, to be Surg. to the Independent Companies of Invalids at the Towet, vice Thompson, who exchanges.

1st Devonshire Reg. of Volunteer Cavalry,—Rob. Trewman, Gent. to be Cornet vice Sanders, deceased.

Kincaim Volunteer Infantry,—Second Lieut. John Stewart, to be First Lieut. John Stewart, Jun. Gent. to be Second Lieut. vice Stewart.

Plympton, St. Mary, Volunteers,—Geo. Strode, Esq. to be Captain.

Swansea Volunteers,—Capt. Lieut. Rees Jones, to be Captain; and Lieut. John Bowen, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Jones. Ens. Edw. Holbrooke, vice Bowen; Ens. Franc. Braine, vice Perrott, who resigns; and Ens. David Hopkins, to be Lieut.; Wm. Rob. Grove, Gent. vice Holbrooke, Jas. Holbrooke, Gent. vice Braine; and Jos. Jones, Gent. vice Hopkins; to be Ensigns.

War-Office, March 20, 1802.

Royal Reg. Horse Guards,—Cornet Rob. Christo-Packe, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Butcher, who retires, John Hurst, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Packe.

15th Reg. Lt. Dragoons,—Cornet John Every, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Montgomery, promoted in the 60th Regiment.

4th Reg. Foot,—Ens. Franc. J. Needham, from the 15th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Wilson, promoted.

9th Ditto,—Capt. Benj. Dodsworth, from the 11th Foot, to be Capt. vice Byrne, who exchanges.

11th Ditto,—Capt. Thos. Byrne, from the 9th Foot, to be Capt. vice Dodsworth, who exchanges. Ens. Downham Newton, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Clock, promoted in the 4th West-India Reg.

33d Ditto,—Martin Coote Brisco, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase.

52d Ditto,—Ens. Jonathan Haworth Peel, from the 20th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Muller, promoted.

68th Ditto,—Lieut. Jas. Prendergast, from the Rifle Corps, to be Lieut. vice Crompton, who exchanges.

73d Ditto,—Argyle Noble, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase.

3d West-India Reg.—Capt. Chas. Clark, from the 4th West-India Reg. to be Cap[illegible]. vice Rome, who exchanges.

4th Ditto,—Lieut. Chas. Clark, from the 11th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Collins, promoted in the 12th West-India Reg. Capt. Sam. Rome, from the 3d West-India Reg. to be Cap. vice Clark, who exchanges.

A Corps of Riflemen,—Lieut. J. Crampton, from the 68th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Prendergarst, who exchanges.

Brevet,—Col. Pierre Fred. Count de Meuson, to be Major General in the Army, Commission dated Jan. 1st, 1798.

Berwickshire Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry,—Lieut. Jos. Marshall, to be Capt. vice Hume, who resigns. Cornet,—Logan, to be Lieut. vice

Marshall. Alex. Thompson, Gent. to be Cornet, vice Logan.

Buckland Monackorum Volunteers,—Lieut. Hen. Woolcombe; Geo. Leech, Jun. Esq. Sam. Steven, Jun. Esq. to be Captains. Geo. Arthur, Gent.; John Topsill, Gent and Thos. Bate, Gent. to be Lieutenants.

Louder Volunteers,—John Thompson, Gent. to be Ens. vice Nicholls, deceased.

Rutland Volunteers,—Lieut. Wm. Draycott, to be Capt. vice Nicks, deceased. Ens. Anthony Jackson, to be Lieut. vice Draycott.

Memorandum,—The appointment of Don. Campbell, Gent. to be Ens. in the 8th West-India Reg. vice Mackay, promoted, as stated in the Gazette of the 17th March, 1801, has not taken place.

Cheshunt Volunteer Association, (Commission signed by His Majesty, dated Feb. 25, 1802.) —Sir Geo. Prescott, Bart. to be Capt. vice Newdick, resigned.

War-Office, March 24, 1802.

His Majesty has been pleased to appoint General, His Royal Highness Edward Duke of Kent, K. G. to be Governor of Gibraltar, vice General O'Hara, deceased.

War-Office, March 27, 1802.

3d Reg. Dragoon Guards,—Ens. Thynne Howe Gwynne, from the 76th Foot, to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Turner promoted.

1st Bat. 1st Reg. Foot,—Maj, Archibald Stewart, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Cowell, who retires. Capt. John Proby, from the 81st Foot, to be Maj. vice Stewart.

4th Reg. Foot,—Lieut. Jas. Ogylvie, from the Royal Fusileers, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Macleod, promoted. Ens. Hen. Hardinge, from the Queen's Rangers, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice O'Connell, who retires.

9th Ditto,—Lieut. Wm. Cross, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Hanslip, whose appointment does not take place.

22d Ditto,—Lieut. Hen. Thos. Horlestone, to be Cap. by purchase, vice Campbell, who retires.

35th Ditto,—Capt. Lieut. Lewis Watson, from the 7th Lt. Dragoons, to by Capt. by purchase, vice O'Byrne, who retires.

40th Ditto,—Maj. Gen. Hay M'Dowall, from the 78th Foot, to be Col. Command of a Battallion, vice Lord Hutchinson, appointed to the command of the 74th Foot.

49th Ditto,—P. B. P. Horton, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Morgan, who retires.

73d Ditto,—Ens. Argyle Noble, to be Lieut. without purchase.

74th Ditto,—Maj. Gen. John Kely Lord Hutchinson, K. B. from the 2d Bat. 40th Foot, to be Col. vice Gen. Chas. O'Hara, deceased.

77th Ditto,—Ens. Hen. Hornton Coote Brisco, from the 33d Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Macintosh, promoted.

81st Ditto,—Lieut. Wm. Dodsworth, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Proby, promoted in the 1st Bat. of Royals.

85th Ditto,—Maj. Mat. Lord Aylmere, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Douglass, who retires. Ens. John Graydon, to be Lieut. by purchase.

10th West-India Reg.—Capt. M. O. Shiell, to be Capt. with permanent rank in the Army.

A Corps of Riflemen,—Second Lieut. Thos. Brereton, to be First Lieut. by purchase, vice Stewart promoted.

Hospital Staff,—Wm. Moore, M. D. Inspector of Hospitals, to be principal Medical Officer of the Hospitals in the Isle of Weight, vice Jackson, who resigns.

Memorandum,—The appointment of Lieutenant Edw. Brown Moysten, from the Half-pay of the late 3d Reg. of the Irish Brigade, to be Lieut. in the 20th Reg. of Foot, as stated in the Gazette of the 12th Nov. 1799, has not taken place.

First Royal Reg. of Tower Hamlets Militia, (Commissions signed by the Deputy Lieutenants, dated March 18, 1802,) Ens. Thos. Hovell, to be Lieut. vice Geary, resigned.

War-Office, April 10, 1802.

2d Reg. Life Guards, Capt. Nic. Toler Kingsley, from the Queen's German Reg. to be Capt. of a Troop, vice Sir Sam. Hannay, who exchanges. Lieut. Wm. Blair to be Capt. of a Troop, without purchase, vice Kingsley, who retires. Cornet and Sub-Lieut. Hen. Adolphus Proctor, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Blair.

Queen's German Reg. Capt. Sir Sam. Hannay, Bart. from the 2d Life Guards, to be Capt. vice Kingsley, who exchanges.

Essex Militia, (Commissions signed by the Lord Lieut.) Fred. Nassau, Esq. to be Dep. Lieut. dated Jan. 1, 1802. Ens. William Tyler of the East Essex Reg. to be Lieut. in the same, vice Fox, resigned, Jan. 28, 1802. Rob. Gilbert Livingston Macdonald, to be Ens. to a vacant Company in the West-India Reg. March 18, 1802.

War-Office, April 13, 1802.

Royal Reg. Horse Guards, Capt. Warden Sergison, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Ware, who retires. Capt. Lieut. Thos. Athorpe, to be Capt. vice Sergison. Lieut. Chas. Slingsby to be Capt. Lieut. vice Athorpe. Cornet H. B. Thornhill, to be Lieut. vice Slingsby.

14th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Cornet J. W. Head Brydges, from the 17th Lt. Dragoons, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Nugent, who retires.

16th Ditto, Lieut. John Thraston, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Bunbury, promoted in the 9th West-India Reg. Cornet Chas. Cole, to be Lieut. vice Thraston.

1st Bat. 1st Reg. Foot, Ens. John Rea, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice M'Ghie, promoted in the 8th West-India Reg.

3d Reg. Foot, Lieut. Wm. Hebson, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Darling, promoted in the 10th West-India Reg. Ens. Edw. Saunderson, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Hebson.

4th Ditto, Ens. Ar. Newport, from the 70th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Warburton, promoted in the 60th Foot.

11th Reg. Foot, Capt. Jas. Forster, from the 57th Foot, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Gibbs, promoted in the 10th West-India. Wm. Jas. Martindale, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Newton, promoted. John Franc. Byrne, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Egan, promoted in the 68th Foot.

26th Ditto, Wm. Browne, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Eyre, promoted.

57th Ditto, Ens. Edw. Collins, from the 11th West-India Reg. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Balguy, promoted.

60th Ditto, Maj. John Campbell to be Lieut.

Col. by purchase, vice De Vos, who retires. Capt. Geo. Mackie, from the 7th West-India Reg. to be Maj. vice Campbell.

61st Ditto, Geo. Thos. Palmer, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Marshall, who retires.

64th Ditto, Ens. Const. Nugent to be Lieut. vice Tomlinson, deceased.

68th Ditto, Ens. Thos. Egan, from the 11th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Bayley, who resigns. Hen. Perse Blakeney, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Farrell, promoted.

78th Ditto, Maj. Alex. Adams to be Lieut. Col. without purchase, vice Maj. Gen. M'Dowall, appointed to the Command of a Bat. of the 40th Foot. Capt. Duncan Munro to be Maj. vice Adams.

81st Ditto, Lieut. Hamilton Ross, from the Scotch Brigade, to be Lieut. vice Hewet, who exchanges.

87th Ditto, Assist. Surg. Jas. Sharpe, from the 68th Foot, to be Assist. Surg. vice Ireland, removed to the 14th Lt. Dragoons.

Scotch Brigade, Maj. Jas. Campbell, from the Argyllshire Fencibles, to be Maj. vice Jackson, who exchanges. Lieut. Simon Goodman Hewett, from the 81st Foot, to be Lieut. vice Ross, who exchanges.

1st West-India Reg. John Laforey Morson, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Winter, who resigns. Edw. Ellis Iles, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Handford, who resigns.

3d Ditto, Ens. Jas. Thornton to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Fraser, promoted.

4th Ditto, Geo. Colclough, Gent. to be Ens. vice Higgins, deceased. Serj. Major———Forrest, from the 1st Bat. Royals, to be Adj. vice Rome, promoted in the 3d West-India Reg.

7th Ditto, Lieut. Edw. Waldron to be Capt. by purchase, vice Hewetson, who retires. Ens. John M'Dermott to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Sullivan, promoted in the 2d West-India Reg. Ens. Sam. Watts to be Lieut. vice Waldron. Wm. Middleton, Gent. to be Ens. vice M'Dermott.

8th Ditto, John Dundas, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Herdman, who declines. John M'Lellan, Gent. to be Quart-Mast. vice Reynolds, deceased.

10th West-India Reg. Maj. Sam. Gibbs, from the 11th Foot, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Gaudin de Sotir, who retires. Ens. M. A. Luppé to be Lieut. vice du Vergé, deceased. Volunteer Franc. Lassichere, to be Ens. without purchase, vice Luppé.

Staff, John De Lancey, Esq. late Cap. in the 60th Foot, to be Paymaster of Invalids at Guernsey, vice Cullen, who is superseded, being absent without leave. To be Barrack-Masters — Wm. Bowater, Esq. (on half-pay as Capt. of Marines) vice De Lancey, appointed paymaster of Invalids. Ralph Gledstanes, Esq. (late Barrack-Master at Newfoundland) vice Brooke.

Hospital Staff, Apothecary John Lindsey to be Garrison-Surgeon in the Island of St. Lucia, vice M'Dowall, removed to Antigua.

1st Argyllshire Reg. Fencible Inf. Brevet Lieut. Col. Geo. Jackson, from the Scotch Brigade, to be Major, vice Campbell, who exchanges.

Ordnance-Office, April 13, 1802.

Royal Reg. Artillery, Gent. Cadet William A. Dingley, to be second Lieut. vice J. Taylor, promoted; Gent. Cadet John Parker to be second Lieutenant, vice E. W. Cowley promoted; Gent. Cadet Charles Maitland, to be second Lieut. vice J. Winder, promoted; Gent Cadet Dan. J. Skelton to be second Lieut. vice A. Marcartney, promoted; Gent. Cadet Henry C. Russel, to be second Lieut. vice M. Traharne, promoted; Gent. Cadet Thomas Fead to be second Lieut. vice J. Adye, promoted; Gent. Cadet Rob. B. Delafons, to be second Lieut. vice H. Meggs, promoted: Gent. Cadet James Mackonochie, to be second Lieutenant, vice H. Light, promoted; and Gent. Cadet Charles P. Deacon, to be second Lieut. vice R. Drury, deceased; dated April 1, 1802. Capt.Lieut. Rob. Lawson, to be Capt. vice A. Robertson, deceased; First Lieut. Robert Macdonald, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Lawson; and second Lieut. Edw. M. Pakenham, to be first Lieut. vice Macdonald, dated April 6, 1802.

Loyal Edenside Rangers, Capt. Hen. Howard to be Lieut.-Col. Rt. Hon. Thos. Wallace to be Maj. Lieut. Robt. Warwick to be Capt. of a Troop. Lieut. John Losh to be Captain of a Company. Hen. Pottinger, Gent. to be Lieut. of Cavalry. Thos. Benson, Gent. vice Warwick; Wm. Hen. Milbourne, Gent. vice Losh; John Lowrey, Gent. To be first Lieutenants. Rich. Lowrey, Gent. to be Cornet; Warren Maude Lamb, Gent; Rich. Graham, Gent; Warren Maud Stamp, Gent. to be 2d Lieutenants; Geo. Moss, Gent. to be Adj.

Royal Manchester and Salford Volunteers, Capt. Lieut. Geo. Webster to be Capt. vice Edge, deceased. Lieut. Jas. Ollivant to be Capt-Lieut. vice Webster. Wm. Leech, Gent. to be Lieut. vice Ollivant. Robinson Foxley, Gent. to be Surgeon, vice Hall deceased.

Loyal Pembrokeshire Legion, Hen. Rees, Gent. to be second Lieut. vice Edwards, who resigns.

Loyal Ringwood Volunteers, Lieut. Wm. Baldwin to be Capt. vice Veal, deceased; Ens. John Ridout to be Lieut. vice Baldwin.

South Shields Volunteers, Ralph Robson, Gent. to be Ens. vice John Robson, who resigns.

Ordnance-Office, April 26, 1802.

Royal Reg. Artillery, Brevet Lieut-Col. James Boag to be Lieut-Col. vice Butler, retired to the Invalids; Brevet Maj. John Harding to be Maj. vice Boag; Capt-Lieut. Hen. Geary to be Capt. vice Harding; First Lieut. Geo. Gayton to be Capt-Lieutenant, vice Geary; Second Lieut. Ernest C. Wilford to be first Lieut. vice Gayton; and second Lieut. Thos. Greatly to be first Lieut. vice L. Gillespie, retired, dated April 12; second Lieut. Walter Ashe to be first Lieut. vice C. Douglas, resigned, dated April 17, 1802.

War-Office, April 27, 1802.

8th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Ens. John M'Mahon, from the 67th Foot, to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Colman, promoted in the 50th Foot.

9th Ditto, Cornet Thomas Cosby to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Penefather, who retires.

11th Ditto, Wm. Fred. Schreiber, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Jenkins, promoted.

17th Ditto, Cornet Robert Younghusband to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Weir, promoted in the 8th West-India Reg.

21st Ditto, James Chalder, Esq. to be Paymaster, vice Sharpe, who resigns.

23d Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Cornet Rob. Salmon to be Adj. vice Graham, who resigns.

28th Ditto, Lieut. Peter Honyman, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Graham, who retires.

4th Reg. of Foot, Brevet Lieut-Colonel Sir Wm. Cockburn, Bt. from the 73d Foot, to be Maj. vice Keith, who exchanges. Ja. King, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice M'Intosh, promoted.

15th Ditto, Ens. Peter Cha. Westlake, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Cromley, who retires. Lieut. R. J. Wingfield, from Col. Fraser's Corps, to be Lieut. vice Gilbee, who exchanges.

16th Ditto, Capt. Ja. Nich. Maillard, from the 56th Foot, to be Capt. vice Grant, who exchanges.

17th Ditto, Ens. the Hon. Franc. W. Arbuthnot, from the 91st Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Money, promoted.

23d Ditto, Second Lieut. Edw. Beeves, to be First Lieut. vice Keith, promoted. Wm. Geo. Stainforth, Gent. to be Second Lieut. by purchase, vice Dalmer, promoted.

24th Ditto, Volunteer John Clarke, to be Ens. vice Ball, deceased.

33d Ditto, Capt. Corn. Cuyler, from the Rifle Corps, to be Capt. vice Norcott, who exchanges.

34th Ditto, Capt.-Lieut. Sam. Barwell Adams, to be Capt. vice Bromhead, deceased. Lieut. Wm. Dawson to be Capt.-Lieut. vice Adams. Ens. Rich. Sandys to be Lieut, by purchase, vice Hornby, who retires.

40th Ditto, Lieut. Mat. L. Bell, from the 14th Light Dragoons, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Sutton, who retires.

47th Ditto, Edw. Ellwood, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Randle, promoted.

49th Ditto, Arth. Rowley Heyland, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Fitzgerald, promoted.

56th Ditto, Capt. Rob. Grant, from the 16th Foot, to be Capt. vice Maillard, who exchanges.

65th Ditto, Geo. Tattersall, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Clutterbuck, promoted.

68th Ditto, Maj. Robert Smyth, from the 52d Foot, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Manooch, who retires.

70th Ditto, Quart.-Mast.-Serj. Cha. Martin to be Adj. vice Lawrence, promoted.

71st Ditto, Ens. Coulson Skottowe to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Grant, promoted in the 16th Foot. Ja. Nangle, Gent. to be Ens. vice Skottowe.

73d Ditto, Brev. Lieut.-Col. Alex. Keith, from the 4th Foot, to be Maj. vice Sir W. Cockburne, who exchanges.

81st Ditto, Ens. Rob. Moody to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Sullivan, promoted. John M'Cabe, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Waterhouse, promoted.

85th Ditto, Capt. Lionel Smith to be Maj. by purchase, vice Lord Aylmer, promoted.

3d West-India Reg. Lieut. Cha. Macleod, from the 62d Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Walker, who retires.

A Corps of Riflemen, Capt. Amos Godsill Norcott, from the 33d foot, to be Capt. vice Cuyler, who exchanges.

Staff Corps, Lieut. John Pine Coffin, from the 4th Dragoons, to be Capt. vice Duthie, deceased.

Col. Fraser's corps, Lieut. Joseph C. Gilbee, from the 15th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Wingfield, who exchanges.

Royal Irish Invalids, John Nestor, Esq. to be paymaster, vice Abercrombie, deceased.

Garrisons.—Rev. John Wetherall, Chaplain to the Garrison of Halifax, to be Chaplain to the garrison of Gibraltar, vice Chalmers, who resigns. Rev. Josiah John Pike to be Chaplain to the Garrison of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, vice Wetherall.

Barracks.—Cha. Andrews, Esq. late Capt. in the 24th Foot, to be Barrack-Mast. at Newfoundland, vice Gledstanes, appointed Barrack-Mast. in Great Britain. James Stuart, Esq. late Lieut. in the 42d Foot, to be a Barrack-Mast. in Great Britain, vice Scott, deceased.

Memorandum.—The undermentioned officers are superseded, *viz.* 2d Foot, Paymaster Walter Largent, being absent without leave. 17th Foot, Lieut. Wm. W. Scott. 7th West-India Reg. Lieut. Wm. Holland, having never joined since appointed.

Ordnance-Office, April 27, 1802.

Corps of Royal Engineers.—Capt.-Lieut. Geo. Hayter to be Capt. vice Lewis, deceased; First Lieut. Gust. Nicolls to be Capt.-Lieut. vice Hayter; and Second Lieut. Tho. Cunningham to be First. Lieut. vice Nicolls; dated March 30, 1802.

Admiralty-Office, April 29, 1802.

Ja. Pigot, Esq. and Rt. Hon. Lord Radstock, vice Adm. of the Red, to be Adm. of the Blue.

Alex. Græme, Esq. and Geo. Keppel, Esq. Vice Adm. of the White, to be Vice Adm. of the Red.

Cha. Chamberlayne, Esq. and Peter Ranier, Esq. Vice Adm. of Blue, to be Vice Adm. of the White.

Sir Geo. Home, Bt. and Sir Cha. Cotton, Bt. Rear Adm. of the Red, to be Vice Adm. of the Blue.

John Willett Payne, Esq. and Sir Robert Calder, Bt. Rear Adm. of the White, to be Rear Adm. of the Red.

War-Office, May 11, 1802.

His Majesty has been pleased to appoint,

Lieutenant Generals John Leland, Ja. Hamilton, John Stratton, Ja. Rooke, Cha. Crosbie, John Earl of Suffolk, Hon. Chapple Norton, Geo. Hotham, Dav. Dundas, Sir Rob. Abercromby, K. B. Gerard Lake, Sir Tho. Musgrave, Bt. Ja. Coates, Ralph Dundas, Rich. Whyte, Sir Alured Clarke, K. B. to be Generals in the Army.

Major Generals Anth. Farrington, Ja. Stuart, Cha. Horneck, John Whyte, And. John Drummond, Hen. Bowyer, John Wm. Egerton, Peter Hunter, Jos. Walton, Ellis Walker, Wm. Johnstone, Wm. Maxwell, Geo. Earl of Pembroke, John Earl of Chatham, Alex. Campbell, Wm. Morshead, Franc. Dundas, Alex. Ross, Ab. D'Aubant, Hon. Franc. Needham, Hen. Pigot, to be Lieutenant Generals in the Army.

Colonels Fran. Lord Seaforth, Bryd Trewthick Heniker, of the 9th Dragoons, Dav. Douglass Wemyss, 18th Foot, Hon. John Leslie, 1st Foot Guards, Hen. Wynyard, 1st Foot Guards, Wm. Thornton, 1st Foot Guards, John Stuart, Queen's German Reg. Duncan Campbell, 91st Foot, Tho. Grosvenor, 3d Foot Guards, John Calcraft, Coldstream Guard, Hon. John Hope, North Lowland Fencible Infantry, Hon. Vere Poulet, on Half-pay, Cha. Barton, 2d Life Guards, Geo.

Cunninghame, late of the Scotch Brigade, Fred. Halket, late of Ditto, Hay Ferrier, Scotch Brigade, Alex. Mackenzie, 78th Foot, Wm. Congreve, Royal Artillery, Hon. Ja. Forbes, Coldstream Gds. Hen. Lord Paget, 7th Lt. Dragoons, John Doyle, 8th Foot, Rob. Brownrigg, 60th Foot, Wm. Caulfield Archer, 1st Foot Guards, Wm. Earl of Banbury, 3d Foot Guards, Hon. Arth. Wellesley, 33d Foot, Hon. Edm. Phipps, 1st Foot Guards, Wm. Cartwright, 10th Light Dragoons, to be Major-Generals in the Army.

Lieutenant-Colonels, Franc. Tho. Hammond, of the late 120th Foot, Crofton Vandeleur, 46th Foot, John Hamilton, 81st Foot, R. Dudley Blake, Northumberland Fencible Infantry, John Barnes, Royal Artillery, Rob. Douglas, Royal Artillery, Tho. Brownrigg, 3d Foot, Hon. Rob. Meade, 31st Foot, Alex. Malcolm, late 2d Battalion, 78th Foot, Wm. Houstoun, 58th Foot, Hon. Geo. St. John, 73d Foot, John Prince, 6th Dragoons, G. Michell, on Half-pay of the 31st Lt. Dragoons, Dan. Hen. Shaw, 7th West-India Reg. Tho. Hislop, 11th West-India Reg. John M'Leod, Royal Artillery, Geo. Le Hunte, on Half-pay of the late Independants, Pierre de Meuron Bullot, of Meuron's Reg. Cha. M'Murdo, 31st Foot, Walter Cliffe, 7th Foot, Wm. Wynyard, Coldstream Guards, John Walbanke Childers, 11th Lt. Dragoons, Alex. Wood, late 120th Foot, Alex. Dirom, 52d Foot, Anth. Lewis Layard, 7th Foot, Tho. Earl of Elgin, David Hunter, Angusshire Fencible Infantry, John, Earl of Breadalbane, John Slade, 1st Dragoons, R. Tayler, late 2d Bat. 82d Foot, Fred. A. F. Beckwith, 37th Foot, Wm. Spencer, 23d Lt. Dragoons, Sir R. Basset, Knt. 5th West-India Reg. Sam. Graham, 27th Foot, Ja. Montgomery, 45th Foot, Fred. Aug. Wetherall, 82d Foot, Wm. Wright, Artillery, in Ireland, John Dan. Arabin, Ditto, Wm. Buchannan, Ditto, Wm. Murray, 24th Lt. Dragoons, Hon. Wm. Lumley, 22d Lt. Dragoons, Rob. Brereton, 63d Foot, Tho. Gibson, 83d Foot, J. Timms Hervey Elwes, late 2d Bat. 84th Foot, Moore Disney, 1st Foot Guards, John Montresor, 80th Foot, John Mackenzie, late 2d Bat. 78th Foot, Wm. Carylon Hughes, 87th Foot, Edw. Corry, on Half-pay of the late 101st Foot, S. P. de L'Hoste, on Half-pay of the late 104th Foot, Alex. Graham Sterling, on Half-pay of the late 122d Foot, Hon. Arch. Montgomery, on Half-pay of the late Royal Glasgow Reg. H. Mordaunt Clavering, Argyllshire Fencible Infantry, Wm. Thomas, 41st Foot, John Michel, 14th Lt. Dragoons, Step. Trotter, late 112th Foot, to be Colonels in the Army.

Majors Wm Osb. Hamilton, of the ancient Irish Fencible Infantry, Ja. Wheeler Unwin, 60th Foot, Thomas Norton Powlett, on Half-pay of the late 95th Foot, Ja. Willock, on Half-pay of the late 95th Foot, Franc. Slater Rebow, 2d Life Guards, Robert Pigot, on Half-pay of the late 130th Foot, Sir Edw. Gerald Butler, Knt. 87th Foot, Gust. R. Mathews, on Half-pay of the late Independants, Sam. Need, 27th Lt. Dragoons, Edward Webber, late 2d Bat. 90th Foot, Mich. Edw. Jacobs, 76th Foot, Tho. Asc. Ranelagh, 66th Foot, Tho. L'Estrange, 7th Foot, Sir T. Pechell, Bt. late 2d Horse Grenadier Guards, Wm. Latham, 7th Dragoon Guards, John Castleman, 51st Foot, Charles Gray, 75th Foot, Laughlan M'Quarrie, 86th Foot, Dav. Dewar, on Half-pay of the late Independants, Jos. Foveaux, New South Wales Corps, Mich. M'Creagh, 11th West-India Reg. Rich. O'Dogherty, 69th Foot, Geo. Kinnaird Dana, 13th Foot, Cha. Cerjat, 1st Dragoons, Walter Elliott, 33d Foot, Wm. Clarke, 46th Foot, Wm. Jephson, 17th Lt. Dragoons, Wm. Sinclair Wemyss, 48th Foot, John Grant, on Half-pay of the late Independants, John Smith, 31st Foot, Ja. Moore, 26th Lt. Dragoons, Edw. Baynes, 76th Foot, Geo. Dodsworth, 34th Foot, Cha. Miller, 1st. West-India Reg. Nath. Levett Peacocke, 48th Foot, Ja. Stirling, 42d Foot, Tho. Steele, of a late Recruiting Corps, Edw. Witherington, 9th Dragoons, Pat. Maxwell, 7th Dragoon Guards, Ja. Leatham, 4th Dragoon Guards, Rob. Young, 8th Foot, Cha. Browne, on Half-pay of the late 96th Foot, Edw. Stehelin, Royal Artil. John Aug. Schalch, Royal Artil. Burgh. Leighton, 4th Dragoons, H. M. Mervin Vavasour, late 1st Horse Gren. Guards, Dav. Ross, 62d Foot, Hen. Rogers, Royal Artil. Edw. Vicars, 2d Dragoon Guards, Ja. Miller, Royal Artillery, Harry Hutton, Royal Artil. John Harding, Royal Artillery, William Johnstone, Royal Engineers, Flower M. Sproule, Royal Artillery, Edmund Lemoine, Royal Artil. Wm. Dacres, 26th Foot, David Mellifont, 10th Foot, Tho. Inglis, on Half-pay of the late 126th Foot, Hen. Wm. Espinasse, 4th Foot, Hen. Raleigh Knight, 2d Foot, Rob. Douglas, 56th Foot, Peter Hayes Petit, 35th Foot, Tho. Powell, 14th Foot, Ja. Blackwell, 29th Lt. Dragoons, Sam. Venables Hinde, 32d Foot, Tho. Norton Wyndham, 1st Dragoons, Berkenhead Glegg, 91st Foot, John Tuffnell, late York Rangers, Ja. Stuart, on Half-pay of the late Independants, John Lindall Borland, 38th Foot, Hon. Ja. Ramsay, 2d Foot, F. Stretcher, 60th Foot, L. Mosheim, 60th Foot, to be Lieutenant-Colonels in the Army.

Captains John Miller, of the Royal Marines, John Humphrey, Royal Eng. John F. S. Smith, Royal Artil. Benj. Stehelin, Royal Artil. Sandiford Lamb, 15th Lt. Dragoons, Bohun Shore, 4th Dragoons, Ja. Rich. Cotes, 69th Foot, Alex. Sharpe, 49th Foot, M. C. Cole, Royal Marines, Hugh Trevor. 77th Foot, Rich. H. Foley, Royal Marines, Geo. Ball, Ditto, William Patten, Ditto, Wm. Johnson, 47th foot, John Creswell, Royal Marines, Wm. Binks, Ditto, Arth. Ball, Ditto, Rich. Bidlake, Ditto, Ja. Home, Ditto, Ja. Campbell, Ditto, Rob. Moncrief, Ditto, Wm. Douglas, 6th Foot, Oliver Naylor, Royal Marines, Thomas Colby, Ditto, Ja. Cassell, Ditto, Ja. Muter, 42d Foot, Cha. Tomkins, 7th Dragoon Guards, Phil. Vaumorel, 30th Foot, Ja. Douglas, Scotch Brigade, Cavendish Sturt, 39th Foot, Ralph Hamilton, 2d Life Guards, John Nugent, 38th Foot, Hen. Shrapnell, Ditto, Rich. Hockings, Royal Eng. Rob. D'Arcy, Ditto, Franc. Dunne, 7th Dragoon Guards, Gilbert King, Ditto, Cholmeley Overend, 50th Foot, Ja. Magrath, 87th Foot, Rob. Hope, Royal Artil. Geo. Wulffe, Ditto, Geo. W. Dixon, Ditto, Geo. Bridges, Royal Eng. Mark Watts, 67th Foot, Maurice Cane, 83d Foot, Brice Maxwell, 8th Foot, Geo. Cuyler, 86th Foot, Sam. Blake Deverell, 3d West-India Reg. Wiltshire Wilson, Royal Artil. Dan. Graham, Ditto, Rich. Hamilton, Ditto, Edw. Trevelyan, 1st Foot Guards, Tho. Marlay, Ditto, Tho. Croker, 38th Foot, Montague Burrowes, 14th Foot, John Lawrenson, 18th Lt. Dragoons, John Macin-

tosh, Royal Marines, Wm. Macleod, 76th Foot, John Hope, 18th Foot, Lawrence H. Newton, Royal Artil. Cha. Darrah, 21st Foot, Wm. Hooper, 4th Dragoons, Alex. Franc. Taylor, 21st Foot, Ralph Smith, 30th Foot, John Beevor, 9th Dragoons, Tho. Huxley, 2d West-India Reg. Rich. Pigot, 14th Lt. Dragoons, Joseph Thomson, 40th Foot, to be Majors in the Army.

War-Office, May 11, 1802.

11th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Cornet Wm. John Sampson, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Mellish, who retires. Cornet Wm. Mingay, from the 7th Dragoon Guards, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice King, promoted in the 17th Foot.

1st Reg. Foot Guards, Ens. Cha. D. Bland, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Virgan, who retires.

2d Reg. Foot, Serj. Major ——— Jones to be Quart. Mast. vice Eagor, deceased.

4th Ditto, Dav. Plunderleath, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Green, promoted.

9th Reg. Foot, Cap. Alan Maclean, from the 36th Foot, to be Capt. vice Cross, who exchanges. Capt.-Lieut. Rob. Machloclan, from the 65th Foot, to be Capt. vice Cross, who exchanges. Lieut. E. H. Lambert, from the 81st foot, to be Lieut. vice Boulger, who exchanges.

15th Ditto, Capt. W. J. Myers, from the Coldstream Reg. of Foot Guards, to be Major by purchase, vice Beckwith, removed to the Rifle Corps.

23d Ditto, Hospital-Mate Geo. Power, to be Assist-Surg.

32d Ditto, John Powell, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Dunscombe, who retires.

36th Ditto, Capt. Wm. Cross, from the 9th Foot, to be Capt. vice Maclean, who exchanges.

60th Ditto, Capt. John Pringle Dalrymple, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Lethbridge, promoted. Capt. Wm. Forster, from the 59th Foot, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Gordon, promoted. Lieut. Guy G. Carlton L'Estrange, from the 6th Foot, to be Capt. vice Dalrymple.

65th Ditto, Capt. Wm. Ferrier, from the 9th Foot, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Machlachlon, who exchanges.

81st Ditto, Lieut. Perse O'Keefe Boulger, from the 9th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Lambert, who exchanges.

86th Ditto, Capt. John Long Wier, from the 8th West-India Reg. to be Capt. vice Dillon, who exchanges.

8th West-India Regt. Capt. Charles Dillon, from the 86th Foot, to be Capt. vice Wier, who exchanges.

Staff Corps, Lieut. Col. John Browne, of the late Corps of Royal Irish Engineers, to be Lieut. Col. Commandant, vice Rutherford, who resigns.

Staff, Col. the Hon. Alex. Hope, Adj.-Gen. in Ireland, to be Dep. Quar. Mast. Gen. to the Forces, vice Anstruther. Lieut. Col. Rob. Anstruther to be Adj.-Gen. to the Forces in Ireland, vice Hope.

Commissions in the 7th Reg. North British Militia, signed by the Lord Lieutenant, John Allen, Gent. to be Ens. vice Sir John Murray, resigned. Dated Aug. 25, 1801.

War-Office, May 15, 1802.

4th Reg. Dragoon Guards, Capt. Christ. Farwell, to be Major, by purchase, vice Warrington, who retires.

2d Reg. Dragoons, Lieut. Martin Tho. Cocksedge, from the Royals, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Hamilton, promoted in Hompesch's Mounted Riflemen.

A Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, Maj. Sir Rob. Wilson, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Comte Byland, who retires. Capt. John Potter Hamilton, from the 2d Dragoons, to be Maj. vice Sir Rob. Wilson.

4th Reg. Foot, Capt. Lieut. Ja. Powell, from the 8th Foot, to be Capt. vice Ogilvie, who exchanges.

8th Ditto, Capt. Ja. Ogilvie, from the 4th Foot, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Powell, who exchanges.

9th Ditto, Lieut. Rob. H. Hanslip, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Dodsworth, who retires.

24th Ditto, Ens. Rob. Oldham, to be Lieut, by purchase, vice Wemyss.

31st Ditto, Tho. T. Blisset, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Trotter, promoted.

39th Ditto, John Thellusson, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Twaddell, promoted.

40th Ditto, Ens. Cha. Richardson, from the 69th Foot, to be Ens. by purchase, vice Le Breton, promoted.

42d Ditto, Dav. Ogilvy, Gent. to be Ens. vice Walker, promoted.

57th Ditto, Lieut Tho. Shadforth, from the 47th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Kennan, promoted in the 70th Foot.

60th Ditto, Lieut. Edw. Broughton, from the 23d foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Maclean, who retires.

67th Ditto, Maj. Alex. M'Gregor Murray, from the Clanalpine Fencibles, to be Maj. vice O'Hara, who retires upon Half-pay of the Clanalpine Fencibles.

78th Ditto, Tho. Robinson, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice M'Dougal, promoted.

81st Ditto, Ens. John M'Cabe to be Lieut, by purchase, vice Dodsworth, promoted.

Queen's German Regt, Maj. Ja. Lyon, to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Trant, who retires.

Royal Irish Invalids, Serj. Maj. Dennis Colman, from the North Mayo Militia, to be Lieut. vice Abercrombie deceased.

Brevet, Maj. Gen. Cha. Dan. Count de Meuron to be Lieut. Gen. in the Army. Col. Ferd. Baron Hompesch, to be Maj. Gen. in the Army.

To be Lieut. Cols. in the Army, Major Sir Ja. Bontein, Bart. on Half-pay of the late Keho Reg. Major Wm. Bray, of the 4th West-India Reg. Major Cha. Auriol, of the 14th Lt. Dragoons.

To be Major in the Army, Capt. John Ross of the Coldstream Guards.

Staff, Lieut. Col. Franc. Wm. Farquhar, of the 17th Foot, to be Dep. Inspect. Gen. of the Recruiting Service. Lieut. Col. Ja. Taylor, of the 12th Foot, to be Dep. Inspect. Gen. of the Recruiting Service in Ireland.

Memorandum.—The Appointment of Ens. Alex. Young, from the 30th Foot, to be Lieut. without purchase, in the 2d Bat. 1st Foot, vice Graham, promoted in the 18th Foot, as stated in the Gazette of the 7th Nov. last, has not taken place. Cornet Norton Hutchinson, of the 18th Lt. Dragoons, is superseded.

Errata in the Gazette of the 7th November last—30th Foot, for Hugh Hutton, from the Marines, to be Ens. without purchase, *vice Young, promoted in the 2d Bat.-Royals*, read, Hugh Hutton, from the Marines, to be Ens. without purchase.

In the Gazette of the 27th ultimo.—For Lieut. Wm. W. Scott, of the 17th Foot, superseded, read Lieut. Wm. W. Scott, of the 16th Foot, superseded.

In the Gazette of the 11th instant.—For Capt. Hen. Shrapnell, of the 38th Foot to be Maj. in the Army, read Capt. Hen' Shrapnell, of the Royal Artill. to be Maj. in the Army.

War-Office, May 29, 1802.

1st Reg. Life Guards, Lieut. Tho. Ansley, from the 7th Lt. Dragoons, to be Lieut. vice Cooper, who exchanges.

7th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Lieut. John Allen Cooper, from the 1st. Reg. Life Guards, to be Lieut. vice Ansley, who exchanges.

10th Ditto, Humphrey Bowles, Gent. to be Cornet by purchase, vice Chambers, promoted.

14th Ditto, Chas. Silvertop, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Mahoney, promoted.

15th Reg. Foot, Ens. Wm. Coxe to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Treacher, removed to the 2d Life Guards.

18th Ditto, Ens. John Dewar, from the 29th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Walker, promoted.

20th Ditto, Capt. John Maister to be Maj. by purchase, vice Power, promoted. Lieut. Ralph Errington to be Capt. vice Maister.

34th Ditto, Ens. Geo. Carnegie to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Dawson, promoted.

49th Ditto, Ens. A. R. Heyland to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Cooke, who retires.

55th Ditto, Maj. John Corn. Halkett to be Lieut. Col. by purchase, vice Lumsden, who retires. Capt. Lieut. Chas. Morgan to be Maj. vice Halkett. Lieut. Geo. Evatt to be Capt. Lieut. vice Morgan.

72d Ditto, Chas. Innis, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Munro, promoted.

78th Ditto, Lieut. Donald Macleod, from the Cape Reg. to be Lieut. vice Angus Cameron, who retires on Half-pay of the Cape Reg.

8th West-India Reg. Lieut. Rob. Twaddell, from the 39th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Dillon, who retires.

Royal Irish Invalids, John Law, Gent. late a Cornet in the 5th Dragoon Guards, to be Quart. Mast. vice Abercrombie, deceased.

Royal Military College.—Capt. Chas. Stone, of the 16th Lt. Dragoons, to be Paymaster.

Brevet.—Maj. Gen Geo. Nugent to be Lieut. Gen. in the Island of Jamaica and its Dependencies only. Maj. Rob. Honyman, on Half-pay of the late York Fuzileers, to be Lieut. Col. in the Army.

Kirkaldy Troop of the Fifeshire Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry.—Col. Donald Fergusson, on the Half-pay of the late 93d Foot, to be Lieut. vice Oswald, deceased.

Plympton Maurice Volunteer Infantry.—Thomas Holberton, Esq. to be Capt. Lieut. Jos. Weeks to be Capt.

Memorandum.—The Appointment of Capt. Alex. Jekyll Chalmers to be Maj. by purchase, in the 20th. Reg. of Foot, vice Power, promoted, as stated in the Gazette of the 26th of Sep. last, has not taken place. The Appointment of Lieut. John Hames to be Capt. by purchase, in the 20th Reg. of Foot, vice Chalmers, promoted, as stated in the Gazette of the 29th of Dec. last, has not taken place.

Ordnance-Office, May 21, 1802.

Royal Regiment of Artillery.—Capt. Lieut. Edw.

Worsley to be Capt. vice B. D. Hooke, retired. First Lieut. Chas. C. Clifton to be Capt. Lieut. vice Worsley. Second Lieut. Jas. Bastard to be First Lieut. vice Clifton. Capt. Lieut. Alex. Duncan to be Capt. vice L. O'Brien, retired. First Lieut. Rich. M. Burleigh to be Capt. Lieut. vice Duncan. Second Lieut. Thos. V. Straubenzee, to be First Lieut. vice Burleigh. Second Lieut. Wm. Latham to be First Lieut. vice John Armstrong, retired, dated May 12, 1802.

Naval Promotions.

The following Commanders are promoted to the rank of Post-Captains in the Royal Navy:—Rich. Bridges, Hen. Wray, Rich. Poulden, Rob. Sauce, Dan. Woodriff, Chas. Rider, D. Dobree, Phil. Somerville, Rich. Pellowe, John Dick, Peter Ribouleau, Hen. Probyn, John Nash, Step. Rains, Thos. Hand, Wm. Skipsey, F. P. Epworth, M. Buckle, John Allen, E. H. Columbine, Christ. Neville, Geo. Bowen, Jas. Noble, A. J. Griffiths, Geo. Burdett, Jas. Nash, Peter Spicer, Jas. Steward, J. Taylor Mitchell, And. Sproule, Henry Duncan, T. P. Durell, Alex. Becher, William Day, Patrick Tonyn, George Reynolds, John Hatley, F. Holmes Coffin, Jeff. Raigersfield, S. G. Saville, Chas. Bullen, Jos. Brodie, Corn. Quinton, Jas. Dunbar, Wm. Butterfield, C. P. Price, John Newhouse, Rich. Byron, Geo. Tobin, John Wainright, Jas. Sanders, Wm. Richardson, W. H. Webley, Rich. Jones, Rich Hawkins, Tho. Cowan, Wm. Hen. Daniel, Geo. C. Pulling, Jacob Walton, David Colby, Wm. Hoste, Geo. Davies, James Coutts Crawford, John Hayes, S. C. Rowley, John Winne, T. G. Shortland, M. B. Praed, John Wight, Sam. Mottley, Edw. W. Browne, John S. Rouett, G. R. Collier, Wm. Ricketts, Jas. Dalrymple, Alex. Skene, Geo. Miller, Hon. Wm. Trench, Geo. Blake, Edw. Sneyd Clay, Thomas Richbell, Tho. Brigs, Benj. Carter, S. T. Digby, Hon. F. P. Irby, Chas. Inglis, Cha. Carter, Tho. Browne, John Conn, Edw. Kendall, Fs. Godolphin Bond, Step. Folvill, John B. Edwards, W. Henyrson, Clotw. Upton, W. H. Tremlett, Coryndon Boger, Rich. Hatherhill, Lord Vis. Falkland, Sam. Pynn, Geo. Argles, Rt. Howe Bromley, Thos. Chas. Brodie, Hon. D. P. Bouverie, Fred. Thesiger, Chas. Worsley Boys, Ernest Brawn, Rob. Fanshawe, Walter Grossett, Sam Jackson, Rob. Barrie.

The following Lieutenants are promoted to the rank of Commanders in the Royal Navy:—Anth. Abdy, Jas. Agassiz, Geo. Andrews, John Baker (2d), C. P. B. Bateman, Tho. F. Baugh, Matt. Bar. Bradby, Edw. Pelham, Brenton, W. Crosbie Brownrigg, John Bushby, Wm. Cashman, John Chilcott, Edw. Church, Edw. Cleather, Geo. Cocks, Sam. Colquitt, Chas. Coote, Rob. Corbet, George Digby, Mich. Dod, John Douglas, (2d) Arch. Duff, John Edgcumbe, Robert Evans, C. Montague Fabian, Arth. Farquhar, W. Humph. Faulknor, Isaac Ferriers, Rob. Forbes, (2d) Hen. Gordon, Ed. Lloyd Graham, Edw. Grey, Arthur Grumley, George N. Hardinge, Gilb. Heathcote, M. Jacob Henniker, Edmund Heywood, Caleb Hill, S. Pryce Humphries, Geo. Clark Hurdis, Jos. James, S. Hood Inglefield, Alex. Innes, John Joyce, (1st) Rob. Hayley Judd, Alex. Rob. Kerr, Hon. Edw. King, Phil. Lamb, John Lamborn, Fred. Langford, Tho. Lyne, Philip Lyne, Don. H. Mackay, K. M'Kenzie, (2d) Daniel M'Leod, John Manley,

John W. Marshall, Franc. Mason, Jas. Master, Edw. J. Mitchell, W. Mounsey, R. J. Neve, Martin Nevill, J. Arthur Norway, H. M. Ommaney, Tho. Orde, Rob. Paul, Hugh Pigot, Phil. Pipon, Wm. B. Proctor, Rob. Raynsford, Wm. Richan, J. Richardson, (1st.) Fasham Roby, P. L. J. Rosenhagen, Geo. Sanders, R. H. Savage, C. M. Schomberg, Rob. Scott, F. J. Snell, Jas. Stewart, (2d) Christ. Strachey, Gust. Stupart, H. E. P. Sturt, Spelman Swaine, J. H. Tait, Tho. Thrush, Jas. Tippett, John Tower, Wm. Venour, R. B. Vincent, John Waller, (2d) Hen. Waring, Jas. Welsh.

War-Office, June 1, 1802.

6th Reg. Dragoons. Cornet Sampson Towgood French, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Astley who retires.

12th Reg. Lt. Dragoons. Capt. Jas. Kearnay, from the 29th Lt. Dragoons, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Madden, who retires.

22d Ditto, Wm. Rowan, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Owen, promoted.

3d Reg. Foot Guards. John Jas. Earl Waldegrave, to be Ens. without purchase, vice Hamilton, promoted.

9th Reg. Foot. Capt. John Dunkin, from the 28th Lt. Dragoons, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Sirie, who retires.

20th Ditto, Montague Jas. Jackson, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Harding, promoted.

35th Ditto, Ens. Lewis Gordon, from the 8th West India Reg. to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Robertson, who retires.

60th Ditto, Lieut. Col. C. Lewis Theodore Shoedde, from Lowenstein's Levy, to be Lieut. Col. Capt. John Keane, from the 44th Foot, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Ciezielsky, who retires. Capt. H. C. Appelius, from Lowenstein's Levy to be Capt. To be Lieutenants. Lieut. Gab. Beurer, from Lowenstein's Levy. Lieut. Wm. Walker, from Ditto. Lieut. I. H. Shoedde, from Ditto. To be Enigns. Ens. J. P. Philipson, from Lowenstein's Levy. Ens. J. Trumback, from Ditto. Ens. J. Hanmer from Ditto. Ens. J. Reiner from Ditto. Ens. J. Echard, from Ditto.

70th Ditto, Ens. Samuel Colkett, from the 66th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Hamill, promoted in the 1st West-India Reg.

73d Ditto, Lieut. Raymond Hicks, from the Half-pay of the 79th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Downing, placed on Half pay.

93d Ditto, Ens. Donald Macleod, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Sutherland, placed on Half-pay.

2d West-India Reg. Robert Colquhoun, Gent. to be Ens vice Rolle, deceased.

Queen's German Reg. Capt. John Wilson, to be Major, by purchase, vice Lyon, promoted, Lieut. Pont L'Abbé, to be Capt. vice Wilson.

Brevet, Capt. Duncan J. Cameron, of the late Sheffield Reg. to be Major in the Army; Capt. Edw. Letherland, of the late 123d Foot, to be Major in the Army.

Staff, Col. Wm. Dyott, of the 25th Foot, to be Aid-de-Camp to His Majesty, vice Major Gen. Cartwright, promoted.

Commissions signed by the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Kent, dated May 25, 1802. To be Deputy Lieutenants, Sir John Boyd, Bart. Samuel Egerton Brydges, Esq. Thomas Law Hodges, Esq.

Commissions in the West Kent Militia, signed by the Lord Lieutenant. John Keward Shaw, Esq. to be Captain, dated May 15, and John Claringbold, Gent. to be Ensign, dated May 21, 1802.

Ordnance-Office, June 5, 1802.

Corps of Royal Engineers, Lieut-Gen. William Sprey to be Col-Commandant, dated May 1, 1802, Lieut. Gen. Rob. Morse, to be Col-Command. dated as above, Capt. John Rowley, to be Major of Brigade, dated as above.

War-Office, June 12, 1802.

7th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Cornet Wm. Webb to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Pyrke, who retires.

16th Ditto, Cornet —— Dudley to be Adj. vice Stone, who resigns.

17th Ditto, Lieut. Geo. Darley, from the 90th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Miller, removed to the 19th Lt. Dragoons.

28th Ditto, Lieut. the Hon. Charles Murray, from the 2d Dragoons, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Dunkin, promoted in the 9th Foot.

1st Reg. Foot Guards,—John Courtenay Honeywood, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Cooke, promoted.

3d Reg. Foot, Ens. Thos. Tuckett to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Rigby, who retires.

8th Ditto, Ens. John Graham Douglas, from the 90th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Cooke, who retires.

9th Ditto, Lieut. D. Vandepant, to be Captain, by purchase, vice Maclean, who retires.

20th Ditto, Ens. Fred. Corbin to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Stapleton, who retires.

24th Ditto, Capt. Edw. Jas. O'Brien to be Maj. by purchase, vice Earle, who retires; Lieut. Thos. H. J. Williams to be Capt. vice O'Brien.

30th Ditto, Ens. Thos. Best, from the 38th Foot, to be Ens. vice Hutton, who exchanges.

33d Ditto, Capt. Thos. Hoggins, from the 64th Foot, to be Capt. vice Cuyler, who exchanges.

34th Ditto, Capt. Hen. Roberts, from the 54th Foot, to be Capt. vice Adams, who exchanges.

37th Ditto, Lieut. James Maxwell to be Capt. by purchase, vice Browne, who retires; Ens. John Roberts to be Lieut. vice Maxwell.

38th Reg. Foot, Ens. Hugh Hutton, from the 30th Foot, to be Ens. vice Best, who exchanges.

54th Ditto, Capt. Samuel Barwell Adams, from the 34th Foot, to be Capt. vice Roberts, who exhanges.

60th Ditto, Capt. James Hall, from the Cape Reg. to be Capt. vice Wright, who retires upon the Half-pay of the Cape Reg. Lieut. Lewis Rumann, from Lowenstein's late Levy, to be Lieut.

61st Ditto, Daniel Geale, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Favel, promoted.

64th Ditto, Capt. Cornelius Cuyler, from the 33d Foot, to be Capt. vice Hoggins, who exchanges.

68th Ditto, Lieut. John Hanbury, from the 1st Foot Guards, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Polson, who retires; J. D. Hopwood, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Drought, appointed to the 4th Dragoon Guards.

75th Ditto, Henry Swalfield, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Grant, promoted in the 74th Foot.

85th Ditto, John Harvey Ollney, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Maclachlan, who retires.

91st Foot, Rt. Hon. Alex. Lord Saltoun to be Ens. by purchase, vice Campbell, promoted.

9th West-India Reg. Lieut. George Monkland, from the 15th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Craskell, who retires.

Queen's German Reg. Ens. Henry Otto Bayer, from the the 59th Foot, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice L'Abbé, promoted.

The Cape Reg. A. G. Davidson, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Calder, who retires.

Royal Garrison Bat. Brevet Lieut.-Col. George Vigoreux, from the 90th Foot, to be Lieut.-Col. vice Fraser, appointed to the command of a Corps.

Garrisons. Major the Hon. Wm. Grey, of the 17th Foot, to be Lieut-Gov. of Chester, vice Lieut.-Col. Gunn, deceased.

Memorandum, Cornet Richard Roberts, of the 22d Lt. Dragoons, is superseded.

His Majesty has been pleased to appoint the under mentioned officers of the East-India Company's Forces, to take rank by Brevet in His Majesty's Army in the East-Indies only, as follows: the Commissions dated, April 29, 1802.

To be Major Generals. — Cols. Wm. Gent. and Thos. Nicholls; To be Col. — Lieut-Col John Orr; To be Lieut-Cols. — Majors Robert Bell, Tredway Clarke, Richard Howley, and Andrew Glass; To be Majors — Captains John Norris, Thomas Hayes, Walter C. Lennon, Colin Mackenzie, George Hernyng, and Arthur Forest.

Ordnance-Office, June 14, 1802.

Royal Reg. of Artillery,—Capt.-Lieut. Alex. Y. Spearman to be Capt. vice E. Wood, retired to the Invalids; first Lieut. Jas. F. Ogilvie to be Captain-Lieut. vice Spearman; second Lieut. John Rettesworth to be first Lieut. vice Ogilvie, dated June 3, 1802.

War-Office, June 22, 1802.

5th Reg. Dragoon Guards, Wm. Pegg, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Irwin, promoted.

10th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Lieut. Fred. G. Charmichael to be Capt. by purchase, vice Macdonald, who retires.

6th Reg. Foot, Ens. J. H. S. Maw to be Lieut. by purchase, vice L'Estrange, promoted in the 60th Foot.

9th Ditto, Lieut. And. Wallace, from the 34th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Alex. Campbell, who retires. Marmaduke Robert Langdale, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Shepherd, who retires.

42d Ditto, Wm. Hedderwick, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Innes, promoted.

44th Ditto, Jonathan Fountain Wrench, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Fraser, who retires.

46th Ditto, Atholl Moon, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Fitzgerald promoted.

53d Ditto, Lieut. John Carmichael to be Capt. by purchsse, vice Dover, who retires.

55th Ditto, Capt. Alex. Jekyll Chalmers, from the 20th Foot, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Macdonald, promoted in the 24th Foot.

62d Ditto, Lieut. Jos. Bradley to be Capt. by purchase, vice Maingy, who retires.

67th Ditto, Phil. Jenkins, Gent. to be Ens. by purchase, vice Ethrington, promoted in the 85th Foot.

72d Ditto, Maj Colquhoun Grant, from the 28th L^t. Dragoons, to be Lieut.-Col. by purchase, vice McInnes, who retires.

77th Reg. Foot, Brev. Maj. Wm. Grant to be Maj. without purchase, vice Forbes, removed to the 80th Foot.

80th Ditto, Brev. Lieut.-Col. Benj. Forbes, from the 77th Foot, to be Maj. without purchase, vice Harness, promoted.

81st Ditto, ——— Tytler, Gent. to be Assist.-Surg. vice Jones, promoted in the Cape Reg.

89th Ditto, Lieut. Sam. Courtney to be Capt. by purchase, vice Benson, who retires. Ens. Edw. Coltherd Smith to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Percival, promoted. Jas. Boyd, Gent. to be Ens. vice Smith.

The Cape Reg. Assist.-Surg. J. Jones, from the 81st Foot, to be Surgeon.

Brevet, Col. Marc. Beresford, on the Half-pay of the late 135th Foot, to be Brigadier-Gen. in the Windward and Leeward Carribbee Islands only.

To be Majors in the Army, — Capt. Dav. Douglas, late of the Scotch Brigade. Capt. Colin Dundas Graham, late of ditto. Capt. Alex. Scott, late of ditto. Capt. John Cameron, late of ditto. Capt.-Lieut. Jas. Urquhart, late of ditto.

Staff, Lieut.-Col. Geo. Murray, of the 3d Foot Guards, to be Adj.-Gen. to the Forces serving in the Leeward Islands and Trinidad, vice Gledstanes, who resigns.

War-Office, June 29, 1802.

2d Reg. Dragoon Guards, Wm. Rogers, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Grosser, promoted.

15th Reg. Lt. Dragoons, Lieut. Rich. W. Howard Vyse to be Capt. by purchase, vice Lord Lisle, who retires. Cornet Dav. Skene to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Hinde, who retires.

Coldstream Reg. Foot Guards, Ensign Edward Acheson to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Myers, promoted in the 15th Foot.

16th Reg. Foot, Maj. Lionel Smith, from the 85th Foot, to be Maj. without purchase, vice Gordon, who retires on Half-pay.

20th Ditto, Lieut. J. Hames, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Chalmers, promoted in the 55th Foot.

21st Reg. Foot, Lieut.-Col. Lyde Browne, from the 85th Foot, to be Lieut.-Col. vice Lord Evelyn Stuart, removed to the 22d Foot.

22d Ditto, Lieut.-Col. Lord Evelyn Stuart, from the 21st Foot, to be Lieut.-Col. vice Crosbie, who retires upon the Half-pay of the 85th Foot.

26th Ditto, Ens. Robt. Child to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Dabzac, who retires.

40th Ditto. Hos.-Mate Boat Flower to be Assis.-Surg. vice Hennon, removed to the 3d Dragoons.

52d Ditto, Capt. Jas. Orde, from the 91st Foot, to be Maj. by purchase, vice Smyth, promoted in the 68th Foot.

54th Ditto, Capt. Wm. Williams to be Maj. by purchase, vice Delmé, who retires.

60th Ditto, Capt. Thos. Clarke to be Maj. without purchase, vice Lennox, deceased.

88th Ditto, Lieut. Rob. Barclay Macpherson to be Capt. by purchase, vice Lord Geo. Beresford, promoted in the 6th Dragoon Guards.

Lieut. Jas. Chisolme to be Capt. by purchase, vice Stuart, promoted in the 52d Foot.

90th Foot, Cornet Thos. North Lord Graves, from the 4th Dragoons, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Napier, promoted.

93d Ditto, Lieut. Thos. Walsh, from the 27th Foot, to be Capt. without purchase, vice Clunes, placed upon Half-pay. Lieut. Joseph Carruthers, from the 60th Foot, to be Capt. without purchase, vice Sutherland, placed upon half-pay. Neil M'Kinnon, Gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice Jas. Fraser, whose appointment does not take place.

3d West-India Reg. Donald Macintosh, Gent. to be Ens. vice Paterson, deceased.

6th Ditto, Capt. Jul. Stirke to be Maj. vice Visscher, deceased. Capt. Francis Geraghty, from the half-pay of the late 5th Reg. Irish Brigade, to be Capt. vice Paterson, who exchanges. Lieut. Chas. Jackson, from the 40th Foot, to be Capt. vice Stirke.

Staff Corps, Lieut. —— Lancaster to be Quart-Mast. vice Lachlan, who retires upon Half-pay.

Royal Military College, Rev. ——— Owen to be Chaplain, Librarian and Instructor of Classics.

Hospital Staff, Dr. Wm. Franklin to be Assist.-Inspect.-Gen. of Hospitals.

Ordnance Office, June 30, 1802.

Royal Regiment of Artillery, First Lieut. Hen. Crawford to be Capt.-Lieut. vice T. Tisdall, retired. dated June 11, 1802. Second Lieut. Thos. Cubitt to be First Lieut. vice Crawford, dated as above. Capt.-Lieut. Howard Douglas to be Adj. vice A. Y. Spearman, promoted, dated June 3, 1802.

ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENTS.

Rev. John Smyth, D. D. Rudford R. co. Gloucester, vice Gyllett, resigned.

Rev. Chas. Baillie, M. A. Stainton in Cleveland V. co. York, vice Cleator, dec.

Rev. Wm. Tolbutt Staines, to be a minor canon of Rochester cathedral.

Rev. Dr. Birch, Battle deanry, Sussex.

Rev. Morgan Lewis, Great Sampford with Hempsted V. Essex, vice Hale.

Rev. Hen. Plimley, M. A. St. Leonard V. Shoreditch.

Rev. Rob. Savage, M. A. Hartford V. co. Devon.

Rev. Geo. Wallett, Berrow perpetual curacy, co. Worc. vice Wheeler, resigned.

Rev. Edw. Burton Barker, B. A. Bacton R. Suffolk.

Rev. Timothy Napleton, M. A. North Bovey R. Devon, vice Lock, dec.

Rev. John David Perkins, M. A. St. Lawrence R. in Exeter.

Rev. W. Waters, curate of Stobbington, co. Northampton, Dunsby R. co. Lincoln.

Rev Thos. Cole, of Daventry, Long Buckby V. co. Northampton.

Rev. Hen. Edm. Hill, B. D. Fenny-Compton R. co. Warwick.

Rev. Thos. Boucher, Wythiol-Florey R. co. Cornw.

Rev. Geo. Barrington, M. A. to the eleventh, or golden prebend of Durham, vice Weston, dec.

Rev. T. A. Atwood, elected lecturer of St. Margaret's, Westminster.

Rev. Hen. Jackson Close, M. A. Bognor R. Sussex, vice Greenwood, resigned.

Rev. Chas. Moss, M. A. canon of Wells, Whitchurch Canonicorum V. Dorset.

Rev. W. Hunt, M. A. Castle-Cary living, and Rev. Mr. Phillott, Wookey V. both co. Somers. and both vice Moss.

Rev. Sam. James, Alerton living, co. Somerset, vice Hunt.

Rev. C. Ashfield, M. A. Stewkley V. co Bucks.

Rev. Launcelot Sharpe, M. A. licensed to the perpetual curacy of Allhallows Stayning, Mark-lane, London.

Rev. Abra. Jobson, M. A vicar of Wymeswould, co. Leicester, Wisbech St. Peter's living, with St. Mary annexed, in the Isle of Ely, vice Rev. Cæsar Morgan, D. D. promoted to Stretham R. co. Cambridge, vice Swaine, dec.

Rev. John Sheepshanks, M. A. Trinity living, Leeds, vice Cripps, dec.; and Wymeswould V. co. Leicester, vice Jobson, resigned.

Rev. Chas. Stead Hope, B. A. St. Alkmund V. Derby, vice Manlove, dec.

Rev. Sherard Becher, M. A. elected a vicar-choral of the collegiate church of Southwell, vice Cane, deceased.

Rev. Chas. Sturges, M. A. appointed clerk in orders of the parish of Chelsea, Middlesex, vice Gardiner, dec.

Rev. Thos. Chambers Wilkinson, All Saints R. and St. Peter's V. consolidated, Stamford, co. Lincoln.

Rev. Thos. Thomas, M. A. curate of St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, Tidenham V. co. Gloucester, vice Davis, dec.

Rev. Thos. Aubery Howard, Yattendon R. Berks, vice Bellas, dec.

Rev. John Higgins, Bacton V. co. Hereford.

Rev. J. C. Leake, Barningham Parva R. co. Suffolk.

Rev. Geo. Wasey, M. A. Whittington R. co. Gloucester, vice Thomas, dec.

Rev. John Turner, Sherston Magna V. with Aldrington curacy annexed, Wilts.

Rev. Dr. Harding, of Salthill, to a prebend of Salisbury cathedral, vice Hand, dec.

Rev. Dr. Knox, master of Tunbridge school, Ramsden Crays R. Essex, vice Chamberlayne, resigned.

Rev. J. F. Mucklestone, prebendary of Lichfield, Wybunbury V. co. Chester, vice Swinnerton, dec.

Rev. Hen. Bond Fowler, M. A. Trodington perpetual curacy, co. Gloucester, vice Robinson, dec.; and Elmstone-Hardwick V. in the same county.

Rev. Rich. Thos. Gough, M. A. Blakeney with Cokethorpe and Langham Parva R. and Cley next the Sea R. Norfolk, vice Thomlinson, dec.

Rev. Martin Nogg, Little Shelford R. co. Cambridge.

Rev. Geo. Moore, M. A. to a prebendal-stall in Canterbury cathedral.

Rev. John Williams, M. A. Plaxtol perpetual curacy, Kent.

Rev. Wm. Hicks, rector of Little Braxted, Essex, Great Marlow V. Bucks.

Rev. Thos. Place, LL. B. Kirklington R. co. York.

Rev. Sam. Wix, M. A. Inworth R. Essex, vice Bull, deceased.

Rev. T. Bourdillon, M. A. Fenstanton cum Hilton V. co. Huntingdon, vice Cook, dec.

Rev. John Fearon, Painswick V. co. Gloucester.

Rev. Mr. Griffith, West Grinstead and Plaitford RR. Wilts

Rev. Moses Dodd, M. A. appointed master of Chichester school, with Emsworth chapelry and a prebend annexed.

Rev. Rob. Farington, M. A. St. George in the East R. Middlesex, vice Mayo, dec.
Rev. John Owen, M. A St. Benedict and St. Peter R. Paul's wharf, London.
Rev. E. Northey, Nether Stowey V. co. Somerset.
Rev. Rob. Davers, B. A. Bradfield St. George R. with Rushbrooke annexed, co. Suffolk, vice Wright, dec.
Rev. W. M. Whalley, M. A Waltham Abbey donative, Essex.
Rev. J. Brown, M. A. Ilkeston V. co. Derby.
Rev. John Holt. M. A. vicar of Wrowby, co. Lincoln, Gringley on the Hill living, co. Nottingham.
Rev. Edw. Vaughan, St. Martin and All Saints V.V. Leicester, vice Gregory, dec.
Rev. John Ramsden, of Doncaster, Ackworth R.; and the Rev. Geo. Desmeth Kelly, M. A. Ampleforth prebend, in York cathedral; both vice Newman, dec.
Rev. Joseph Dixie Churchill, M. A. Blickling R. Norfolk.
Rev. Marmaduke Wilkinson, B. A. Nowton R. Suffolk.
Rev. Rob. A. Ingram, B. D. Segrave R. co. Leicester. vice Thwaites, dec.
Rev. J. Newling, Ditchingham R. Norfolk, vice Massey, dec.
Rev. J. F. B. Bohun, St. Michael South Elmham perpetual curacy.
Rev J. L Warren, M. A. Werdmore V. co. Somerset.
Rev. Jas. Phelps, M. A. Alderley R. co. Gloucester.
Rev. Mat. Surtees, M. A. rector of North Cerney, to a prebendal stall in Gloucester cathedral, vice Dr. White, resigned.
Rev. Thos. Todd, B. D. Brompton-Regis V. co. Somerset.
Rev. Wm. Cooper, M. A. West Raisin R. co. Linc.
Rev. M. Dodd. M. A Highley prebend, in Chichester cathedral, to which is annexed the prebendal school of Chichester.
Rev. Joseph Ruddock, M. A. Aisgarth V. co. York, vice Ellis, dec.
Rev. Mr. Graves, aged 87, rector of Claverton, near Bath, Croscombe living, co. Somerset.
Rev. Thos. Kidd, M. A. second master of Merchant Tailors' School, St. James R. Garlickhithe, London.
Rev. Thos. Mills, elected lecturer of St. Olave, Hartstreet, London.
Rev. John Ion, Ruston and Lowthorpe perpetual curacies, co. York.
Rev. Chas. Rob. Marshall, B. D. Hanworth V. co. Lincoln.
Rev. D. Everard, M. A. Burnham-Thorpe R. co. Norfolk, vice Nelson, dec.
Rev. Edw. Rodd, Dittisham liv. Devon.
Rev. George Glover, B. A. Waterford-Stratford R. Bucks.
Rev. Chas. Turner, M. A. Wendover V. co. Bucks.
Hon. and Rev. Edw. Rice, M. A. Driffield precentorship and prebend, in York cathedral, vice Rev. Hen. Forster Mills, appointed chancellor of the said cathedral, on the resignation of the Rev. Geo Markham, promoted to York deanry.
Rev. Samuel Henshall, M. A. Stratford Bow R. co. Middlesex.
Rev. Wm. Carey, M. A. and Rev. Lamplugh Wickham Hird, M. A. to prebendal stalls in York cathedral.
Rev. Thomas Pearson, curate of Upwell, Norfolk, Brampton V. co. Westmoreland, vice Walker, resigned.
Rev. Wm. Hurdman Jane, D. D. Tredington R. co. Worcester.
Rev. Rob. Affleck, M. A. installed prebend of Tockerington, in York cathedral, vice Fourd, dec.
Rev David Hughes, B. D. fellow of Jesus college, Oxford, elected principal of that society, vice Hoare, dec.

Dispensations.

Rev C. Beresford, M. A. rector of Saxulby, co Leicester, to hold Bedworth R. co. Warwick
Rev. Edward Willis, M. A to hold Huish V. with the chapelry of Langport annexed, together with West Camel R. Somerset.
Rev Charles Fowler, M. A. to hold Rolleston V. with Easton V. both co. Notts.
Rev. George Croft, D.D. lecturer of St. Martin's, Birmingham, to hold Thwing R. with Arncliffe V. both co. York.

THE SOCIETY OF SHIP OWNERS OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

In order more effectually, at this alarming crisis, to promote and protect the *Shipping Interest* of *Great-Britain*, and to prevent any further infringements of the Navigation Laws; and also for the purpose of taking, not only such measures for the preservation of the rights which the Legislature has in its wisdom conferred on the Owners of British Ships, but likewise to relieve them from various extortions and inconveniences to which they were then or may hereafter be liable, It was resolved, at a General Meeting of Ship Owners convened for that purpose, on the 22d June, in London, to form and establish a Society of Ship Owners, under the denomination of

"*The Society of Ship Owners of Great-Britain,*"

with Committees to be annually chosen from amongst them in London and at the Out Ports, and the following persons were appointed the Committee for the port of London for the year ensuing:—Messrs. Moses Agar, Joseph and Peter Ainsley, John Akenhead, Thomas and Robert Brown, John Blacket, Ralph Clarke, Wm. Clark, Jun. North Shields, Norrison Coverdale, Robert Curling, Wm. Curling, A. Collins, Joseph and W Dowson, Thomas Davidson, James Dunning, Sunderland, George French, Wm. Fairles, Henry Fletcher, John Faulder, Thomas Gillespy, Sir Cuthbert Heron, Bart South Shields, Mr. John Hill, Chairman, Messrs Heathfield, Pycroft, and Heathfield, William Havelock, Thomas Hayman, Ives Hurry, Hough and Jackson, A Heurtley, Sunderland, John Jackson, Thomas Keddey, Peter Kennion, John Lyall, William Marshall, Richard Mordey, Sunderland, William Moorsom, Thomas Metcalfe, William Masterman, South Shields, D. Macarthy, Robert Pedder, Thos. Roweroft, Joshua Reeve, Isaac Robinson, John Shuttleworth, Henry Smithers, Daniel Stephens, I. R. Sherman, William Thompson, John Tulloch, Thos. and Geo. Wilkinson, Richard Wilson, Jun. Scarborough, Thomas S. Williams, John Woodcock; and Nathaniel Atcheson, Esq. F. A. S. F. R. I. was appointed Secretary to the General Meetings and to the Committee for the Port of London.

LIST OF BANKRUPTS,

From January 1, 1802, *to June* 30, 1802, *inclusive.*

Abbott, James, and Palmer, Mark, Monk Wearmouth Shore, Durham, sail-makers, Jan. 2.
Addison, Thomas, of Chute Forest, and Addison, William, Milton Wilts, corn-dealers, Jan. 2.
Amber, William Richard, Old Brentford, timber-merchant, Jan. 30. Superseded May 1.
Anderson, John Robert, Throgmorton-street, merchant, Feb. 2.
Ashworth, James, Wadsworth, Halifax, shopkeeper, Feb. 13.
Alderson, John, Beccles, Suffolk, shopkeeper, Feb. 16.
Arbuthnott, Alexander, and Bracken, Richard, Philpot-lane, merchants, Feb. 20.
Allen, Peter, Nantwich, Chester, innholder, Feb. 23.
Anderson, John, Church-street, Borough, twine-spinner, March 6.
Andrew, George, Sheffield, cornfactor, March 27.
Alger, John, Walcott, Somersetshire, soap-maker, April 6.
Anderson, Christopher, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, cheesemonger, April 11.
Anderson, Joseph, Clare-street, Clare-market, butcher, April 11.
Aris, Thomas, Upper Rathbone-place, shopkeeper, May 4,
Antill, John, Highgate, Middlesex, dealer in coals, May 22.
Avery, Aaron, New Brentford, linen-draper, June 8.
Aldis, James, and Atkinson, Charles, Littleport, Cambridge, shopkeepers, June 15.
Aitkenhead, William, St. James's-market, Middlesex, ale-merchant, June 22.
Atwill, Tho. Totness, Devon, shopkeeper, June 22.
Bulmer, Tho. Harmby, Yorkshire, dealer, Jan. 5.
Bonnin, Henry Gousse, New Bond-street, furniture-printer, Jan. 5.
Ballman, Margaret, Corfe Mullen, Dorsetshire, miller, Jan. 5.
Bendall, William, Whitcombe, Somersetshire, mealman, Jan. 9.
Blackmore, Richard, Colonade, near the Foundling-hospital, painter, Jan. 9.
Bellamy, James, and de Valingin, Albert, Holborn, wine-merchants, Jan. 12.
Bishop, John, Leighton Hall, Lancashire, merchant, Jan. 16.
Bishop, William, Leighton Hall, Lancashire, merchant, Jan. 16.
Benedicts, Martin, Liverpool, shopkeeper, Jan. 23.
Booth, Samuel, Romiley, Chester, muslin-manufacturer, Jan. 26.
Barnesley, John, and Smith, Joseph, Bedwardine, Worcestershire, morocco shoe-manufacturers, Feb. 2.
Benjamin, Matthew, Lime-street-square, London, merchant, Feb. 6.
Bent, Thomas, Davyhulme, Eccles, Lancashire, cotton-manufacturer, Feb. 9.
Biley, Richard Salisbury, Old-street, rope and twine-manufacturer, Feb. 13.
Bell, Ralph, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, butcher, Feb. 13.
Bakewell, Robert, Bridges-street, near Covent-garden, coffee-house keeper, Feb. 20.
Blease, Ralph, Liverpool, grocer, Feb. 23.
Butler, William, Weldon, Northamptonshire, linen-draper, Feb. 27.
Bower, Edward, New Mills, Derbyshire, cotton-spinner, Feb. 27.
Bottle, Robert, Great Warren-street, Fitzroy-square, distiller and brandy merchant, March 2.
Bickerton, Sarah, Great Yarmouth, hosier, March 6.
Bates, Thomas, Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square, auctioneer, March 13.
Beesley, James, James-street, Manchester-square, dealer, March 27.
Bluett, Gylbert, West Smithfield, coffee-house-keeper, March 27.
Brown, Alex. Sevenoaks, Kent, butcher, March 27.
Beauchamp, Robert, and Lloyd, Edward, Kirby-street, Hatton-garden, lacemen, April 3.
Blinkhorn, William, and Musgrave, John, Foster-lane, Cheapside, merchants and silk-weavers, April 3.
Burrough, James, Chiswell-street, hosier, April 3.
Baggs, Charles, Liverpool, merchant, April 6.
Bodenham, William, Shrewsbury, mercer, April 11.
Bowle, William, and Hannah, William, Blackfriars-oilmen, April 11.
Brooke, Francis, Farrar, William, and Rose, Robert, Basinghall-street, warehousemen, April 13.
Brittan, George, Bristol, grocer, April 17.
Bodicher, Augustus William, Old Jewry, merchant, April 20.
Bishop, Samuel, Great Newport-street, Soho, stationer, May 1.
Beesley, Tho. Burton, Yorkshire, potter, May 15.
Bloomfield, Joseph Moss, Mansell-street, Goodman's-fields, money-scrivener, May 22.
Batman, Wm. the younger, Copmanthorpe, Yorkshire, cornfactor, May 25.
Bushell, Joseph M'Cormack, East-street, Red Lion-square, tea-dealer, May 25.
Besly, William, Barnstaple, Devonshire, clothier, May 25.
Benson, John, Lancaster, merchant, May 25. Another commission the same day.
Butler, Joseph, Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, contactor, May 29.
Beaton, Sarah, Yeovil, Somersetshire, haberdasher, May 29.
Benson, John, and Benson, James, Lancaster, linen-drapers, June 1.
Brentnall, Francis, Derby, grocer, June 5.
Bishop, Thomas, Birmingham, stationer and bookseller, June 5.
Blackburn, Thomas, Hopton in Mirfield, Yorkshire, clothier, June 5.
Brennand, Thomas, Hayes's-court, Soho-square, linen-draper, June 5.
Becks, Andr. Berkley, Green-street, Grosvenor-square, upholder, June 8.
Bolton, George, Witney, brandy-merchant, June 19.
Bashagen, Michael, and Bermann, Jeremiah, Wa-ling-street, merchants, June 22.
Cooper, William, Derby, iron-founder, Jan. 5.
Chamberlain, John, Bramford, Suffolk, innkeeper, Jan. 12.
Clarke, Rob. Fore-street, Cripplegate, grocer, Jan. 23.
Coles, John, Smithfield, banker, Jan. 23.
Clarke, Robert, and Clarke, Geo. Grub-street, horse-dealers, Jan. 23.
Collier, Joshua, Little Bush-lane, Cannon-street, ... broker, Jan. 26.
Cobb, Christopher, Ringwood, Southampton, linen and woollen draper, Jan. 30.
Clarke, Robert, King-street, Covent Garden, linen-draper, Feb. 2.
Cook, Thomas, Much Cowran, Herefordshire, farmer, Feb. 2.

Cox, John, Church-street, Hackney, oilman and tallow-chandler, Feb. 2.
Cunningham, John, Yoxford, Suffolk, grocer, Feb. 9.
Comber, Richard, Lewes, watchmaker and silversmith, Feb. 20.
Collier, William, Leigh within Pennington, Lancashire, corn-dealer, Feb. 23.
Clegg, Samuel Joseph, and Whitby, John, Liverpool, merchants, Feb. 23.
Cobb, John, Wisbeach St. Peter's, Cambridge, millwright, March 6.
Coombs, Ebenezer, St. James's-street, stationer, March 9.
Clegg, John, and Prince, John, Watling-street, warehousemen, March 20.
Collings, Henry, and Gifford, Richard Ireland, St. Philip and Jacob, Gloucestershire, skinners, March 20.
Cumming, Peter, Union-court, Broad-street, merchant, March, 27.
Carter, Rob. Witham, Essex, linen-draper, March 30.
Curtis, Thomas, Frith-street, Soho, painter and glazier, April 3.
Cowlishaw, Charles, Ashborne, Derbyshire, grocer, April 6.
Carruthers, John, Liverpool, joiner, April 6.
Coxon, Joseph, Queen-street, Cheapside, merchant, April 11.
Chatterton, Edward, Dover, sail-maker and shipowner, April 24.
Collyer, John Dyer, Abridge, Essex, farmer, May 1.
Carr, Ralph Wood, and Carr, Robert, Leeds, drysalters, May 1.
Cartwright, Tho. Manchester, upholsterer, May 11.
Chaddock, James, and Keay, Randle, Wigan, potters, May 11.
Castle, Robert, Abingdon, Berks, coal-dealer, May 25.
Candlish, Matthew, Whitcheaven, mercer and woollen-draper, May 29.
Crichton, Peter, Woolwich, victualler, May 29.
Colley, Peter, Hanley, Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, ironmonger, June 5.
Copland, Robert, Liverpool, merchant, June 5.
Cowlishaw, Tho. Ashborn, Derby, currier, June 12.
Cory, George, Great Yarmouth, upholder, June 19.
Coleby, Joshua, Hempstead, Norfolk, merchant, June 22.
Coulthard, John, Shaws, Cumberland, dealer, June 22.
Collingdon, John, Plough-court, Lombard-street, merchant, June 22.
Cox, Robett, of Worcester-place and Kennett-wharf, Upper Thames-street, paper and rag merchant, June 29.
Cottingham, John, of Liverpool, merchant, July 27.
Duff, James, Finsbury-square, merchant, Jan. 2.
Dennett, Thomas, New-street, Covent Garden, goldsmith and jeweller, Jan. 2.
Donne, Wm. John, Liverpool, linen-draper, Jan. 9.
Douglas, Abraham, Mount-row, Lambeth, dealer, Jan. 16.
Dane, John, Williamson, William, and Clay, Robert, Arnold, Northamptonshire, hosiers, Jan. 16.
Dyer, Rich. Witney, Oxford, blanket-weaver, Jan. 30.
Dyke, James, Manley, Chester, corn-dealer, Jan. 30.
Dancer, George, and Cuvelie, Zimon Doncker, Lancaster, brokers, Feb. 2.
Dyke, James, Manley, Chester, corn-dealer, Feb. 6.
Dale, Isaac Rose, Exeter, earthenwareman, Feb. 9.
Dulau, Arnaud, Soho-square, bookseller, Feb. 13.
Dike, George, Abingdon-street, Westminster, boot and shoe-maker, Feb. 20.
Donaldson, Robert, Liverpool, haberdasher, March 6.
Dyer, Jonah, Wootton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, spinning-machine-maker, March 6.
Du Bois, John Frederick, and Du Bois, James, Alderman's-walk, London, merchants, March 20.
Deacon, Thomas, Queen's-elms, Chelsea, carpenter, March 30.
Da Costa, Jacob Mendez, Thavies-inn, Holborn, merchant, April 3.
Drake, Robert, and Goddard, Ebenezer, Newgate-street, wine and brandy-merchants, April 11.
De Mendes, Solomon, Wilson-street, Finsbury-square, merchant, April 13.
Davies, Richard, Park-lane, sadler, April 17.
Douse, Eleanor, Coade's-row, Lambeth, milliner and haberdasher, April 27.
Dale, William, Petworth, Sussex, miller, May 11.
Dolier, William, Winchester, innholder, May 15.
Douglas, James, Cuper's-bridge, Lambeth, clothier, May 15.
Dennington, Samuel, the younger, Loddon, Norfolk, merchant, June 1.
Donlevy, Christopher, Charles-street, Hatton Garden, jeweller, June 1.
Dallaway, Richard, Little Eastcheap, London, merchant, June 5.
Dagg, Thomas, South Shields, Durham, ship-owner, June 8.
Dyson, Daniel, Tottenham, grazier June 12.
Elvy, John, the younger, Maidstone, Kent, taylor, Feb. 6.
Earl, William, and Hemet, John, Albemarle-street, booksellers, Feb. 13.
Every, Samuel, Liverpool, ship-chandler, Feb. 20.
Emett, John, Stoneyhurst, Lancashire, cotton-spinner, Feb. 23.
Edwards, William, Short's-buildings, Clerkenwell, bow-string-manufacturer, March 27.
Entwisle, William, Lancaster, cotton-manufacturer, April 11.
Elderton, John, Great Carter-lane, oil and colourman, May 8.
Fogg, Robert, the younger, New Bond-street, chinaman, Jan. 23.
Field, Wm. Streatham, Surry, victualler, Jan. 30.
Fisher, William, the younger, Briestwhistle, Yorkshire, clothier, Feb. 16.
Foggan, Robert, Salford, near Manchester, cotton-manufacturer, Feb. 27.
Fraser, Henry, Nightingale-lane, grocer, March 13.
Fenwick, Edward, Kingston upon-Hull, innkeeper, March 27.
Farrow, Thomas, Durham, grocer and cheesemonger, April 13.
Farmer, Elisha, Gloucester, mercer, May 4.
Faulkner, John, Macclesfield, Cheshire, druggist and grocer, May 8.
Freebairn, Robert, Coleman-street, insurance-broker, May 29.
Finegan, John, Hatton-court Threadneedle-street, merchant, June 8.
Faulker, Thomas, of Manchester, Faulker, William, and Gibson, Thomas, late of Queen-street, Cheapside, warehousemen, July 8.
Graham, William, Ruskington, Lincolnshire, miller, Jan. 2.
Gates, Richard, Great Saffron-hill, near Holborn, baker, Jan. 9.
Guthrie, Robert, and Cook, Colin, Liverpool, merchants, Jan. 9.
Green, William, Swansea, cheesemonger, Jan. 16.
George, Benjamin, Pope's-head-alley, needle, fish-hook, and fish-tackle-maker, Jan. 23.

Gillham, Richard, of the Dog Tavern, Holywell-street, Strand, tavern-keeper, Jan. 30.
Gray, John, Birmingham, horse-dealer, Feb. 2.
Gilpin, John, Wrexham, Denbighshire, linen-draper, Feb. 6.
Graham, John, Berwick-upon-Tweed, baker, Feb. 9.
Gamble, Thomas, the younger, Leicester, woolcomber, Feb. 16
Guyer, Richard, Gracechurch-street, London, hatter, Feb. 23.
Gill, Geo. Warrington, merchant, Feb. 23.
Graham, Lancelot, Graham, William, and Graham, Thomas, Liverpool, merchants, March 2.
Green, John, Cumberland-street, Curtain-road, butcher, March 2.
Gardner, Frederick, Great St. Helen's, underwriter, April 11.
Grainge, Joseph, Uxbridge, broker and appraiser, April 17.
Gogerly, Jacob, Aldersgate-street, money scrivener, May 1.
Golding, James, the elder, and Golding, James, the younger, Pudhill, Gloucestershire, clothiers, May 8.
Gardner, Edward, Jew's-row, Chelsea, cheesemonger, May 15.
Gilbert, William, Chiswell-street, Middlesex, grocer, May 15.
Graydon, Edward, Sunderland near the Sea, spirit-merchant, May 22.
Greatwood, Robert, Gloucester, grocer, June 19.
Heawood, John, Manchester, manufacturer, Jan. 12.
Harris, Abraham, Whitechapel-road, hatter, Jan. 16.
Hughes, David, Liverpool, draper, Jan. 26.
Howard, Cosmo Gordon, Conduit-street, Hanover-square, milliner, Jan. 30.
Holmes, John Edward, and Hall, William, Crosby-square, merchants, Feb. 9.
Hancock, Isaac, Bristol, cheesefactor, Feb. 9.
Hawkins, George, Fish-street-hill, druggist, Feb. 16.
Hiams, Henry, Waller-row, Lambeth, umbrella-maker, Feb. 20.
Horsley, Matthew Coates, Bread-street, merchants, Feb. 27.
Hope, Henry, Liverpool, woollen-draper, Feb. 27.
Hatfield, John Westby, Falmouth, warehouseman, March 9.
Hobart, John, Warwick-street, Golden-square, harp and musical-instrument-maker, March 9.
Hunter, Peter, Durham, money-scrivener, March 16.
Harris, Joseph, Holywell-street, Strand, salesman, March 16.
Howett, John, St. Martin's-lane, carpenter and builder, March 20.
Hodgson, Christopher, and Hodgson, Allatson, Sunderland, linen-drapers, April 3.
Hornby, Nathaniel, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, woollen-draper, April 3.
Hall, John Henstridge, Cheapside, merchant, April 6.
Hansord, John, Alford, Lincolnshire, innkeeper, April 6.
Hirst, David, Linley, Huddersfield, Yorkshire, cloth-dresser, April 11.
Hollyoch, William Giles, Camberwell, butcher, April 13.
Hooper, Richard, Burbage, Wiltshire, cornchandler, April 24.
Harper, James, Bordesley, Warwickshire, malt-mill and bayonet-maker, April 27.
Hooper, Richard, Burbage, Wiltshire, corn-chandler, May 1.
Heal, Edward, Trowbridge, innkeeper, May 1.
Hostage, John, Oxford-street, haberdasher, May 8.
Harrison, John, Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, manufacturer of earthen-ware, May 11.
Hamaway, Daniel, Braddon, Norfolk, merchant, May 11.
Harrison, Thomas, the younger, Sanford-hall, Gloucestershire, timber-merchant, May 18.
Harrison, John, Workington, Cumberland, sail-maker, May 22.
Houlding, John, and Sowerby, James William, Liverpool, merchants, une 8.
Hartley, Stephen, Heckmondwicke, Yorkshire, carpet-manufacturer, June 8.
Hardy William, Gloucester, linen-draper, June 8.
Hardy, William, Gloucester, linen-draper, June 12.
Horton, John, Cock hill, Shadwell, cheesemonger, June 15.
Hatfield, John, Tiverton, Devon, merchant, June 19.
Hewitt, James, Wilson-street, Moorfields, weaver, June 22.
Hoslam, Arthur, Westhoughton, Lancaster, shopkeeper, July 6.
Ingold, George Patrick, Braintree, Essex, money-scrivener, Dec. 29.
Juxon, John, Birmingham, grocer, Jan. 2.
Jones, Lewis, Colonade, Greville-street, builder, Jan. 2.
Johns, Samuel, Plymouth Dock, shopkeeper, Jan. 23.
Jeffes, William, Strand, haberdasher, Jan. 30.
Jameson, Richard Bayley, Droitwich, Worcester, miller, Feb. 6.
Jacks, Walter, Bristol, merchant, Feb. 9.
Jones, Jeremiah, Chester, shoemaker, Feb. 13.
Jones, James, Kingston-upon-Hull, grocer, Feb. 13.
Johnson, Anthony, Chesterfield, Derbyshire, grocer, Feb. 13.
Jackson, Benjamin, Wentworth, Yorkshire, corn-dealer, Feb. 16.
Johnson, Thomas, Ouze Fleet, near Howden, Yorkshire, dealer, Feb. 23.
Johnson, Joseph, Manchester, merchant, March 20.
James, Nathaniel, Liverpool, factor, March 23.
Johnson, Dudley, St. Paul's Church-yard, London, trunk-maker, March 27.
James, Nathaniel, and Black, Robert, Liverpool, merchants, March 27.
Jewitt, William, Snaeth Lodge, Yorkshire, brandy-merchant, April 20.
Johnson, Thomas, Kidderminster, grocer, May 11.
Jones, Philip, Little Queen-street, St. Giles's, taylor, May 25.
Jefferson, Thomas, Hudswell, Yorkshire, dealer, June 22.
Kendray, Geo. Hammer, Yorkshire, dealer, Jan. 5. Superseded May 11.
Keeves, John, Chandois-street, Covent-garden, dealer, Feb. 20.
Kingston, James, Duke-street, Manchester-square, surgeon and apothecary, March 2.
Kindon, John, Bristol, cabinet-maker, March 6.
King, John, Coventry, inn holder, March 27.
Kirwan, Bryan, Royal-row, Lambeth, vintner, March 30.
Kemp, William, Colchester, merchant, May 25.
Kilpatrick, James, Pope's Head-alley, merchant, May 29.
Keir, Law. Throgmorton-street, merchant, June 15.
Lickley, John, Newcastle-street, Strand, hosier, Jan. 9.
Lindsay, William, Manchester, manufacturer, Jan. 5. Superseded April 10.
Lonsdale, Nathaniel, and Thompson, Thomas, Bedford-street, Covent-garden, woollen-drapers, Jan. 9.
Lockey, John, Oxford, grocer, Jan. 23.

Lupton, John, Middleham, Yorkshire, dealer, Jan. 26.
Lasarque, John, Walbrook, merchant, Jan. 30.
Lees, Joseph, and Slater, Samuel, Manchester, dealers in weft and twist, Feb. 2.
Lambe, Robert Joseph, of London, merchant, Feb. 6.
Lodge, Fran. Pontefract, Yorkshire, vintner, Feb. 9.
Lyon, James, Savage-gardens, London, merchant, Feb. 20.
Like, Thomas, Old Brompton, builder, March 2.
Lewis, John, Lower Burgh, Lancashire, cotton-spinner, March 9.
Lee, Jos. Church-street, Lambeth, dealer, March 27.
Lomas, Robert, Stockport, Chester, cotton-spinner, March 30.
Lovell, William Henry, Fetter-lane, leather-seller, April 11.
Lashbrooke, William, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane, April 27.
Lansdale, Thomas, Lower Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, linen-draper, May 15.
Lewis, John, Old Jewry, warehouseman, May 18.
Leigh, Phillip, Charles-square, Hoxton, merchant, May 25.
Lathropp, Robert William Felton, otherwise called Sir Robert Murray Brown Clarke, Portland-place, banker, June 19.
Leyburn, James, Hackney, merchant, June 19.
Langford, Thomas Stringer, now or late of the City of Chester, upholsterer, July 13.
Mac George, Wm. Old Bond-street, banker, Jan. 5.
M'Knight, Samuel, the younger, Liverpool, merchant, Jan. 16.
Mattingly, Thomas, Stanford in the Vale, Berkshire, corn-dealer, Jan. 26.
Morton, Samon, Witney, Oxford, blanket-weaver, Jan. 30.
Mathison, John, Liverpool, merchant, Jan. 30.
M'Garry, Michael, Bell-wharf, Shadwell, victualler, Feb. 20.
Milne, Robert, Rochdale, scrivener, March 2.
Maskery, William, Lane End, Staffordshire, mercer, March 6.
Morris, William, Liverpool, grocer, March 9. Superseded June 8.
M'Kennan, Gilbert, Liverpool, ironmonger, Mar. 9.
Maunder, Robert, Exeter, wine merchant, March 16.
Mills, Jos. Macclesfield, hat-manufacturer, Mar. 16.
Marsh, John, Aylsham, Norfolk, merchant, Mar. 20.
Maitland, David, New Bridge-street, London, merchant, March 27.
Mickleson, Thomas, Lynn, Norfolk, taylor and woollen-draper, March 27.
Moufilyan, Samuel, Deal, taylor, March 27.
Moke, Charles, Bucklersbury, London, merchant, March 27.
Moody, Matthew, West Stockwith, Nottinghamshire, ship-builder, April 6.
Mosely, John, and Rose, James, Birmingham, factors, April 11.
Marriott, John, Uxbridge, shopkeeper, April 17.
M'Henry, Bernard, Stratford-upon-Avon, mercer, April 17.
Marshall, Francis, Northumberland-street, jeweller, May 11.
Mosley, Lewis, Liverpool, watchmaker, May 15.
Moore, Niven, Lancaster, merchant, May 25.
Mozley, Morris Lewin, Liverpool, merchant, June 5.
Mac Gowran, Frances, Parsons-street, Ratcliffe-highway, grocer, June 12.
Mills, Phillip, Hereford, butcher, June 15.
Mundell, Edward, Scarborough, Yorkshire, corn-dealer and spirit merchant, June 15.
Moore, Thomas, Liverpool, merchant, June 22.

Milner, Joseph, of Yarmouth, druggist, July 3.
Nash, Mark, Wootten-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, currier, Jan. 2.
Nobes, John, and Nobes, Wm. Southsea Common, Portsea, green-grocers, Jan. 9.
Needham, Thos. Ashby-de-la-Zouch, hosier, Jan. 16.
Nanfan, Thos. Manchester, warehouseman, Jan. 16.
Needham, Thos. Ashby-de-la-Zouch, hosier, Jan. 19.
Nock, Samuel, and Nock, James, Dudley, Worcestershire, nail-ironmongers, Jan. 30.
Newton, Samuel, Manchester, corn factor, Feb. 20.
Nowlan, James, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, soap-boiler, Feb. 27.
Norton, John, Drury-lane, victualler, April 3.
Nesbitt, John, Stewart, Edward, and Nesbitt, John, the younger, Aldermanbury, merchants, April 17.
Newton, Wm. Hood, Golden-lane, Barbican, liquor merchant, May 18.
Oddy, Joshua Jepson, and Oddy, John, St. Mary-Axe, London, merchants, March 27.
Osbaldiston, John, Southampton, baker, April 27.
Phillips, John, Swan Inn, Ross, Herefordshire, innholder, Jan. 9.
Powell, Wm. Brompton, butcher, Jan. 12. Superseded March 13.
Porter, John, otherwise Thomas, Deal, Kent, grocer, Jan. 23.
Parker, John, Garlby, Lincolnshire, miller, Jan. 30.
Paddey, Chas. Purcell, Wm. and Hargreaves, James, Congleton, Chester, cotton-manufacturers, Jan. 30.
Parquet, Emanuel, Somer's Town, distiller, Feb. 20.
Pedlar, Henry, Bath, woollen-draper, March 2.
Platt, George, Weaky, Saddleworth, Yorkshire, clothier, March 2.
Palmer, Werral, Holbeach, Lincolnshire, draper, March 6.
Pierson, George, Cockermouth, Cumberland, woollen-manufacturer, March 6.
Pownall, Philemon, Piccadilly, banker, March 23.
Poole, Samuel, Hewish Mills, Crewkerne, Somersetshire, miller, April 13.
Partridge, Thomas, Dover, sail-maker, April 24.
Pemberton, Edward, and Houlding, John, Liverpool, merchants, May 4.
Pride, James, Rome, Monmouth, timber-merchant, May 4.
Platt, Thomas, Diglee, Saddleworth, Yorkshire, merchant and cloth manufacturer, May 8.
Powell, Thomas, Warwick-street, Golden-square, taylor, May 15.
Pullen, Henry, and Roberts, Thomas, Exeter, coal-merchants, May 29.
Phelps, Robert, Plymouth-dock, hosier, June 5.
Passmore, George, Kensington, stationer, June 8.
Preston, Robert, Liverpool, merchant, June 12.
Powell, William, Shepton Mallet, Somerset, innholder, June 22.
Parker, William Wood, of Church-street, Southwark, lighterman, July 6.
Quinton, Michael, Bristol, taylor, April 3.
Reece, William, Liverpool, merchant, Jan. 2.
Roberts, John, Shrewsbury, linen-draper, Jan. 9.
Rozas, Sabato Coen, Brown's-buildings, Leadenhall-street, merchant, Jan. 19.
Rothwell, Wm. Manchester, manufacturer, Jan. 26.
Ring, Henry, Tunbridge, Kent, carpenter, Feb. 6.
Rudderforth, Thomas, Bishopsgate, stay-maker and draper, Feb. 6. Superseded March 27.
Rogerson, Charles, Warrington, merchant, Feb. 6.
Rothwell, John, Nottingham, hosier, Feb. 20
Rippon, Robert, Liverpool, merchant, March 9.
Russell, Edw. Maidstone, hop-merchant, Mar. 20.

Rose, Josiah, Olton, Warwickshire, tanner, March 27. Superseded June 8.
Russell, John, Moorfields, broker, April 13.
Robinson, William, Parris, Richard Freestone, and Squires, Dinah, King-street, Seven Dials, bakers, April 27.
Reader, Henry, Leeds, mercer, May 1.
Russell, John, Worcester, grocer, May 4.
Russell, John, Russell, Edward, Hartland, William, and Williams, Thomas, Worcester, merchants, May 4.
Rideing, John, Liverpool, merchant, May 8.
Rideing, John, Liverpool, and Lever, William, Manchester, merchants, May 15.
Rapson, John, Plymouth-dock, Devonshire, shopkeeper, May 15.
Rutherford, Robert, Sunderland, mast and blockmaker, May 22.
Ridgway, Thomas, Dodson, Andrew, and Ridgway, Samuel, Liverpool, merchants, May 29.
Roberts, Richard, Liverpool, brick-maker, May 29.
Ringrose, George, Welton, Northamptonshire, stuff-manufacturer and slopseller, June 1.
Rowson, James Shepherd, Tower-hill, London, linen-draper, June 1.
Rylay, Edward, St. Helen's, Lancashire, linen-draper, June 5.
Robinson, John, Prescott-street, Goodman's-fields, money-scrivener, June 5.
Reed, William, Barking Church-yard, merchant, June 8.
Robinson, John, Old Gravel-lane, Southwark, cheesemonger, June 12.
Ross, John, the elder, Ross, George, Thompson, Thomas, and Altham, James, late of Piccadilly, dealers in wine, June 29.
Rochester, Thomas, late of Canterbury Row, Newington, coal-merchant, July 9.
Shaw, Christopher, Graham, Joseph, and Burn, John, Southampton, wine-merchants, Jan. 5.
Streater, William, Billinghurst, Sussex, miller, Jan. 5.
Sissons, Ja. Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant, Jan. 16.
Stewart, John, Canterbury square, Southwark, mariner, Jan. 16.
Skinner, George, Liverpool, master and mariner, Jan. 23.
Sharpe, Joseph, Luton, Bedfordshire, shopkeeper, Jan. 26.
Scott, John, Knottingley, Yorkshire, scrivener, Jan. 26.
Simcock, George, Bolt and Tun-yard, Fleet-street, coachmaster, Jan. 26.
Smalley, William, Blackburn, cotton-manufacturer, Jan. 26.
Savage, William, Liverpool, merchant, Jan. 30.
Stubbs, Ralph, the elder, Stubbs, Ralph, the younger, Stubbs, George, and Stubbs, James, of Stockton-upon-Tees, upholsterers, Feb. 2.
Smith, Tho. of Derby, worsted-spinner, Feb. 2.
Spencer, John, Circus-street, St. Mary-le-bone, builder, Feb. 6.
Snowden, John, Liverpool, merchant, Feb. 16.
Storey, Thomas, Newgate-street, wholesale linen-draper, Feb. 20.
Simpson, Joseph, Colchester, brazier, Feb. 23.
Stuart, Adam, Liverpool, merchant, March 9.
Stockwell, Charles, Shelf, Halifax, scribbling-miller, Hemingway, Charles, of Leeds, presser, Stockwell, Samuel, Halifax, yeoman, Baker, John, and Rogerson, John, Leeds, dyers, Mar. 9.
Swainson, Richard, and Gardner, John, Liverpool, grocers, March 13.
Strictland, Thomas, and Holland, Swinton Coulthurst, Liverpool, merchants, March 13.
Scott, Charles Elliott, Upper Berkley-street, Portman-street, bookseller, March 20.
Staveley, Luke, Halifax, merchant, March 23.
Sing, Thomas Horden, Stockport, Chester, grocer, April 6.
Seward, Philip, and Pipon, Thomas, Southampton, merchants, April 6.
Scott, Adam, Workington, mercer and draper, April 27.
Sarjant, Ja. Sunderland, spirit-merchant, May 1.
Sutherland, James, Bath, haberdasher, May 4.
Sutton, William, Sadlers-hall, London, merchant, May 4.
Shevill, William, Great Prescott-street, Goodman's-fields, merchant, May 4.
Sharland, John, Cockspur-street, Charing-cross, linen-draper, May 4.
Sutton, William, Salters-hall-court, London, merchant, May 8.
Smith, Thomas, Drury-lane, baker, May 15.
Seefelt, David, Greek-street, Soho, taylor, May 22.
Simpson, Thomas, Taylerson, William, Sanderson, John, and Granger, Joseph, Stokesley, Yorkshire, bankers, June 5.
Speight, Matthew, Streetside, Dewsbury, Yorkshire, clothier, June 5.
Smith, Samuel, Liverpool, merchant, June 5.
Sewell, William, Falcon-square, London, merchant, June 5.
Smith, John, Woolwich, Kent, hawker and pedlar, June 5.
Sweetland, David, late of Topsham, Devonshire, coal-merchant, June 8.
Sharp, Tho. Walthamstow, ironmonger, June 12.
Smith, Tho. Liverpool, woollen-draper, June 12.
Scott, John, and Scott, George, South-street, Finsbury-square, merchants, June 19.
Smart, Jos. Wolverhampton, bookseller, June 19.
Stephens, William, Abchurch-lane, London, oyster-dealer, June 22.
Smith, William, of Cirencester, Gloucestershire, linen-draper, July 3.
Syers, Thomas, of Manchester, stationer, July 9.
Tobin, Daniel, and O'Meara, Thady, Nicholas-lane, Lombard-street, merchants, Jan. 2.
Timmis, Joseph, Bowling-street, Westminster, shopkeeper, Jan. 9.
Thorn, Wm. Drury-lane, woollen-draper, Jan. 11.
Taylor, Rob. Newton Moor, Chester, cotton-spinner, Jan. 22.
Tremlett, William, Totness, Devonshire, shopkeeper, Feb. 9.
Turner, Henry, St. Martin's-le-grand, silk manufacturer, Feb. 13.
Twamley, Edward, Swansea, baker, Feb. 23.
Taylor, John, and Hudson, John, Bordesley, Birmingham, factors, March 20.
Tunnicliff, John, and Tunnicliff, Moses, Macclesfield, button and twist manufacturers, March 30.
Thompson, Samuel, Liverpool, linen-merchant, April 13.
Taylor, William, Eltham, Kent, dealer in corn, April 13.
Tidswell, William, Stockport, Chester, cotton-spinner, May 4.
Timmings, John Burton, Portsea, Southampton, grocer, May 18.
Twentyman, John Middleton, Liverpool, cooper, May 25.
Towle, Thomas, and Jackson, Joshua, Newgate-street, warehousemen, May 25.

Tapley, Mary, Newton Abbot, Devon, shopkeeper, June 22.
Tatlock James, of Finch-lane, broker, July 6.
Von Wertheim, Emanuel, Arundel-street, Strand, Feb. 13.
Underwood, John, Great Marlborough-street, apothecary, Feb. 20.
Varley, John, the younger, Shardlow, Derbyshire, corn-factor, May 11.
Wallace, John, Upper Mary-le-bone-street, carpenter, Jan. 2.
Wakeman, Robert, Birmingham, plater, Jan. 2.
Webb, William, Cloth-fair, smith, Jan. 19.
Walker, William, Lancaster, merchant, Jan. 19.
Wright, Gilbert, Worcester, glove-seller, Jan. 19.
Wall, John, Tetbury, Gloucestershire, baker, Jan. 23.
Wiggin, Richard, Bilston, Staffordshire, druggist and grocer, Jan. 23.
Wilson, Joseph, Strand, umbrella-maker, Jan. 26.
Wilkes, James, St. James's-street, Westminster, gunsmith, Jan. 30.
Watson, John, Brocksfield, Northumberland, corn-merchant, Feb. 6.
Wells, Samuel, Leonard-square, Shoreditch, corn-chandler, Feb. 16.
Wallis, John Eglonton, Colchester, merchant, Feb. 20.
Winton, Philip, Jamaica-house, Bermondsey, victualler, Feb. 20.
Wainwright, John, Liverpool, gun-maker, Feb. 23.
Williams, William, Cowbridge, Glamorganshire, shopkeeper, Feb. 23.
Wallis, James, the younger, Bristol, biscuit-baker, Feb. 23.
Williams, Henry, Crickhowell, Brecon, money-scrivener, Feb. 27.
Wrig, Wm. Manchester, liquor-merchant, Feb. 27.
Webb, Charles, Bromsgrove, Worcester, money-scrivener, March 2.
Williamson, Thomas, Holbeach, Lincolnshire, grocer, March 6.
Webster, Arth. Belpor, Derbyshire, baker, Mar. 6.
Woodall, Isaac, Picket How, near Egremont, hatter, March 9.
Woodbridge, Stephen, New Brentford, stationer, March 13.
Williams, Griffith, Tooley-street, Southwark, cheesemonger, March 16.
Wordon, Robert, Pincock-mill, Lancashire, miller, March 20.
Ward, Thomas, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, merchant, March 27.
Wright, John, Piccadilly, bookseller, March 27.
Wells, John, and Wells, William, Noble-street, London, mercers, March 30.
Wilkinson, Samuel, and Burrough, Joseph, High Wycombe, bankers, March 30.
Webb, Samuel, Melksham, Wiltshire, carpenter, April 3.
Wood, Richard, Liverpool, merchant, April 6.
Woolstencroft, Robert, Timperley, Chester, innkeeper, April 13.
Wellings, Larrat, Strand, butcher, April 1[illegible]
Wade, Thomas, Great St. Helen's, drug-merchant, April 17.
Williams, William, Dean-street, Holborn, carpenter, April 27.
Wilkinson, Henry, Billiter-lane, London, merchant, May 1.
Wilkinson, Thomas, Grimescarfoot, Halifax, merchant, May 8.
Wrigley, George, Matley, Chester, hatter, May 15.
White, Henry, Islington, stock-broker, May 15.
Wolstonholme, Dean, the younger, Waltham Cross, Hertford, inn-holder, May 15.
Watson, William, Fenchurch-street, merchant, May 15.
Wagner, Benedict Paul, Great Winchester-street, London, merchant, May 18. Superseded the same day.
Wilkinson, Joseph, Lancaster, merchant, May 25.
Wagner, Benedict Paul, Great Manchester-street, merchant, May 29.
Whitley, Abraham Brown, North Shields, merchant, May 29.
Wilson, William, the younger, Hay Park, Yorkshire, corn-factor, May 29.
Wilmott, Devonshire Holman, Bristol, druggist, June 5.
Whitaker, Tho. Kighly, York, innkeeper, June 12.
White, William, Southampton-buildings, brandy-merchant, June 12.
Whitaker, Thomas, Kighly, Yorkshire, innkeeper, June 19.
Wheatly, John, of Mark-lane, corn-factor, July 6.
Yendole, John, West Munckton, Somersetshire, mealman, Feb. 27.
Young, Tho. Ripon, Yorkshire, grocer, Feb. 27.
Young, William Weston, Dillis Mill, Glamorganshire, miller, May 18.
Yeomans, James, Tamworth, Staffordshire, clothier, May 18.

JURIDICAL PROCEEDINGS.

Under this head we have selected the accounts given of all such cases, in the several courts, as appear to us to contain any thing novel or peculiarly interesting, or important, whether from its nature, its consequences, or the rank, &c. of the parties. That the student in law will derive much advantage from this species of report we cannot flatter ourselves; but, if it be continued on, year after year, with a tolerable degree of correctness, we are persuaded it will be found very useful to the generality of our readers.

KING'S BENCH.

Haycraft, v. *Creasy*.

This action was brought for giving a false character of the responsibility of the famous Miss Robertson. The defendant Creasy was a tanner at Greenwich, at whose house she lodged, and who she most completely duped, by a series of artful tricks, beyond example, and almost beyond credibility. She amused him with plans of her estate at *Fascally* in Scotland; she gave powers of attorney to receive the rents; she received splendid presents in plate, from her pretended noble relations; she rode in a fine carriage, with splendid armorial bearings; which she pretended to have received from her sister *Lady Paget*. Creasy, by these arts, was so far persuaded that she had really the fortune she pretended to have, that without any hesitation he told the plaintiff he might safely trust her. The goods, for which the action was brought, were stoves, grates, &c. for her house in the Polygon, at Blackheath; and when Haycroft applied to Creasy to know if he might safely trust her, he replied, "You may. "I know her," added he, "of my own know- "ledge, to be a woman of fortune."

The cause was tried before Lord Kenyon, at Guildhall, and a verdict found for the plaintiff—damages 343*l.*

In Michaelmas term the attorney-general moved for a new trial, which came on afterwards to be argued.

Mr. Erskine contended, that the only question was, whether the defendant gave this character knowing it at the time not to be true. Mr. Erskine laid it down as a moral principle, which also held good in law, "that a man was responsible for asserting that which he knew to be false, or did "not know to be true," if the person to whom he made that representation, acted in consequence of it, and was thereby damnified. It appeared from his own notes, and those of Lord Kenyon, that the defendant said, "he knew of his *own* "*knowledge* Miss Robertson was a woman of for-"tune, and that he might safely trust her to any "amount." Upon faith of this assertion of the defendant, the plaintiff trusted her to the amount of upwards of 400*l.* The jury by giving a verdict to the plaintiff for that sum, confirmed the principle he laid down; and he contended, that there ought to be no new trial.

The attorney-general argued on the other side. No fraud had been imputed by any person to the defendant Creasy, nor could it appear that his assertion had been deceitfully and collusively made. He saw a woman whom he had known in an humble situation, and who had borne hitherto an unblemished character, in the apparent possession of great wealth. He saw all that usually attended an affluent fortune; he was amused with designs of her country estate, and admired, in picture, woods, lawns, and rivers. What was then to undeceive him from this error; or was it a genuine error or not? The best proof that it was so, was, that he advanced his own money to the amount of 2000*l.* But the deception did not stop here: he saw this lady make out a power of attorney to collect her rents, with a bond of 10,000*l.* to secure its due performance. All this was transacted before the eyes of the poor leatherseller, which so far deluded him, that he ventured to assert *he knew* her to be a woman of fortune. Was he to suppose that the lady was acting beyond the limits of all known fraud? He saw her ride in a fine coach, having a coronet emblazoned in the arms, the present, as she said, of Lady Paget, her sister; he might indeed have inquired into the arms, but to poor Creasy all coronets were alike. He saw her receiving great presents of fine plate; in short, he was most completely duped, and the best proof was his acceptance of bills for her. When the defendant asserted he *knew* the fact, all that could fairly be meant was, that he had a conviction in his own mind, resulting from apparently conclusive proofs. On these grounds he submitted, that this was no such fraud or deceit as ought to serve as the foundation of the action.

Mr. Dallas contended, that there must be evidence of fraud to support the action. Mr. Marriott and Mr. Comyns argued on the same side.

Lord Kenyon observed, that the plaintiff depending on the representations given by the defendant of the lady, had trusted her to the amount of 434*l.* The question was, whether was this representation true or false? To this there was but one answer, that it was false. He thought that the distinctions which had been attempted to be made between this case, and that of wilful misrepresentations, were trifling in the extreme, and he confessed that those who could make such distinctions had powers of intellect beyond himself. If the present action could not be supported, he had now for twelve years been deceiving the people of this country. At the time the cause came on to be tried, this was the ground he went upon. "Did the defendant affirm that which he did not "know to be true?" This he considered sufficient evidence to support the declaration of fraud. It might not, perhaps, amount to moral turpitude, but it was, in his opinion, sufficient to constitute *legal fraud.* He thought the present action was supported, not merely in morality and social right, but in law and justice.

Mr. Justice Grose said, he could not see any fraud in the present case: when the defendant said, "I know," it could mean no more than he had that opinion. Then what was the evidence? Did the man mean to tell a lie? He had seen those things which deceived him, and the whole scene acted before his eyes was such, that he confessed he thought he might have been duped himself. The man, under these circumstances, having said *he knew* she might be trusted, ought to be construed, in his opinion, to mean no more than that he thought her deserving of credit. And as he understood that the case now came before the Court not on the ground of fraud, but upon admission that the man was a dupe, he held, till another case should be found to support a contrary opinion, that there ought to be evidence of fraud, and that therefore it ought to go to a new trial.

Mr. Justice Lawrence and Mr. Justice Le Blanc were of the same opinion.—Rule absolute.

No new trial has since taken place between the parties in the above cause. It is most probable that the plaintiff, finding the majority of the judges against him, did not chuse to incur the expense of a writ of error, with the probability of ultimate defeat. The form of action itself is a novelty in Westminster-Hall. It was introduced soon after the late Lord Kenyon took his seat as chief justice, and he held it would lie, though many of the profession thought it violated the statute of frauds. As the present chief-justice (late attorney-general) seemed to be fully of opinion that it was a violation of statute of frauds, it is clear that the present bench would be unanimous against it. It is not therefore likely, that any person will, at present, bring a similar action, at least not without positive proof of intended fraud.

Huegenin v. *Thornton, Esq.*

(February 13th) —Mr. Mingay stated, that in this case the plaintiff was a tradesman, being the younger partner in a large perfumers, which must be well known to many, as the house served part of the royal family. The defendant, Col. Thornton, was a gentleman of very large property. The action was brought to recover damages for an assault, which the colonel had committed upon the plaintiff, and he trusted the jury would be of opinion that his client merited something more than was usually given. He did not ask this because the defendant was a gentleman, and a man of large fortune; he was sure the jury would weigh out equal justice, without regard to this consideration, but the circumstances of the case were attended with much aggravation. The facts were as follow:—The colonel being at his seat in Yorkshire, which was most finely named, and he supposed,

from its elegance, it deserved its fine name. But in fact being at Thornville Royal, he wrote to the defendant to send him powder, pomatum, and a Parmesan cheese. He presumed they were to be packed together, for the benefit of scenting each other. The things were sent, and in the August following the plaintiff, as junior partner, was sent upon the dangerous service of asking for payment. When he got to the colonel's lodgings, in Leicester-Fields, and asked for his bill, the colonel replied he would pay for those things he had ordered, but he would be d—d if he would pay the other part of the bill. The plaintiff replied, Sir, you must pay my whole bill. He (the colonel) then got up and collared him, thrusting him out of the room, giving him a violent blow between the eyes. This the noble colonel must excuse him for calling a very cowardly action; for he considered it as very cowardly for any man to strike his inferior, who could not retort upon equal terms, and he hoped the jury would give him a gentle hint, in damages, to be more guarded in his conduct for the time to come.

Mr. Baker said, he kept a house in Leicester-fields. The colonel, in August last, lodged with him. He remembered the plaintiff coming for his bill; after he had been with the colonel a short time, he came down stairs, his face being covered with blood; he sat down in his parlour till he was a little recovered, when the colonel again sent for him up stairs; he accompanied him. The colonel then said he was sorry he had struck him, but it was only a black eye; the colonel then got into a passion and swore he had no right to pay; but if Mr. Sinclair, who was with him, said he ought to pay it, he would. Mr. S. advised him to do it, and he did.

He was cross-examined by Mr. Parke, but nothing material occurred in favour of the defendant.

Mr. Lacy, a surgeon, proved the violence of the blow, and that it disfigured the plaintiff for several days. — Verdict for the plaintiff, damages 30*l.*

Before Mr. Justice Lawrence and a Special Jury.

Connor v. *Smalls and others.*

(February 20.)—This was an action for an assault brought against the defendants as captain and mates of the Walsingham East-Indiaman, for flogging the plaintiff, who was a charter-party passenger on board.

Mr. Erskine, for the plaintiff, stated him to be a most meritorious old soldier, who had long served his country, and for his good conduct had been promoted to be a serjeant of artillery. He once had the good fortune to save the life of that gallant officer, General Abercrombie, and was, after a life of long hardships, returning home from India to rest and quiet, as a chartered passenger in the ship Walsingham, of which the defendant, Smalls, was captain. Mr. E. stated, that the cause of his being flogged, for which assault he now sought reparation in damages, was because he refused to fall in the ranks and exercise with small arms, a thing which, as a passenger, they certainly had no right to compel him to do. And while Campbell, the mate, was dragging him to the shrouds, his wife interfered, upon which he d—d her for a bitch, and immediately knocked her down at the feet of her husband. Also, that while he was undergoing the punishment, he earnestly begged for a draught of water, which was refused him, and when they had finished, they compelled him to fall into the ranks, with his back mangled and torn, exposed to the burning rays of an eastern sun.

The material facts, as stated by the evidence, were, that on the 15th of April the men were ordered to fall into the ranks, and exercise with the great and small arms. Mr. Erskine stated, it was on account of its being the captain's birth day, but that was not the fact; and the defendant insisted it was in pursuance of orders he had received in Bengal, as the privateers from Mauritius infested those seas.

The plaintiff's witnesses stated, that he on that day was sitting on a gun, between decks, when he received orders to fall into the ranks. He said he was a passenger, and had no right to go to quarters; that he knew his exercise already, and would fight if the ship was attacked. Lieutenant Campbell then went to the captain and complained, who ordered him immediately to be flogged. Campbell then returned below, and told him he should have a d—d good flogging. The plaintiff's wife interfering, he knocked her down, and dragged the plaintiff to the shrouds, where he was seized up, and received four dozen lashes with a thick cat. He begged for water while he was under punishment, which was refused, and he was compelled, as soon as it was over, to fall into the ranks.

Mr. Gibbs admitted that a verdict must go against his clients, but said he should lay before the jury such circumstances as must reduce the damages to merely nominal ones. He then stated that the plaintiff and 23 other soldiers had been put on board only three days before, and that the officer who delivered them to the chief mate, told him to have a wary eye over them, for that they were very mutinous and refractory, particularly the plaintiff, Connor. He also stated, that when the plaintiff was ordered to quarters, he not only refused to go, but used very indecent language, he d—d all the officers, said the captain was an old woman, and that if the ship was attacked he might defend her himself; and when on deck he behaved with great insolence to the captain himself, daring him to punish him. It would also appear by the plaintiff's discharge, that he was dismissed as a seditious character, and unfit to remain in India. In short, his whole conduct was so mutinous, that the officers, all but Mr. Barker, the first mate, thought it necessary to leave the deck and arm themselves.

Several witnesses were called, who having proved these facts,

Mr. Justice Lawrence told the jury, that wanton insult was always a ground for heavy damages, but, on the contrary, circumstances might operate in mitigation. He then remarked on the conduct of the defendant, which he highly blamed, and left it to the jury to consider what damages they would give. Verdict for the plaintiff, damages 100*l.*

Foster v. *Mellish.*

(Feb. 27, Breach of Promise of Marriage.)—The Attorney-General, on behalf of the plaintiff, said he was a young gentleman about 27 years of age, of considerable respectability in the medical line at Highgate, whose health and peace of mind had been deeply affected by a cruel breach of promise on the part of the defendant. Being recommend-

ed by his friends to fix his business in or near London, he had, in the year 1799, purchased the house of a Mr. Sands, for the sum of 1800l. and the good-will of his business, which, on an average, was worth from 8 to 900l. per annum, for the sum of 1600l. being two years purchase, to be paid by instalments. The defendant, he understood to be a young lady of very considerable attainments, of a beautiful person, and a most graceful form, and the natural daughter of a person of considerable property. The plaintiff met her early in the year 1800, at the Highgate Assembly, a mutual attachment was conceived between them, regular proposals were made and accepted, they had numerous meetings, and, at length, the defendant plighted herself in the most solemn manner to become the wife of Mr. Foster. Some interruption had taken place in their intercourse; but, from the month of April to that of August 1801, it had continued unbroken. Her brothers were somewhat adverse to the match; but nothing had been done clandestinely; every party had been apprised of the proceedings; and, on her part, every thing had been settled, even to the purchasing of her wedding cloaths. The Attorney-General here read a number of letters which had been written by the defendant to the plaintiff, and to a Miss Swain, her friend, on the subject of her intimacy with Mr. Foster; all of which, as Mr. Justice Le Blanc afterwards observed, tended to shew her firm intention to marry him.

The promise on the part of the defendant, and the subsequent breach of it was afterwards proved by Miss Swain, who had first become acquainted with the defendant, whom she stated to be of the age of 23, at school, and their acquaintance had recommenced at Brighton about two years ago. She had been the confidant of Miss Mellish throughout nearly the whole of the affair, and had materially assisted in promoting the wishes of the parties. It was agreed between Miss Mellish and the defendant, that the half of her property, which was 13,900l. 3 per cents. was to be settled on herself and heirs, and, in default of heirs, she was to have the power of willing it as she pleased; the other half to be sunk, so as to raise a sum of money for the purpose of paying off some debts of the plaintiff; Mr. Swain, the father of Miss Swain, being intended as one of her trustees. On the cross-examination of Miss Swain it appeared, that throughout she was acquainted with the violent aversion entertained by the brothers of the lady to the match.

Mr. Erskine, on the part of the defendant, said, that the question was, whether the promise the defendant had made, was not one which would be more honoured in the breach than the observance. If it should appear, however, that the plaintiff had been capriciously and cruelly treated, that his attachment had been solely to the mind and person of the defendant, and that he had thought nothing of her miserable three per cents. as he had made up his mind to be paid in money, in money let him be paid; though it certainly was not a very common thing for delicate-minded men to come to Westminster-hall to claim a marriage portion. Mr. E. then contended, that the plaintiff had no affection for her; and only wanted to secure her fortune. From his statements, and from evidence which he called, it appeared, that during an interruption which took place in this courtship, in the year 1800, in consequence of the interference of Mr. Mellish, the defendant's brother, Mr. Foster, paid his addresses to a Miss Pullen, at Highgate, from whose father he had borrowed 1700l. and told her she was the only woman he had ever seen with whom he could be happy. Mr. Pullen, the father, finding the plaintiff to be extravagant and embarrased in his affairs, broke off the connexion between him and his daughter. Mr. Foster again renewed his addresses to Miss Mellish, who on the 28th of September last wrote him a letter, containing a solemn promise to marry him in December following. But before that time she informed him that their correspondence must terminate. The cause assigned for this resolution on the part of the lady, was an anonymous letter which she had received in August last, purporting to be written by a female acquaintance, with a view to terrify her into the match with Mr. Foster, by holding out to her that her character was in danger of being lost, &c. This letter Miss Mellish had every reason to think was written by the plaintiff, and it was on the proof of that fact that Mr. Erskine rested the defence; because if it should appear that he wrote it, the conduct of Miss Mellish in breaking off the match was highly justifiable. Mr. Samuel Mellish, the defendant's brother, said, he had no doubt of the hand writing being that of the plaintiff. The Inspector of franks, at the Post Office, said, the hand writing of the letter was disguised, and on comparing it with the admitted letters of the plaintiff, he had no doubt of its being written by him. On the other hand, Mr. Swain, Mr. Sands, Mr. Hodges, and Mr. Folkes, swore they did not believe the letter to be the hand writing of the plaintiff. The Jury found a verdict for plaintiff, damages 200l. This trial lasted from eleven in the morning till near ten at night.

GUILDHALL.—Before Sir N. Grose.

Cherrill v. *Cherrill.*

This was an action brought by the plaintiff, a young lady, to recover special damages of the defendant, her kinsman. She was the daughter of a respectable farmer in Gloucestershire, and had been placed under the care of Miss Stewart, a Fancy-dress maker, in the vicinity of Oxford-street, to learn her business. She had not been above six months in London before she became extremely ill, and was advised to return to the country, to enjoy the benefit of her native air.—Immediately after her departure, the defendant called at the house of Miss Stewart, and asked one of the servants if she knew the reason of Miss Letitia Cherrill's retiring to the country. Upon her answering in the negative, he said she was with child, as well as her sister, Martha Cherrill, and both by a person of the name of Adams. The defendant also propagated the same injurious report among several other of the young lady's acquaintances, and in particular he told it to a person who was in the service of a gentleman of large property in the neighbourhood of the plaintiff's father's residence. It became the common talk in the village where her father lived, and also in Miss Stewart's family. When the young lady recovered, her father wrote to Miss Stewart, informing her she would return to her service; but Miss Stewart, who had several female apprentices of virtuous characters in her house, thought it would be setting a very bad example

before them, to introduce into their society a girl who had so extremely misconducted herself: she therefore refused to receive her, and sent her word to that effect—it was for this special damage the action was brought: the defendant was clearly proved to have used the words alleged in the declaration.—On the cross-examination of Miss Stewart, it was endeavoured to be inferred, that she had declined receiving her, not because she believed the story to the prejudice of her chastity to be true, but because she had discovered that the plaintiff had deceived her, by asking her permission to go to a dance with Mr. Adams, who was courting her sister, and instead of so doing, availing herself of the opportunity by going to a masquerade; but Miss Stewart persisted in saying she had only been actuated by the report circulated by the defendant.

Mr. Justice Grose highly censured the conduct of the defendant, in spreading a calumny as malignant as it was unfounded. It was a cowardly, base, and unmanly attempt to ruin the character of an unprotected female.

The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages £100.

COMMON PLEAS.

Eagleton v. *the East-India Company.*

(Feb. 1.)—The plaintiff Mr. Edward Eagleton, an eminent tea-dealer in Cheapside, had on the 17th of June last, been the highest bidder at one of the company's sales; he bid for 60001b. weight of tea at the sum of £1650 but the East-India company refused to admit him as a bidder, and refused his deposit. He afterwards brought an action against the company, and obtained a verdict, subject to the opinion of the court. That action was defended on the ground of a bye-law made by the company, which stated, that if the purchasers of goods should make default in completing the purchase within a stipulated period, they should be re-sold, and the difference, if any, paid to the first purchasers; and also that such purchasers should ever after be rendered incapable of bidding at any of the company's sales. It then appeared that the plaintiff had at a sale previous to the one mentioned in the declaration, been declared the best bidder of a lot of teas, on which he had paid the usual deposit, but neglecting to make good the purchase within the period limited, he had applied to the defendants, who so far from insisting on the forfeiture, had given him time; that he afterwards paid the purchase-money, with interest for the delay, but that the defendants declared he should not be permitted to bid at any other sale.

Mr. Serjeant Best, on behalf of the plaintiff, said this question was of the utmost magnitude and involved nothing less than this, whether the whole trade of the East Indies was to be completely under the controul and dominion of the company. If they could do what they pretended they had a right to do, the effect would be that of investing them with a degree of influence inconsistent with the principles upon which commerce was carried on. It was quite impossible the East-India company could destroy the right of the subject by any bye-law of their own; and he therefore maintained that this bye-law set up by the company, was upon every recognized principal of the law of England absolutely void, and not binding upon the subjects of the country. It was a bye-law in restraint of trade, and not in regulation of it, and on that ground was illegal. It would be in vain to direct the company's goods to be put up to public auction, unless every subject had a right to bid, it was impossible the company could of itself usurp a legislative power restrictive of the rights of the subject. The bye-law in question was unnecessary, injurious to the company, injurious to the public, and injurious to the revenue. Admitting the present bye-law could be supported, still it could not apply to the plaintiffs, for no corporation could make bye-laws to bind any other than such as were members and part of its own body. The learned serjeant then observed that with regard to the facts of the case, it was the hardest one that could be imagined. Mr. Eagleton was no insolvent person; he was a man in reputable circumstances, and at this moment did not owe the company a shilling. He trusted the court would teach these proud lords of the East they were not with impunity to violate the rights of the subject. It has been said by Lord Coke, that corporations had no souls—certainly no individual, possessed of a soul, would have acted in the manner this monopolizing corporation had done. He concluded by observing, that he felt the case of the deepest importance, not only to the plaintiff, but to the whole subjects of the country, who would at any time and upon all occasions, be liable to become the victims of the arbitrary exclusion of the East-India company.

(Feb. 3.)—The cause being resumed this day, Mr. Serjeant Bailey, on the part of the defendants, contended that they had a right to exclude the plaintiff from bidding at their sales. Without such a restraint, any person who was a beggar in his circumstances, might, after having made default in the completion of former contracts, bid for goods upon speculation, without the least probability of ever paying for them. It was necessary, in order to enable the East-India company to carry on their immense trade, that they should make their contracts of sale upon a certainty of their being fulfilled by the buyer. He contended that the condition of sale which the plaintiff considered he was not bound by, was reasonable; it was a condition precedent of which the plaintiff was aware before he became a purchaser of goods at the company's sale, and he therefore ought, previous to his bidding for any lot, to have been well assured he had the means of completing his contract. His learned brother had, in the course of his speech, considered the conduct of the directors in this instance as harsh and rigorous, but he submitted the facts of the case did not warrant any such conclusion; on the contrary, they had acted in the most temperate manner possible towards the plaintiff. Instead of carrying the law to its full extent against him, by insisting upon the forfeiture of his deposit, and obliging him to pay the loss and expences of a re-sale, they had allowed him the delay he required, but at the same time expressly told him they reserved the right of refusing to let him bid at their sales, till they had received satisfaction as to the cause of his not paying them sooner. He acceded to this condition, and afterwards, when he had availed himself of the benefit of it, and had paid the money, he pretended he was not bound to give the directors any such satisfaction, for that in point of law they had no right to demand it.

Mr. Serjeant Best again maintained that the right of bidding at the East-India company's sales was a vested right, which nothing but parliament could take away. Upon the subject of the satisfaction the company reserved the right of demand-

ing, he was at a loss to know what it meant; it might mean that the plaintiff should engage Mr. Rous their counsel, in single combat in barriers closed, or it might mean that the plaintiff should make a pilgrimage to the East Indies, or perform certain ablutions in the waters of the Ganges—it was a phrase so indefinite, that it was impossible for any one to guess at what it was intended to convey.—He trusted the court would be of opinion, the company should have expressed in their conditions what the nature of the satisfaction was they required from those who failed in performing their contracts, and that they had no right to refer it merely to their own discretion and caprice.

Lord Alvanley.—There is no doubt but the East India company has a right to impose conditions with regard to their sales, provided they are reasonable ones. The only question is, whether they have a right to impose such terms as the directors may insist upon or relax. The words of the condition of sale are very vague—I do not know what is meant by saying, that a person who has made default in fulfilling his contract, shall not be entitled to bid at future sales till he has given satisfaction to the directors. It may mean, in the opinion of the directors, the satisfaction of a gentleman. There is only one way in which the word satisfaction can be construed in a court of law, and that is, by the party paying the money, and it appears the money has been paid with interest. I think the words of the condition can admit of but one construction. The East-India company may impose a new condition, and it will be for the court to say whether it is reasonable or not. That they have a right to make conditions of sale there can be no doubt. We will consider of it, but I see no necessity for another argument.

The other judges gave the same opinion as to the meaning of the word "satisfaction."

Cook v. *Bennett.*

(Feb. 26.)—This was a new and interesting case, being the first of the kind ever tried.—The plaintiff had been a sailor on board the Kingston, engaged in the southern whale fishery. He had contracted with the defendant, the owner of the ship, to serve on board, on condition of receiving a certain proportion of the produce of the fishery, and of all the prizes made during the voyage. The ship sailed on her voyage about three years ago, and off the coast of South America captured a Spanish ship, which sold for 3000l. but running short of provisions, the captain sent the Spanish prisoners on shore with a flag of truce. The plaintiff, and other mariners, conducted them on shore, where they were taken and kept in prison for a year. In the mean time the Kingston completed her voyage; and returned to England without the prisoner, who brought this action to recover a share of the profits and prizes made by her during the whole voyage. It was contended he was entitled to a share only during the time he was on board. The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, subject to the opinion of the court.

KENT ASSIZES. Maidstone Spring Circuit.

Turner v. *Umferrel.*

The counsel who opened this cause stated, that it was an action brought by the plaintiff, a young and respectable attorney, against the defendant, a stout athletic farmer, to recover damages for a most violent assault, committed in violation of the rights of hospitality. Miss James, a young lady of about 18 years of age, and sister-in-law to the defendant, said she had been upon a visit to the plaintiffs's father, in London, and was so pleased with her treatment, and the attention of the plaintiff, who was about the age of 21, that she in return invited him down to her brother's. The young lady shewed an extreme partiality for the young lawyer, and they were never happy but in each other's company.—They were accustomed to amuse themselves by walking in the groves of Greenwich Park, and upon a certain evening, after having been a long time missed, they were found enjoying a *tete-a-tete* in one of the vaults of Sir Gregory Page Turner's decayed mansion. Another source of amusement was reading novels to each other, and upon the evening the supposed assault was committed, the defendant was preparing to go round his grounds with a pistol in his hand, as was his custom, when he heard the plaintiff in his sister's bed chamber, reading a novel. He immediately exclaimed to his wife—"What's that girl "and boy about in the bed-room—they shan't be "there." And he ordered that Miss should sleep in the same room with her sister that night; and he would take care to keep the lawyer from her. This determination so affronted the plaintiff that he resolved upon leaving the house that instant. He went out, and Miss James followed him, and insisted upon seeing him safe over the heath to some other house. She clung round and resisted every attempt of the farmer to get her away.—The assault consisted in nothing more than the struggle which was the consequence of her laying tight hold of the plaintiff; no blow was struck whatever; on the contrary, the defendant wished the plaintiff to come back, and sleep at his house that night. A surgeon was called, to prove that the defendant had been seized with a cold and fever, and had paid him 20l. He however admitted, that passing an hour or two in a damp vault was as likely as any other cause to produce such a disorder. The judge thought that the defendant had acted like a prudent man. He even intimated that he would not have, perhaps, far exceeded his authority if he had given the plaintiff a gentle horse-whipping, and had locked the young lady up for a week, upon an allowance of bread and water.—Under his lordship's direction, the jury found a verdict for the defendant.

SHERIFF'S COURT,

(Crim. Con.) Martin v. *Pobjoy.*

(April 3.) This action came before the court in the nature of a writ of inquiry, to assess the damages which the plaintiff claimed from the defendant, for having seduced, and had criminal intercourse with his wife, the defendant having let judgment go by default. No counsel was employed, but the plaintiff's attorney stated, that his client was a master taylor of great respectability; that ten years ago he married Louisa Beasly, his now wife, by whom he had seven children, the youngest only six months old; and that they had lived on the most affectionate terms together until the event in question. About a year ago he employed the defendant as his foreman. He was a young man of an engaging appearance; and it soon became visible the wife entertained a partiality for him; but it was not till Christmas last that the husband could discover any thing to prove an improper connexion. About this time he was spending an evening at a public-house, and coming home

earlier than usual, he knocked several times at the door, but could gain no admittance. After waiting and knocking a considerable time, his wife let him in, and appeared to be in great confusion and embarrassment; and, when asked the reason of the delay, and whether any person had been with her, hesitated, faultered, and could give him no satisfactory answer. He then called up his maid servant, and threatened to send her before a justice if she did not tell him who had been with her mistress. The girl being frightened, said that Mr. Pobjoy had supped with her, and that they had been for two hours locked up together in her bed-room. His wife then threw herself at his feet, confessed her crime, and begged forgiveness. The plaintiff then understanding that the defendant was in his room, he ran up with a poker in his hand, and gave him a blow which broke his arm. The neighbours were then called in, a surgeon was sent for, who set the arm, and the wife was for that night permitted to sleep with the maid servant, but sent away the next morning. The maid servant being then called, proved all these facts: and added, that her mistress and Mr. Pobjoy used frequently to be together in her master's absence, and she had no doubt of the criminal intercourse having taken place. The attorney for the defendant urged, in mitigation of damages, the great loss he had sustained in consequence of the breaking of his arm. The under-sheriff said he came off very well, for if the plaintiff had killed him he would not have been legally answerable for it.—The jury gave the plaintiff 30l. damages.

Adjourned Sittings, GUILDHALL.

Penman v. *Wheelwright.*

(April 23.) This was the first cause tried before Lord Ellenborough. It was an action upon a policy of insurance on the Swedish ship, Resolution, at and from Pensacola and Morsbide to London, upon goods and species, or both, as should thereafter be declared, with a warranty, that the goods were the property of British subjects, or of the subjects of states in amity with his Majesty. The question in the cause was, whether, in fact, the goods belonged to Penman, Shaw, and Co. English merchants, or to Panton, Lesly and Co. who resided in Pensacola, and were domiciled subjects of the King of Spain, then in enmity with his Majesty.

It was sufficiently proved in the cause, that the ship had the necessary licences, and was documented with the necessary papers, without which she could not have sailed, and that the plaintiffs had shipped on board between £20,000 and £30,000 worth of goods, consigned to Panton, Lesly, and Co. at Pensacola. By the account current it appeared, that the balance due to Penman and Shaw was £27,529, and they contended that the goods on board was in part payment of that debt, and that they had accepted them as such.

Captain Ross, who navigated the ship, said he sailed with the cargo from Portsmouth to Pensacola. He was met by a French privateer, who stopped him, and plundered him of his two licences. He afterwards delivered his cargo to the house at Pensacola, and received 50 hogsheads of deer-skins in return. He sailed again for England with this cargo, consigned to the present plaintiffs, but was detained, and carried into Jamaica, by his Majesty's armed ship, Syren, Captain Goslin. The vessel was libelled in the Admiralty court of Jamaica. The plaintiff then abandoned the vessel to the underwriters, and brought the present action to recover upon the policy, which insured against all detention of princes. Upon the account current between the parties, which the plaintiff produced in evidence, it appeared, that the charge of insurance for this very cargo was debited to the foreign house, and that a part of it had been sold to a man named Tipping, who became a bankrupt, and that the dividend received under Tipping's commission was placed to the same account. On all the former transactions, also, the House of Penman and Wheelwright had accounted to Panton and Co. only for the nett proceeds of the cargoes.

Lord Ellenborough observed, that this was an action upon a policy of insurance on a Swedish vessel, which, by the 39th and 40th of the R. C. 4, was allowed, during the war, to carry goods, provided the same were the property of British subjects, or of the subjects of states in amity with his Majesty. By this Act of Parliament, the Navigation Act was in part suspended, and it legitimized a species of traffic, which, but for it, would have been illegal. The only question in the case was, to whom did those goods belong? To the plaintiffs, or to Panton, Lesly, and Co. at Pensacola. The latter, though they were British born subjects, yet in respect to their being domiciled in the dominions of Spain, for the purposes of this action, were to be considered as enemy's subjects. On the part of the plaintiff it was contended, that there was a balance due to them from Panton and Co. of 27,529*l.* and that these goods were consigned in part of payment, and accepted by them for such purpose. The answer to this case arose out of the accounts; his lordship then commented on those parts of the account current which applied to that appoint, and gave his decided opinion in favour of the defendant, arguing that the papers of the ship were colourable to evade the chance of capture by British cruisers.

The jury withdrew for half an hour, and then returned to ask, "whether the indorsement on the "bill of lading was a legal assignment?" His lordship replied, "it was, for all ordinary pur-"poses, but that was not the question here: the "papers, no doubt, on the face of them, were "regular, but were they not merely colorable?" The jury again withdrew, and after a short time returned a verdict for the plaintiff. In the course of the last term Mr. Garrow moved for a new trial, on the ground of a verdict against evidence, and it came on to be argued. The learned judge read his notes of the evidence, and the court concurred in the opinion of the chief justice, as delivered at Guildhall. The verdict was accordingly set aside, and the cause now stands for another trial.

The King v. *Macleod.*

(April 24).—The defendant, Alan Macleod, stood charged with having published two libels in the Albion newspaper, of which he was the printer and publisher. The first was against the character of the Earl of Clare, late chancellor of Ireland, and the information charged, that it was written with intent to stir up evil disposed persons to kill him, or do him great bodily harm. The libel, after adverting to some part of that nobleman's conduct, continued "you have been "twice pelted, my lord, by an enraged mob; be-

"ware the third time—Buckingham had three "warnings before he fell under the dagger of "Felton; you may resemble him in more in- "stances than one."

The attorney-general led the cause, and commented, in a very able speech, on the mischievous tendency of such libels, in the course of which he drew an animated character of the late Lord Clare, whom he described as more illustrious for virtue, patriotism, fortitude, wisdom, and learning, than from his high and exalted station. The libel was proved in the usual way, by the person who purchased a copy of the paper. Mr. Scott then went into a long defence of Mr. Macleod, in which he insisted that all he wrote was "matter of history." He commented at great length upon all the cases of libel, which he insisted was a bastard slip, and not a legitimate shoot, from the laws of England, derived out of the tyranny of the Court of Star-chamber. Mr. Macleod himself also addressed the jury, in which he disclaimed all personal animosity against the Earl of Clare, and insisted before the jury could find him guilty, the crown ought to have produced to them evidence, to prove that his intentions were such as were charged upon him by the information.

The jury however found him guilty.

He was then tried and found guilty upon the second libel, being strictures upon the Irish Martial Law Bill, which he described "as the last "act in the tragedy of despotism, which no brave "and generous people would ever sit out." In order to prove his statements with respect to the kingdom of Ireland, he had *subpœnaed* the Earl of Camden, the late lord lieutenant, and was proceeding to examine him, on the subject, when the attorney-general interfered, and submitted to the court, that his lordship could not be examined, as it would lead to disclosure of matters which came to his lordship's knowledge as a privy counsellor, and on this ground his examination was over-ruled.

The following term (Easter) the defendant was brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment, where he again spoke at great length. He was again remanded, and brought up on a subsequent day, when he again wished to address the court; but was informed, that he had already been heard, and by the rules of the court could not be heard again. He, however, obstinately persisted, and the court was obliged to remand him to prison. As he went out, he threatened the judges by observing, that "judges had been im- "peached in better times."

He was again brought up this (Trinity) term, and again begged to be heard, saying he had matter to lay before them which would arrest the judgment. The court informed him, that if he had any thing to say in arrest of judgment they would patiently hear him. He accordingly again made a long speech, which was rather meant a justification of all he had done, than applying to any matter in arrest of judgment. He was frequently reminded by the court that he wandered from his point, but the intimation had very little effect upon him. Having at length concluded, Mr. Justice Grose pronounced the sentence of the court, which was, that he should be imprisoned for eighteen months in Newgate, for the first libel, to commence from the expiration of his present sentence (which is in July), and a further imprisonment of eighteen months, to commence from the expiration of his last sentence, and to find sureties for his good behaviour, for seven years, himself in 1000*l.* and two others in 200*l.* each

Macleod has already been imprisoned for eighteen months, for a libel in the Gazetteer upon the character of the Prince of Wales, for which he has also stood in the pillory, and is also fined 100*l.* for a libel upon the House of Lords.

Brook, v. *Guy*.

(April 28.)—This was an election quarrel, the plaintiff, it seemed, had an inclination to represent the town of Chippenham in Parliament, which was a manufacturing town in the woollen-trade, the plaintiff, also being a wool-broker. In his addresses he had represented himself as able to be of very essential service to the town in their manufactory, and urged that as a reason why they should elect him. The defendant being, of course, in an opposite interest, wrote the letter which was complained of as a libel, and circulated it among all the freemen of Chippenham. The purport of it was as follows—"When I first "heard that you proposed yourself to the free- "men of Chippenham, I was astonished and puz- "zled to find on what you could found your "pretensions. It was no less surprising, how a "wool-broker, in the fair exercise of his busi- "ness, could live in the manner you do, and ac- "cumulate a fortune, or how you could serve the "town by selling cheaper than others, without "fraud and perjury. I thought, therefore, there "was little weight to be attached to your pre- "tensions, and was not much surprised when I "heard it came out in evidence, before arbitrators, "three respectable merchants in the city of Lon- "don, that you had charged Messrs. Wallingtons "two-pence in the pound upon a contract of "wool more than you paid." The letter also charged the plaintiff with having himself dealt as principal in wool, contrary to his oath and duty as a broker. To this action the defendant had pleaded a justification, alleging the matter stated by him to be true.

To make out this case, the bond and oath of a broker were produced and read, by which it appeared, that they were not to deal as principals, and not surcharge any one for whom they acted as broker.

Manuel de la Torre, the agent for the Spanish government, was called. He said he was agent for two-thirds of the Spanish wools imported into this country. He proved the contract between himself and Brook at 5*s.* 1*d.* for the Leonissa wools, and 4*s.* 8*d.* for Segovias. His books were also sent for and examined, by which it appeared that the whole contract for the wools amounted to 160,000*l.* that year.

On cross examination the counsel endeavoured to establish, that although the wool in question was paid for at 4*s.* 8*d.* to De Torres, yet that other parcels were paid for in other proportions, so that upon the whole contract, Brooks, as the broker, did not get any surplus beyond what he paid to the factor.

Mr. Wallington was also called, and he said he gave Brooks orders to purchase 180 bags of foreign wool, *viz.* 140 Leonissa, and 40 of Segovia. The invoices of these wools were compared with the weight notes from Torres, and it appeared there had been a surchage of two-pence in the pound.

Evidence was also produced, to shew that the defendant had dealt in wool himself as principal.

Mr. Justice Grose, before whom the cause was tried, observed, in the course of his summing up, that the letter was a most excellent treatise on the duty of a broker, and he wished much the plaintiff would attend to it. He then went through the evidence, and intimated his opinion, that the defendant had made out his justification.

Verdict for defendant.

Moss, v. *Charnock*.

(May 1.)—This was a question upon the validity of the transfer of a ship under Lord Liverpool's Act. The action was brought by the plaintiff, as assignee of Kirkpatric, a bankrupt, to recover two-thirds of the ship Mary Anne, under the following circumstances. Charnock was a creditor of Kirkpatric's, and on the 15th of November took an assignment of Kirkpatric's share in the ship, as part payment of his debt. On the 5th of December, the transfer of the property was registered at the Custom-House, according to the direction of Lord Liverpool's Act. But after the assignment, and previous to the registering, Kirkpatric became a bankrupt. The present action was brought to recover the ship from Charnock, the assignee contending, that as the sale was not complete until the registering of the ship, the property was not out of the bankrupt at the time of the bankruptcy; consequently, that he, as the assignee, was entitled to recover it. The defendant, on the contrary, contended, that the registering was mere matter of form, and when done, it completed the title from the time of the original assignment.

Mr. Justice le Blanc said, this did not seem a question for the jury, it was a mere point of law upon the construction of the act of parliament. By Lord Liverpool's Act, the transfer of property in shipping, must be attended with certain formalities, to make it valid, and when a ship was out of the kingdom, as was the present case, it directed, that an entry of the transfer should be registered on the books of the Custom-House, at that port to which she belonged. This was not done until the 5th of December, when the ship arrived, and therefore, his opinion was, that the property was vested in the bankrupt, until the title was complete by registering the transfer.

The facts of the case being agreed on by the counsel, with the additional fact, that the grand bill of sale remained in the custody of Kirkpatric, a verdict was taken for the plaintiff subject to the future opinion of the court, as to the point of law.

In the subsequent term, (Friday May 28) the case was argued in court.

Mr. Parke, in support of the verdict, contended that the assignment was not valid, neither under the statute nor at common law. To make a valid assignment at common law, it was necessary that the grand bill of sale should be delivered to the assignee, and he insisted that Lord Liverpool's Act did not supersede the ancient but only added others. By the 16 sect. of the 34 Geo. 3. c. 68, when a ship at sea was transferred from one owner to another, it was necessary to deliver a copy of the bill of sale to the Custom-House. His learned friend contended, that when that was to be done, was not limitted in point of time. He contended, that it ought to be done forthwith, and that if a bankruptcy intervened it avoided the whole contract. It was similar to a mortgage and sale to be enrolled under the statute of Elizabeth, where nothing passed until the enrolment.

Mr. Erskine, *contra*. It was admitted, that the disposition of the property, previous to the bankruptcy, was *bonâ fide*, and as no particular time was specified in the act, when the transfer should be registered, it must be done in a reasonable time, and what was a reasonable time must be left to the jury to determine. With respect to the grand bill of sale remaining with Kirkpatric, it was only a bill of sale of two-thirds. There could be but one grand bill of sale, and why he should have it rather than any other of the coowners, he could not see, but although the transfer of the bill of sale was necessary, previous to Lord Liverpool's Act, yet since that time it was immaterial, as the regulations of that act sufficiently prevented any fradulent transfer of shipping. With respect to the time after the assignments, and previous to the registering, as no unnecessary delay had been suffered to intervene, and as the act did not bind them to any particular space, he insisted that it was a fact for the jury to determine, whether they had been guilty of any neglect; and if they had not, he argued, that their title was good from the date of the assignment, which was previous to the act of bankruptcy. Mr. Gibbs argued on the same side.

On a subsequent day Mr. Justice Lawrence delivered the opinion of the court in favour of the plaintiff, on the ground that it would open a door to great frauds, if the title was complete until all the necessary forms were gone through.

EASTER TERM.

The King v. *Joseph Cator*.

(May 31.) The defendant appeared to receive the judgment of the court, having been convicted last Kent assizes, of writing several anonymous and libellous letters to Mr. H. Jackson, of Beckenham.

The defendant is a gentleman of large fortune, having lived many years in the East-Indies, now retired to the village of Beckenham in Kent. Mr. Jackson, the prosecutor, is a merchant, also residing in the same parish, which unfortunately has for a long time been in a state of civil dissension, respecting the regulation of the poor rates; Mr. John Cator, the brother of the defendant, being the leader of one party, and Mr. Jackson, the prosecutor, of the other. This caused considerable ill blood between the families, but it did not appear that Mr. Jos. Cator had been active in the quarrel any way.

In the course of the last year, Mrs. Jackson received several anonymous and scurrilous letters, which were never suspected to come from the defendant, until some one looking at them, said he knew it to be the hand writing of Mr. Jos. Cator, although disguised. There was also a particularity about the paper, which induced Mr. Jackson to write a note to Mr. Cator, for the purpose of getting an answer—the answer came on the same sort of paper; and it was afterwards proved on the trial by the paper-maker, that he had never sold any of that paper but to the Bishop of Rochester and to Mr. Cator's servant. Mr. Jackson accordingly indicted Mr. Cator for the libel contained in those letters, and the jury found him guilty. He now appeared to receive the sentence of the court.

Mr. Justice Grose began by observing, that he stood convicted of publishing a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting upon the character

of Mr. Jackson; and having stated the mode of its publication, viz. by anonymous letters, he continued his address in substance as follows:

"The libel fully answers the description given "of it in the indictment; it represents the "prosecutor as a fool, a great rascal, a braggado-"cio, a lover of litigation, a great hypocrite; and "also, in one letter to Mrs. Jackson, insinuates "that he had been incontinent to his marriage "bed. The author of these scurrilous produc-"tions feeling that the person to whom they were "thus addressed in private letters, might not "choose to publish this abuse of himself to the "world, but rather let it die away without public "notice, on the outside of one letter, addressed "to Mr. Jackson, has also added, 'a noisy, emp-"ty, braggadocio, meddling fellow.' I advert to "this circumstance, because I think it applies in "answer to one argument used by your counsel, "namely, that there was no inuendo to explain to "whom the words applied. In truth, it was too "plain, and needed not the intervention of any "inuendo whatever to make it plainer.

"That a person, standing accused of so un-"manly, so degrading a crime, should make every "effort to repel the charge, is not at all wonder-"ful, but what was naturally to be expected. "Accordingly, all means were used in your de-"fense before the jury; no pains have been "spared by your counsel, either at the trial or at "bar, to defend you from the charge, and to "avert from you its effect. But you have been "found guilty! The evidence upon which you "were convicted was, as it generally is in such "cases, of a circumstantial nature: other evi-"dence could not well be expected; for the man "who can attempt to assassinate in the dark the "peace of a family, and wield his weapon from "an unknown quarter, will most likely take such "measures of precaution, as to preclude the pro-"bability of obtaining direct proof against him. "Yet such is often the interference of Providence, "that some trivial and unforeseen circumstance "leads to detection. Thus, in the case before us, "we find the feigned hand-writing for a moment "losing its assumed chararcter; or, as the learned "counsel (Garrow) well observed, the mask drop-"ped off, and the natural features for a moment "became visible. Some witnesses spoke more "particularly to the words '*hypocritical villain*,' "as being your usual hand-writing; and others, "that they believed the whole to be so. Had it "been a case of doubt, after the evidence of cha-"racter you produced upon your trial, the jury "would have acquitted you;—but it did not rest "here; this evidence received confirmation from "other and collateral circumstances, such was "the evidence respecting the writing-paper, and "your expressions of "You never sold any of that "paper to me,"—"Reformers seldom do any "good," &c. It is enough, however, for me, "without going through the evidence at this "period of the cause, to observe, that after the "best advice and assistance which the English "bar could afford you, a jury of your country "have found you guilty.

"With regard to your motives, we can only "divine them from facts. From the records of this "court we know, that in the parish where both "you and the prosecutor inhabit, the latter had "exerted himself to correct some evils respecting "the parish rates, and to abolish an old and un-"just system of rating, in order to substitute "one more equitable in its operation. In this, the "justice and liberality of the prosecutor were "most conspicuous; and to this, perhaps, was "meant to apply your observation, that "Re-"formers do no good." If it were so meant to "apply, it must be considered as aggravating the "libel. From your rank and character in society, "he ought to have expected that from you he "should have had approbation and assistance in "so salutary an undertaking, and not to have met "with obliquy and reproach. But whatever might "be your motives, nothing can be more destruc-"tive to domestic felicity than a libel which sug-"gests to a wife that her husband was inconstant "to her bed, and that amongst his neighbours he "was considered as a fool, a medler, a braggado-"cio, and, in short, a contemptible character; "and although it might and has been said, that "this was not a sort of libel likely to produce "much public mischief, yet most certainly, as a "private libel, it was cruel in the extreme.

"In mitigation, we have heard most respecta-"ble evidence in support of your general good "character. Upon this subject, melancholy ex-"perience compels me to lament that we daily "hear the best of characters given to the worst of "culprits. Whether it be that such is the hypo-"crisy of offenders, they deceive all around them, "or whether it arises from the imperfect obeserva-"tion and fallibility of witnesses, or whether, "worst of all, from an attempt to deceive us sit-"ting here, I cannot determine.

"In the present instance, notwithstanding the "same sort of evidence was given before the jury, "they have drawn the conclusion that you was "guilty. And here I must pause to obsevre, that "how far the method of *viva voce* testimony of "character before a jury surpasses the mode of "affidavits before us, what has happened in this "cause will most abundantly demonstrate.

"As to the sentence which the court is about "to pronounce upon you, the rank you have hi-"therto held amongst men, the character and "situation you have enjoyed amongst your neigh-"bours, are considerations which have paralized "the arm of criminal justice. The punishment "we inflict will be small, compared to that "arising out of your own situation. The indelible "evidence of this record, and the torture of your "own conscience, must be worse punishment to "you than this or any human tribunal can in-"flict.—The sentence which I am directed to pro-"nounce is, that you pay a fine of 200l. to the "King, and be imprisoned until that fine is paid."

COMMON PLEAS.

Robertson v. *Badcock*.

(June 19.) The plaintiff is Miss Robertson of Blackheath, and this lady has published her [illegible]. It is needless to say any more respecting her, [illegible] refer our readers to it. The defendant is a book-seller in Paternoster-row, who solicited as a favor that Miss Robertson would employ him as her publisher, which she did, and this action was brought for the recovery of the profits of the phamphlets that passed through his hands. The contract made in November last was, that the defendant should employ a printer, whom he was to pay out of the profits, and take the rest for sale, or return to account for the end of January following. Miss Robertson had several interviews with the defendant, who seemed much pleased

with his engagement. When the time was expired, Miss Robertson made application for a settlement, which the defendant evaded. In February following Miss Robertson sent for 100 of the pamphlets; the defendant could not produce any, and sent her servant to another bookseller for some, when only twenty could be procured. This proof of their being sold induced Miss Robertson to ask a friend to call with the bill, and urge a settlement. The defendant then admitted the account to be just. Some days after he called upon Miss Robertson with his account, and offered her 1l. 8s. and said, that balanced the account. This she refused to take, and requested the account might be left for inspection; on which he crushed it up, and put it in his pocket, went out, saying, he would have no more to do with it. Miss Robertson's attorney then applied for the money, and had several interviews with the defendant, who acknowledged he was indebted to Miss Robertson; but wished her solicitor not to proceed in the business, and offered him a few guineas, which was refused. The action was then brought, and proceeded on with a laudable expedition by the plaintiff's attorney.

The above facts, as stated by counsel, as well as the contract between the parties, were proved in evidence. The defence set up by the defendant was, that the plaintiff being Miss Robertson, of Blackheath, whom all the world knew by public report, the mere mention of her name was sufficient to entitle him to a verdict, and the counsel addressed the jury to that effect. This produced a very able and spirited reply from Mr. Serjeant Cockell; who said he was sorry to hear it insinuated in a court of justice that, because a lady had unfortunately been involved in difficulties and distress, she had no right to sue a person for a legal debt. Such a defence he reprobated, and he was sure his noble and learned brother on the bench would do the same. There never was, he said, any thing more clear than that Miss Robertson had proved her property in the work in question; and was he to be told in a free country, that she should have no redress for the wrong she suffered; that she was not entitled to recover her property, because she had contracted debts for which she was now in confinement. Another part of the defence was, that a partnership existed between the plaintiff and Miss Sharp, and that therefore she could not sue singly. This, however, was not proved; but on the contrary, it appeared that the partnership had been dissolved since Midsummer 1800; and that this was a distinct concern of Miss Robertson's. Lord Alvanley in his able and impartial charge to the jury, said, from the evidence before him, he saw nothing to warrant the insinuations thrown out by the defendant's counsel; but on the contrary, it appeared to him that Miss Robertson had acted in the business of this suit with great fairness. The jury after deliberating about twenty minutes, found a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages 62l. 4s. 6d.

Miles v. *Burke.*

The defendant was Captain of the Albion, South Sea Whaler. In 1800 he sailed for the South Seas. The plaintiff was a sailor on board the ship: in the month of October the same year a dispute arose between the parties, in which it was proved that the Captain struck the plaintiff violently and treated him with great cruelty. He then confined him on board the ship for three days, until he came to Norforlk Island, New South Wales, when he and his mate went on shore, and made such representations to the governor concerning the mutinous behaviour of the plaintiff and another man of the name of Thompson; that the governor sent his boat for these unfortunate men, had them brought on shore, without the captain's even allowing them to take their hammocks or clothes with them, but telling them: "You shall not go "as gentlemen, you shall be forced to do the "work of the Island." Here they were kept in confinement, put to hard labour, and treated in every respect as convicts. The plaintiff at length made his escape, by getting on board his Majesty's ship the Buffalo, and entering as a seaman. Having returned to England, he found out the defendant, and brought this action for the recovery of his wages, and the profits due to him from the fishery, according to contract. The case being clearly made out by evidence, Lord Alvanly said, this was a case of great importance to the commercial interests of the country: at the same time that encouragment ought not to be held out to every sailor returning from a voyage to sue his captain for trifling, and, perhaps, necessary chastisement; captains were not to treat their men with arbitrary cruelty. His lordship highly disapproved of the conduct of the defendant. The jury found for the plaintiff, damage 70l.

KINGS BENCH.

The King v. *Henrietta, the Wife of John Kelfe, for Perjury*

(April 16.) Mr. Mingay, who led this cause, said he deplored very much that it ever came into court, and was sincerely sorry that a negotiation for an accommodation between the parties had failled of its effect. But as it was before the court, it became his duty to state the circumstances of the case to the jury. It was an indictment against Mrs. Kelfe, the wife of John Kelfe, Esq. for a perjury alleged to have been committed in an affidavit, in a former cause between John Ambrose, the present prosecutor, and her nephew, of the one party, and her husband of the other. The present prosecutor, Mr. Ambrose, was a natural son of Lord de Blaquiere's, and the defendant was his aunt. He had been in the habits, from very early life, of visiting his aunt, and spending much of his time with her, but he never understood that he was to be called upon for payment of that kindness.—This lady was early in life connected with a very honourable gentleman, a Mr. Hatton, who gave her a bond for 12col. and afterwards Mr. Hatton gave the prosecutor, Ambrose, a living in the church, and received the bond from Mrs. Kelfe to be cancelled. When Ambrose got the living, he was induced to execute a bond for an annuity to Kelfe, the husband of the defendant, and the defendant herself, to be paid from his parsonage, which he considered as extorted from him, and applied to the court of Kings Bench to set it aside, on the ground that the consideration was not truly set forth in the memorial. It was upon that occasion that the defendant Kelfe swore what was not true, namely, that she had expended 1900l. and upwards, for the advancement in life of her nephew, the present prosecutor, and that it was the consideration of the annuity.

An officer of the court of King's Bench produced a copy of the judgment, and of two rules of court,

made in the cause of Ambrose and Kelfe, with the affidavit of Kelfe and his wife, in which they stated that Ambrose, being the nephew of Mrs. Kelfe, she had advanced the sum of 1900*l.* for his advancement in life.

Mr. Hatton was then called, who stated, that he had given a bond to Mrs. Kelfe for 1200*l.* The bond was returned to him by Ambrose, and was now destroyed. He granted this bond some years ago. In the year 1794 she was desirous that her nephew should be presented to one of his livings, and he agreed to do it, upon consideration that she gave up his bond to be cancelled, he did present Ambrose to it, and his bond was given up.

John Ambrose, the prosecutor, was next examined. He said that he was never indebted to his aunt in the sum of 1900*l.* for his advancement in the world. Being asked what was the consideration for which he executed the bond of 1,900*l.* for the payment of an annuity, he answered, having supposed from his aunt's frequent declarations that she would provide for him, and having been acquainted with Mr. Hatton from seven or eight years of age. In the year 1794 his aunt authorized him to go to Mr. Hatton, and Mr. Hatton agreed that, instead of paying the bond to his aunt, he would appoint him to one of his livings. He accordingly received the bond from a Mr. Withy, by his aunt's directions, and gave it up to Mr. Hatton. When the living lapsed he was appointed, and he executed the annuity deeds, under an apprehension that, if he refused, he should have lost the preferment; but he never considered himself as his aunt's debtor. Upon cross examination he said he was under very many obligations to his aunt. He lived with her many years, and scarce knew any difference between her and his mother. He was married in the year 1787, and being interrogated, whether he did not then *swear* himself to be of age, and the register being put into his hand he declined answering. He had three children, which he believed were provided for by his father, Lord de Blaquiere. He was unable to provide for them himself: unfortunately, he lived how he could and where he could Upon several other questions it also appeared, that he had not been quite correct in his conduct. The learned judge here interposed, and intimated his opinion to the jury, that the evidence was much too slight to convict the defendant of the crime of perjury. Verdict, not guilty.

KING'S BENCH.

The King v. *the Bishop of Exeter.*

(June 28.)—Messrs. Garrow and Dampier shewed cause against a rule obtained by Mr. Gibbs, for a *mandamus* to be directed to the defendant, enjoining him to license the Rev. Mr. Rowe, as lecturer of the parish of Fremington in Devonshire.

Mr. Rowe's claim rested on the following grounds: in the year 1653, a Mr. Doddridge, by his will, charged his estates with 50*l.* per annum, as a stipend for a lecturer of the parish of Fremington: by different descents and transfers, those estates, with the lay Rectorship of Fremington and the appointment of this lecturer, devolved to the late Wm. Barber, Esq. The late Mr. Barber, in the month of May, 1797, appointed the Rev. Mr. Rowe, lecturer of that parish, but the bishop refused to license him, on the ground that the Rev. Mr. Cook, vicar of that parish, had positively refused Mr. Rowe the use of his church, and that it was therefore impossible for him to discharge the duty of lecturer of the parish. The learned counsel confessed they were not instructed as to the objections against Mr. Rowe, but contended that it would be inconsistent with the preservation of our church, to allow any gentleman who pleased to settle a stipend on a lecturer, to send any clergyman he pleased into the pulpit of the parish church, without the consent of the vicar or the bishop. They thought the spiritual interests of the public would be best preserved by leaving the regulation of our churches, and the doctrine preached in them, to those who were responsible; namely, the vicar and the bishop. They then cited different cases to prove that this had been the opinion of Lord Mansfield, and of Lord Kenyon; and concluded by observing, that this endowment, made by Mr. Doddridge in the year 1658, was made during the usurpation of Cromwell, and when there was no legal power existing to accept or reject it.

Messrs. Gibbs and Wood, in support of the rule, stated, that the bishop had allowed that he had no objections to Mr. Rowe as a clergyman, and that he had ample testimonials of his good conduct. The Rev. Mr. Cook, the vicar of the parish, made no objection to Mr. Rowe in point of orthodoxy, religion, or morals; but said, he will admit no one into his church as lecturer, that is not appointed by the present Mr. Barber. It being allowed then, on all hands, that the nomination was in the family of Mr. Barber, the only question was between the appointee of the late Mr. Barber, and the appointee of his heir, the present Mr Barber.

The application at present was not that the vicar should let Mr. Rowe into his pulpit, but that the bishop should license him; he being of unexceptionable character, and regularly nominated. If he had the bishops licence, even although Mr. Cook might not permit him to lecture in his parish church, still he would know how to bring to an issue with the present Mr. Barber, the question respecting the 50*l.* per annum, attached by the will of the founder to the situation of lecturer.

Lord Ellenborough said, it was not for the court to consider what use was to be made of such licence, if granted, but merely what legal right the parties applying have to the interposition of the court; it was clear that no person could graft any new thing upon the constitution of the church, whether by endowing a lectureship or otherwise. There were but two ways of making this alteration; the one was by prescription, the other by Act of Parliament. The lecturer in this case could not claim a *prescriptive* right to the pulpit, for they saw the date when it first began. Nor was there any Act of Parliament. He therefore was of opinion that the mandamus should not go, as the person praying it had made no legal title to the thing, for which he asked the powers of the court to be put in motion.—Rule discharged.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

(June 30.)—Mr. Erskine shewed cause against a rule obtained by Mr. Gibbs, for a mandamus to the town clerk of Boston to swear in a Mr. John Sheaf to the office of common-councilman of that borough.

The affidavits upon which this rule was

granted on a former day were in substance as follow: that the corporation consisted of a mayor, twelve aldermen, and a common-council. The mayor and aldermen elected the common-council in the following manner: each alderman proposed whom he thought to be a fit candidate. The aldermen then elected by ballot six out of the whole number. These six, by a subsequent ballot, were again reduced to two, and by the last ballot one of these two was elected to the office. It was a singular part of the constitution of this borough, that the mayor had two votes, which, with the twelve aldermen, made fourteen voices, so that possibly there might be an equality of votes, which, in fact, took place in the case before the court. There being a vacancy in the common-council, the mayor and aldermen on the 16th of March last proceeded to fill it up in the usual manner. The two candidates to be chosen by the ultimate ballot were a Mr. Sheef, on whose behalf the application was made, and a Mr. Clarke. Upon a ballot, they were seven and seven—the mayor and five aldermen on one side, and seven aldermen on the other. This ballot was repeated twenty-two times, and still the ballot was equal. At last a Mr. Damer, one of the aldermen, lost his ballotting-ball, and requested to have another. He was a friend of Mr. Sheef, and the other party insisted, that by losing his ball he had lost his vote. The mayor, on the contrary, insisted that he ought to have another ball given to him. This produced a great dissension in the meeting. The mayor and his friends refused to ballot, but the others persisted, and said Mr. Clarke was duly elected. On the 19th of March another assembly was held by the mayor, which was adjourned until the 30th. The mayor then insisted that he had dissolved the former assembly of the 16th of March, and that the present one was the only one competent to the election. Mr. Clarke's friends insisted on the contrary, and moved the previous question. The town-clerk read his oath of office, by which he was directed to obey the majority; he therefore refused to officiate, upon which the mayor appointed another, *pro tempore*, and proceeded to a new election. And as the balloting-boxes were inverted by the opposite party, he polled the aldermen, and declared Sheef elected; Clarke's friends denied the legality of the meeting, and refused to vote.

The question now came before the court which of the two was duly elected, and a mandamus was applied for to swear in Sheef.

Mr. Erskine and Mr. Wood, on the part of the prior election, contended that the assertion of Mr. Damer, that he had lost his ball, was a mere pretext to get another, and give a majority to his favoured candidate. They then went through an immense mass of affidavits, to shew, that by the true laws of the corporation, the mayor could not dissolve the meeting, and that he could not put, for purpose, any question without a consent from the majority, which, in the present case, was against him.

Mr. Gibbs and Mr. Dampiere argued on the other side at considerable length.

The court at last decided it upon a very simple point. They said it appeared from the affidavits on both sides, that any election, by the constitution of the borough, must be by ballot. The election under which Sheef claimed was not so, since it was said, that as the balloting-boxes were inverted, the mayor called upon the aldermen openly for their suffrages. It was certain that he could not change the constitution of the borough, which required a secret election, and therefore one in any other mode was a void one. As they were called upon merely to grant a mandamus to swear in Sheef, and his election manifestly not being regular, they must of course discharge the rule.—Rule discharged.

AMERICAN STATES.

A causeless indifference to the affairs of the Western Continent has for a long time been the fashionable folly of British politicians. It has been our endeavour to rouse them from this fatal indifference, and to claim some attention towards a country that has risen to wealth and influence with a rapidity that beggars all former example. Yesterday but an insignificant colony of England, America is now the commercial rival of the greatest powers of Europe, not excepting England herself. Her trade, which the enterprise of her mariners and her merchants has extended over the whole world, would alone have furnished her with the means of being formidable. In the fertility of her soil, the value of her productions, the industry of her inhabitants, and the geographical advantages of her situation, she possesses the certain sources of greatness. By the extraordinary changes too, in the political situation of nations, the great theatre of action, appears to be, at present, removing from the old to the new world; the destinies of the East may probably be fixed in the West, and the fate of Europe may now be decided in America, as that of America heretofore has been in Europe. At this period it behoves a British minister to keep a steady eye on the transactions beyond the Atlantic. Every measure and every proceeding of the government of the United States (a government whose views and whose temper are not clearly understood) has great and commanding claims to his notice; and every display of the sentiments of the leaders of the grand parties and divisions among the Americans, deserves his utmost attention.

Such being our persuasion, we have, in the whole course of this work, endeavoured to avail ourselves of every opportunity of conveying to our readers a correct information relative to the politics and political œconomy of the American States. It remains for us, at present, to lay before our readers such materials as may not have been within our reach heretofore, or as were

found to be too bulky for a weekly publication.

To render these papers perfectly intelligible, and to convey to every reader a satisfactory idea of the state of parties, as well as of the object and motives of the various public measures, it would be necessary for us to carry our introductory remarks as far back, at least, as the time when *federalist* and *democrat* became the destinctive appellations of the two parties, into which the people of the United States are divided. But a retrospect so extended would demand more room and time than we have to spare; and, as most of our readers are, probably, in possession of Porcupine's Works, in which the history of American factions and politics is brought down to the close of the election of Mr. Jefferson (March, 1801), we shall, therefore, confine ourselves within the time subsequent to that epoch.

As Jefferson obtained his election by a very small majority, the triumph of the democrats* was, as yet, but half complete. To gain a decided ascendency in all the affairs of the nation, small as well as great, it was necessary to drive from office all those persons, who had been appointed by Washington and Adams, and whose places were held during the pleasure of the president. Besides the desire to rule, which every political party possesses, the democrats were actuated by two other powerful motives—they were very anxious to take revenge on their enemies, and still more so to receive the long-sought reward of their factious exertions. When, therefore, ambition, revenge, and self-interest were all cordially united against the unfortunate federal place-men, it is no wonder that they were speedily ousted The change was general. Jefferson seemed to have taken the civil list in his hand, and to have scratched out every name. The ejection extended to the poor clerks, and even the door-keepers. So that, in less than two months after the election of the new president, the whole power of the state passed into the hands of those, who had constantly declared their hostility, not only to the measures of the federal government, but to the existence of the government itself. Of the persons appointed we shall only particularly mention those who fill the five great offices. James Madison was appointed secretary of state, Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, Henry Dearbon, secretary at war, Robert Smith, secretary of the navy, Levi Lincoln, attorney general. These officers form what may be called the cabinet council of the president.

This revolution of office having been effected during the summer, the congress met at the city of Washington, on the 8th of December. The president had resolved on a radical change of every thing that his office enabled him to touch; and, in conformity with this resolution, he opened the session with a letter, addressed to the speaker of each house respectively, instead of a speech delivered to the two houses, as had been the invariable custom with his predecessors. —On this speech we shall now quote some remarks from a pamphlet entitled the *Examination*, written by the famous Mr. Alexander Hamilton.

Extract from the Examination of the President's Message.

In order to cajole the people, the message abounds with all the common-place of popular harangue, and prefers claims of merit, for circumstances of equivocal or of trivial value. With pompous absurdity are we told of the "multiplication of men, susceptible of happi-"ness," (as if this susceptibility were a privilege peculiar to our climate) "habituated to self-"government, and valuing its blessings above all "price." Fortunate will it be, if the present favorites of the people, do not, before their reign is at an end, transform those blessings into curses, so serious and heavy, as to make even despotism a desirable refuge from the elysium of democracy.

In a country, the propensities of which are opposed even to necessary burdens, an alarm is attempted to be excited about the general tendency of government, "to leave to labour the "smallest portion of its earnings, on which it "can subsist, and to consume the residue of "what it was instituted to guard." It might have been well, to have explained whether it is the whole of the earnings of labour, which government is instituted to guard, or only the residue after deducting what is necessary to enable it to fulfil the duty of protection. Representatives who share with their constituents in an excessive jealousy of executive abuses, are cautiously admonished to "circumscribe discretionary

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* The *democrats* are the friends of France, and of sedition all over the world. They are the sworn enemies of England. They are, for the far greater part, poor, and not a few of them persons of infamous character. The *federalists*, who took their name from their attachment to the federal or general government, which they defended against the democrats, cannot be better described, than by saying that they are, in every respect, exactly the contrary of their opponents.

"powers over money," though they are known to be already so limited, as that the executive, even on the prospect of a rupture with a foreign power, would not possess the means of obtaining intelligence the most necessary for the proper direction of its measures.—That the new administration has not boldly invaded the laws and with-held the funds applicable to the payment of the principal and interest of the public debt, is fastidiously proclaimed as evidence that "the "public faith has been exactly maintained." The praise of a spirit of economy is attempted to be gained, by the suppression of a trifling number of officers, (a majority of whom had become unnecessary by the mere change of circumstances) and by declaiming with affectation, against "the multiplication of officers and the "increase of expense." The proposition to reduce our insignificant military establishment (the actual number of troops probably not exceeding that which is intended to be retained) cannot be suggested, without tickling our ears with the trite but favourite maxim, that "a standing "army ought not to be kept up in time of "peace." To make a display of concern for their prosperity—Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and navigation are introduced among the pageants of the piece; but, except as "to "protection from casual embarrassments," we are sagaciously informed that these "great pil-"lars of our prosperity, ought to be left to take "care of themselves." The carrying trade, however, seems to engage more solicitude; no doubt that we may be terrified by the expectation of future evils, from a much traduced instrument *, which in time past, has done nothing but good, in spite of the gloomy predictions of patriotic seers.

Such are the minor features of this curious performance. Had these been its only blemishes, a regard to national reputation would have forbidden a comment; but connected as they are with schemes of innovation replete with great present mischief, and still greater future danger; designed as they are to varnish over projects which threaten to precipitate our nation from an enviable height of prosperity to that low and abject state, from which it was raised by the establishment and wise administration of our present government—they become entitled to notice as additional indications of character and disposition.

The merits of the message have now been pretty fully discussed; but before it is dismissed, it may be useful to take a view of it in another and a different light; as one link in a chain of testimony, which the force of circumstances, at every step of the new administration, extorts from them, in favour of their predecessors.

The president, on the threshold of office, at the first opportunity of speaking to his constituents, in his very inaugural speech; full of a spirit, which the most rancorous prejudice can obscure, and not sufficiently reflecting on the inferences which would be drawn, proclaims aloud to the world, that a government, which he had disapproved in its institution, and virulently opposed in its progress, was in the full tide of successful experiment. In the last address he again unconsciously becomes the panegyrist of those whom he seeks to depreciate. The situation in which (humanly speaking) we have been preserved by the prudent and firm councils of the preceding administrations, amidst the revolutionary and convulsive throes, amidst the desolating conflicts of Europe, is there a theme of emphatic gratulation. It shall not be forgotten, as the solitary merit of the address, that we are reminded of the gratitude due to heaven for the blessings of this situation. Amidst the spurious symptoms of a spirit of reform, it is consoling to observe one, which, in charity, ought to be supposed genuine. But it would not have diminished our conviction of its sincerity, if the instruments of Providence in the accomplishment of the happy work, had not been entirely overlooked; since this would have been evidence of a willingness to acknowledge and retract error —to make reparation for injury. But though they have been overlooked by the message, the American people ought never for a moment to forget them. Their efforts and their struggles, their moderation and their energy, their care and their foresight; the mad and malignant opposition of their political adversaries; the charges of pusillanimity and perfidy lavished on the declaration of neutrality; the resistance to measures for avoiding a rupture with Great-Britain; the attempt to rush at once into reprisals; the cry for war with the enemies of France, as the enemies of republican liberty; all these things should be for ever imprinted on the memory of a just and vigilant nation. And in recollecting them, they should equally recollect that the opposers of the salutary plans to which they are so much indebted, were and are the zealous partizans of the present head of our government; who have at all times submitted to his influence and implicitly obeyed his nod; who never would have pursued with so much vehemence the course they did, had they known it to be contrary to the views of their chief: nor should it be forgotten that this chief in the negotiation with the British minister, conducted by him as secretary of state, acted precisely as if it had been his design to widen, not to heal the breach between the two countries; that he at first objected to the declaration of neutrality; was afterwards reluctantly dragged into the measures connected with it; was believed by his friends not to approve the system of conduct, of which he was the official organ; was publicly and openly accused by the then agent of the French republic with duplicity and deception, with having been the first to inflame his mind with ill impressions of the principles and views of leading characters in our government, not excepting the revered Washington; that this chief, at a very critical period of our affairs in reference to the war of Europe, withdrew from the direction of that department peculiarly charged with the

* The treaty with Great-Britain.

management of our foreign relations, evidently to avoid being more deeply implicated in the consequences of the position, which had been assumed by the administration; but on the hollow pretence of a dislike to public life and a love of philosophic retirement. Citizens of America—mark the sequel and learn from it instruction! You have been since agitated to the center, to raise to the first station in your government, the very man who, at a conjuncture when your safety and your welfare demanded his stay, early relinquished a subordinate, but exalted and very influential post, on a pretence as frivolous as it has proved to be insincere! Was he, like the virtuous Washington, forced from a beloved retreat, by the unanimous and urgent call of his country? No: he stalked forth the champion of faction—having never ceased in the shade of his retreat, by all the arts of intrigue, to prepare the way to that elevation, for which a restless ambition impatiently panted.

The undersigned eulogy of the men, who have been slandered out of the confidence of their fellow citizens, has not been confined to the situation of the country, as connected with the war of Europe. In the view given of the very flourishing state of our finances, the worst of the calumnies against those men is refuted, and it is admitted, that in this article of vital importance to the public welfare, their measures have been provident and effectual beyond example. To the charge of a design to saddle the nation with a perpetual debt, a plain contradiction is given by the concession, that the provisions which have been made for it are so ample, as even to justify the relinquishment of a part no less considerable than the whole of the internal revenue. The same proposal testifies the brilliant success of our fiscal system generally; and that it is more than equal to all that has been undertaken, to all that has been promised to the nation.

The report of the secretary of the treasury, as published, confirms this high commendation of the conduct of the former administrations. After relieving each state from the burthen of its particular debt, by assuming the payment of it on account of the United States, in addition to the general debt of the nation; after settling the accounts between the states relatively to their exertions for the common defence in our revolutionary war, and providing for the balances found due to such of them as were creditors; after maintaining with complete success, an obstinate and expensive war with the Indian tribes; after making large disbursements for the suppression of two insurrections against the government; after liberal contributions to the Barbary powers to induce them to to open to our merchants the trade of the Mediterranean; after incurring a responsibility for indemnities to a large amount, due to British merchants, in consequence of infractions of the treaty of peace by some of the states; after heavy expenditures for creating and supporting a navy, and for other preparations, to guard our independence and territory against the hostilities of a foreign nation; after the accomplishment of all these very important objects, it is now declared to the United States by the present head of the treasury, by the confidential minister of the present chief magistrate, by the most subtil and implacable of the enemies of the former administrations, "That the actual revenues of the union are sufficient to defray all the expenses civil and military of government, to the extent authorized by existing laws, to meet all the engagements of the United States; and to discharge in fifteen years and a half, the whole of our public debt"—foreign as well as domestic, new as well as old. Let it be understood, that the revenues spoken of were all provided under the two first administrations; and, that the "existing laws," alluded to, were all passed under the same administrations; consequently, that the revenues had not been increased, nor the expenses diminished by the men who now hold the reins: and then let it be asked, whether so splendid a result does not reflect the highest credit on those, who in time past, have managed the affairs of the nation? Does not the picture furnish matter not only for consolation, but even for exultation to every true friend of his country? And amidst the joy which he must feel in the contemplation, can he be so unjust as to refuse the tribute of commendation to those, by whose labours his country has been placed on so fair an eminence? Will he endure to see any part of the fruit of those labours blasted or hazarded, by a voluntary surrender of any portion of the means which are to ensure the advantages of so bright a prospect?

In vain will envy or malevolence reply, "The happy situation in which we are placed "is to be attributed not to the labours of those "who have heretofore conducted our affairs, "but to an unforeseen and unexpected progress "of our country." Candour and truth will answer—Praise is always due to public men who take their measures in such a manner as to derive to the nation, the benefit of favourable circumstances which are possible, as well as of those which are foreseen. If proportionate provision had not been made, concurrently with the progress of our national resources, the effect of them would not have been felt as to the past, and would not have been matured as to the future.

But why should it be pretended that this progress was not anticipated? In past experience, there were many data for calculation. The ratio of the increase of our population had been observed and stated; the extent and riches of our soil were known; the materials for commercial enterprize were no secret; the probable effect of the measures of the government to foster and encourage navigation, trade and industry, was well understood; and especially, the influence of the means, which were adapted to augment our active capital, and to supply a fit and adequate medium of circulation, towards the increase of national wealth, was declared and insisted upon, in official reports. Though adventitious circumstances may have aided the result, it is certain, that a penetrating and comprehensive mind could be at no loss to foresee

progress of our affairs, similar to what has been experienced. Upon this anticipation the assumption of the state debts, and other apparently bold measures of the government were avowedly predicated, in opposition to the feeble and contracted views of the little politicians, who now triumph in the success of their arts, and enjoy the benefits of a policy, which they had neither the wisdom to plan nor the spirit to adopt; idly imagining that the cunning of a demagogue and the talents of a statesman are synonimous. Consummate in the paltry science of courting and winning popular favour, they falsely infer that they have the capacity to govern, and they will be the last to discover their error. But let them be assured that the people will not long continue the dupes of their pernicious sorceries. Already the cause of truth has derived this advantage from the crude essays of their chief, that the film has been removed from many an eye. The credit of great abilities was allowed him by a considerable portion of those who disapproved his principles; but the short space of nine months has been amply sufficient to dispel that illusion; and even some of his most partial votaries begin to suspect, that they have been mistaken in the object of their idolatry.

List of the Acts passed at the First Session of the Seventh Congress, of the United States of America, held at Washington.

An act extending the privilege of franking and receiving letters, free of postage, to any person admitted or to be admitted to take a seat in Congress as a delegate; and providing compensation for such delegate.

An act concerning the library for both houses of congress.

An act for the apportionment of representatives among the several states, according to the second enumeration.

An act for the protection of the commerce and seamen of the United States against the Tripolitan cruisers.

An act to authorise an advance of money to Samuel Dexter.

An act for the relief of Lyon Lehman.

An act authorising the discharge of Lawrence Cobb from his confinement.

An act making certain partial appropriations for the year one thousand eight hundred and two.

An act to amend an act, intituled "an act to lay and collect a direct tax within the United States."

An act for the relief of Francis Duchouquet.

An act fixing the military peace establishment of the United States.

An act to repeal certain acts respecting the organization of the courts of the United States, and for other purposes.

An act to authorise the president of the United States to convey certain parcels of land therein mentioned.

An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on their frontiers.

An act making appropriation for defraying the expense of a negotiation with the British government to ascertain the boundary line between the United States and Upper Canada.

An act for the accommodation of persons concerned in certain fisheries therein mentioned.

An act authorising the erection of a certain light-house; and for other purposes.

An act to repeal the internal taxes.

An act making a partial appropriation for the support of government during the year one thousand eight hundred and two.

An act for the relief of Isaac Zane.

An act for the relief of the marshals of certain districts therein mentioned.

An act to establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and to repeal the acts heretofore passed on that subject.

An act making an appropriation for defraying the expenses which may arise from carrying into effect the convention made between the United States and the French republic.

An act to revive and continue in force an act, entituled "an act to augment the salaries of the "officers therein mentioned," passed the second day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine.

An act to amend an act entituled "an act to "retain a further sum on drawbacks, for ex- "penses incident to the allowance and payment "thereof, and in lieu of stamp duties on debentures."

An act declaring the assent of Congress to an act of the general assembly of Virginia, therein mentioned.

An act for the relief of Thomas K. Jones.

An act for the relief of Paolo Paoly.

An act for the relief of Louis Tousard.

An act in addition to an act, entituled "an act "in addition to an act regulating the grants of "land appropriated for military services, and for "the society of the united brethren for propa- "gating the gospel among the heathen."

An act making provision for the redemption of the whole public debt of the United States.

An act to amend the judicial system of the United States.

An act to regulate and fix the compensation of the officers of the senate and house of representatives.

An act for the relief of Theodosius Fowler.

An act for the relief of the widows and orphans of certain persons who have died in the naval service of the United States.

An act supplementary to an act, entituled "an "act for the encouragement of learning, by se- "curing the copies of maps, charts and books, to "the authors and proprietors of such copies dur- "ing the time therein mentioned."—And extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and sketching historical and other prints.

An act to revive and continue in force an act, entituled "an act for the establishing trading "houses with the Indian tribes."

An act to suspend, in part, the act, entituled, "an act regulating foreign coins, and for other "purposes."

An act to amend "an act to establish the com- "pensations of the officers employed in the col- "lection of the duties on imports and tonnage: "and for other purposes."

An act to enable the people of the eastern division of the territory north west of the river Ohio, to form a constitution and state government,

and for the admission of such state into the union on an equal footing with the original States; and for other purposes.

An act to provide for the establishment of certain districts—and therein to amend an act, entituled, "an act to regulate the collection of duties "on imports and tonnage; and for other pur- "poses."

An act making appropriations for the military establishment of the United States, in the year one thousand eight hundred and two.

An act making appropriations for the support of the navy of the United States, for the year one thousand eight hundred and two.

An act to abolish the board of commissioners in the city of Washington, and for other purposes.

An act making appropriations for the support of government, for the year one thousand eight hundred and two.

An act to extend, and continue in force, the provisions of an act, entituled "an act giving a "right of pre-emption to certain persons who "have contracted with John Cleves Symmes, or "his associates, for lands lying between the "Maimi rivers, in the territory north west of the "Ohio; and for other purposes."

An act to impower John James Desour and his associates, to purchase certain lands.

An act to incorporate the inhabitants of the city of Washington, in the district of Columbia.

An act further to alter and establish certain post-roads; and for the more secure carriage of the mail of the United States.

An act to amend an act, entitu'ed "an act for "the relief of sick and disabled seamen;" and for other purposes.

An act making appropriation for carrying into effect the convention between the United States of America, and his Britannic Majesty.

An act for the relief of Fulwar Skipwith.

An act additional to, and amendatory of an act entituled "an act concerning the district of Co- "lumbia."

Review of the Session of Congress, which began in December, 1801, *and ended in May,* 1802.

The late session of Congress has been so long, and so expensive, beyond what might have been expected from democratic zeal and disinterestedness, that we are naturally led to enquire what it has produced. The meeting of the first republican congress was announced with joy as part of that "glorious revolution" which had been effected, and as a new era pregnant with delightful wonders. The mountains have been five months in labour, what have they brought forth?

When we review the works of these "great "councils of the nation," the first thing which strikes us, is, that no unusual number of laws private or public have been past, that many of those past are of trivial importance, or in the ordinary routine of business, and that therefore democracy can claim no singular merit on account of the mass of business accomplished. On the contrary, there has certainly been an unusual share of ignorance and absurdity of blunders, embarrassment and delay. The session has not however, it is cheerfully acknowledged, been productive of no benefit. It has afforded the public some useful lessons, it has torn the mask from falsehood, and brought important truths to light.

The message of the President, read at the opening of the session, taught the public, that notwithstanding all that had been said about the dangers of executive influence in the legislature, that influence was now employed. To originate money-bills is the peculiar prerogative of the house of representatives, yet the President strongly recommended the abolition of all the internal taxes, when that recommendation going out to the public, would itself virtually abolish them; would render their continuance not only unpopular, but almost impracticable. Was not this pointed recommendation, on such a subject, overstepping the sphere of office, or at least the bounds of propriety? And when the executive marked out for destruction that portion of the judiciary system recently enacted, and sent his document to displace fifteen federal judges from offices, which by the constitution they held during good behaviour—was not this employing executive influence? was it not employing it for an unjustifiable purpose?

Mr. Pickering had long been charged with embezzling public monies, and the hour had arrived which was to confirm the charge, and damn him and federalism to everlasting infamy. But scarcely had the session commenced, when a distinguished person in the party, actuated by candour or by cunning, expressed his belief in the irreproachable integrity of that calumniated man. That opinion, founded no doubt on official intelligence, has been confirmed by an official report from the head of the treasury department—and from that very man, who, as we have been told, abetted or connived at the villainy of a perjured clerk, to cloud the fair fame of one of the most upright of men, and subserve the purposes of a vile ambition. Happy indeed will it be for the people, if the Genevan and his coadjutors shall go out of office with hands as clean as those of this rigidly honest public officer and his colleagues. If they do, it will be more than has happened with one of their predecessors of the same school.

No longer able to deny or conceal the integrity of Mr. Pickering they have charged him with not adhering in every case to specific appropriations. The president too in his message, has recommended "appropriations for every purpose capable of "definition." We might therefore imagine that he made specific appropriations, so much per diem, pay and rations, for every man, woman and child, saddle-horse and coach-horse, which he has in his palace, kitchen or stable, and that it was death to eat one day more than another. We might suppose that he limited his coffee, his soups and his meats, his pastry and wines, his sugar, butter, salt and pepper, each in their individual capacities, to a specific daily allowance. But if this be the case, gentlemen legislators should inform themselves whether their be no difficulty in the "gestion" of his affairs, and whether at any rate this would be a proper model for the public affairs of a great nation. The propriety of specific appropriations and of adhering to them is not however disputed. But definition and specification, like other things, may be carried to excess. And it is easy to perceive, that it is far safer for the treasury, that the head of a department should, on a particular emergency when the public service must suffer without it, apply to

object what is appropriated to another under the same general head, and afterwards throw himself on the wisdom of the legislature to cover the expense, than to increase the appropriation for each specific object beyond the necessary amount, or to augment the contingent fund, funds of all others the most liable to abuse. We find, however, that these mortal enemies to deviation from specific appropriations have voted, as a "partial "appropriation," one hundred thousand dollars towards defraying the expenditure of the civil list (no specification), including the contingent expenses of the several departments.

The present administration has gone further. They have taken money from the navy funds, and applied it to repairing a captured French corvette, in order to her being delivered up to the French republic. Nay, this has been done without any appropriation at all for that purpose, and without the least sanction of law.

These facts were drawn from their secret recesses by the resolution of Mr. Griswold respecting the Berceau, after a hard struggle among the ministerialists, between the danger of denying the information called for, and the danger of granting. On another occasion, however, their fear of meeting an important question fairly, or indeed of its going before the people at all, prevailed, not only over all precedent and propriety, but even over their fear of the consequences of such an outrage against reason,—and over their loquacity itself. When the federalists called for official information on the subject of internal revenue, it was absolutely refused, and the majority, afraid of discussion, sat in "philosophic" silence. At the commencement of the session, when the party wished that an unusual number of the president's message and documents, voluminous beyond example, should be published, they declared by their mouth-piece, Mr. Giles, that "it was not eco-"nomy of information they desired." But, in the course of the session, they have refused information contrary both to precedent and propriety. They have repeatedly evinced, that on certain occasions even an economical supply of information was too much for the house and the public. Like absolute misers they kept it all for themselves. They had no doubt their reasons. What they were, let the people judge.

As economy in the use of the public treasure is their great boast, the net with which they are always fishing for popularity, let us now examine what proofs of it this republican congress have given, or what their first session has disclosed. There are various things which go under the name economy, and to the praise of some of them this administration is justly entitled. There is a self styled economy which ends in loss, waste, and profusion. Of this kind of economy there have already been proofs and ample provision has been made for more.

Neglect and folly often call themselves economy. The former sometimes leaves his fences in a state of ruin and says, he can't afford to repair or renew them; but when his neighbour's cattle break through and destroy his crop, then this kind of saving turns out to be folly. Similar is the case with nations who neglect the means of defence until some rapacious conqueror levies from them untold millions, and ravishes away their independence itself. Destruction to such narrow-minded economy which sacrifices every thing future to the miserly spirit of saving dollars at the present moment!

There is another species of economy which saves in the merest trifles, in a manner unbecoming the dignity of station, and inconsistent with the views of an enlarged and practical mind. This, in some cases, is only a short-sighted little minded uneasiness. But when it withholds by false or doubtful constructions of law, the well earned compensation of the gallant officer, it is a rascality of soul supremely odious and contemptible. It ought to be drummed out of the universe.

Once more—Pretences to economy are often a mask for the most dangerous ambition and hollow souled avarice. In such cases they will sooner or later discover themselves under the disguise they have assumed. Economists of this class will take care of their friends and themselves. Was it economy, for instance, which sent to the two houses documents so voluminous that they could not be printed in season and thereby produced delay in the public business? Was this economy, or a grasp at popularity? Was it not "returning," or rather long-continued "friend-"ship" for the French republic, which so promptly and at so great expense, repaired, stored, and delivered up the Berceau? What was it which induced the administration to indulge the officers of the Berceau with 870 dollars and a proportional allowance until embarkation, while they are so rigid with our own officers? Were these marks of friendship a return for the millions which the great republic kindly took charge of, and as kindly keep, or was it an invitation to make free use of American property in the West-Indies, or on the plan of Gov. Monroe to accept a loan to be repaid if convenient? No matter which it was; King Buonaparté and we are sister republicks, and friends make no account of trifles. What was it, again, which prompted Gov. M'Kean and Secretary Dearborn to provide so handsomely for their relations? Was it economy which induced the attorney-general to accept 3000 dollars a year, for an almost sinecure office, and be absent from the seat of government half the time? What could possibly induce Albert Gallatin to receive 5,000 dollars a year when he formerly voted against so large a sum when the same office was held by another man? Was it economy which induced the majority in congress to revive an expired law, raising the salaries of the public officers when some of that majority formerly voted against such salaries? Was it regard for economy, or love of specific appropriations, which would not permit these salaries to be revived distinctly, but voted for them in mass? Was this specific appropriation or economy? It was not. Was it economy that prevented the majorities of the two houses from reducing their six dollars a day, which some of them complained against as too high, at a time when every thing was at war prices? Was it economy which prevented them from reducing their daily allowance even to five dollars, in a season of peace, when flour has fallen, and business stagnated?

Economy is the magic which is to pull down every establishment of the federal system. Was it economy then which prolonged the Session for five months at an immense expense, when the most of it went into the pockets of the honourable and frugal gentlemen themselves?

Did all these things, it is asked, proceed from economy and patriotism? No; but from the love of power and of cash.

In one point of view the present congress have, it is agreed, done much. But when we consider what time, and patience, and wisdom, are required to build up, and how easily and rapidly folly and violence can pull down and destroy; the majorities of the late session cannot even on this ground claim the praise of ingenuity or ability. But when the friends of the constitution and the country look back on what these majorities have accomplished, emotions of a stronger nature than contempt itself, are awakened—grief and indignation are excited.

The convention with France and peace in Europe, rendered a reduction of expenses prudent and necessary, and a federal administration would have reduced them when the purposes for which they were incurred no longer demanded them. But let the public judge whether this administration will not reduce the army to a dwarfish skeleton, and the navy to a rotten hulk: let our cities and merchants determine what will at last become of an unprotected commerce, and a revenue levied entirely upon it: let the farmers determine what price their produce will bear if trade is destroyed: let the military man and the statesman calculate, what these mighty savings may cost the country if the war should be renewed in Europe; if French or English haughtiness and rapacity should be resumed; if Louisiana should come into the hands of the French; if the war in the West-Indies, and the preaching of equality, should produce a negro insurrection in the South—Let them calculate how much it may cost us, if, in such a situation of things, we should be found destitute of an army, or a navy, or of revenue. —Let all classes of citizens consider, whether the system of measures now pursued, will not sooner or later end in national dishonour, loss, and calamity.

But on the militia, according to that great military character, the present commander in chief of the armies of the United States, on the militia, "it "is best to rely, not only to meet the first attack, "but to maintain the defence until regulars can "be engaged to relieve them;" that is, until raw recruits can be enlisted in sufficient numbers, embodied, and marched, to contend with the most veteran valour, and highest military skill. Well, this is an extraordinary discovery; but let it be so—our celebrated captain-general has decided the point, let it be so. But, gentlemen legislators, "you ought not to have separated until you had "done every thing for the militia which you "could have done were an enemy at our door." You have separated—instead of every thing, you have done nothing, and presidential censure falls heavily on your heads.

"But our revenue is sufficient, and yet we take "off the taxes and pay off *all the debt*!" Glorious news! Admirable legislators! Your revenue is sufficient, the treasury is full. But was it your administration that filled it? Did you risk your popularity by laying taxes to defend the country from insult and aggression, and to pay off the debt? Was not Wm. Giles for shutting himself up in his shell when French rapacity was plundering us in every quarter? Did you not clamour for paying off the public debt, and yet oppose the means of doing it? Have you not now greatly diminished the resources for extinguishing that debt by abolishing the whole internal revenue? If it was right that part of the internal taxes should be repealed, yet would not the people have cheerfully submitted, at least to a part, for a few years longer, if their produce were honestly applied to the extinguishment of the debt?—Since the internal taxes tended to equalize taxation in different parts of the country; since the system was already in operation; since various events might render it of high importance to the country to be in possession of these resources; since at any rate their amount might have effected a much more speedy extinguishment of the public debt; let any reflecting man say, whether it was prudent to abolish the whole internal revenue, and cut it up root and branch? If, however, resources to the amount of the internal revenue could actually be spared, ought not the high duties on coffee, bohea tea, brown sugar and salt to have been diminished, and those on refined sugars and pleasurable carriages retained? Let "the mouth of la-"bour," let the poor and middling classes of society who pay these duties make the reply: let reason and humanity, justice and sound policy answer the question, and they must say, yes.

"But we have made provision for paying off "the whole debt." Indeed! we are glad to hear it; but what provision? "We have appropriated "so many millions annually." Oh! that is, you have promised to pay at such a time, but every man knows that promising and paying are two very different things. Are you sure you will have so much to spare? If you pay so much on that score, will you have enough left for other purposes? Will not the impost be diminished by the return of peace, by the loss of our carrying trade and the general stagnation of commerce? Will you not be obliged to borrow again? The fact is, that a loan is authorised by that very bill which by its title promises to pay off the debt, and various agencies are likewise authorised at a considerable expense. It was therefore with propriety urged by the federalists, that the title of the bill should be changed from that of a bill to provide for the redemption of the whole public debt, into that of a bill making certain provisions respecting the public debt and authorising a re-loan of part of it.

On the other hand, had not part of the debt been actually discharged by the former administrations, and were not means provided for its extinguishment, which, if left to themselves, would have accomplished that object without embarrassment?

The mint of the United States was marked out by the ruling "sect" for destruction. The establishment, of one of the signs of national sovereignty, was doomed to annihilation by a bill passed in the House of Representatives. The country was again to have been flooded with base coins, with barrels of fraudulent copper from Birmingham, and with perishable paper money issued by every petty store-keeper. But whether some gleam of prudence, some lucid interval, passed over certain senators at the moment this bill was before them, or whether the bill itself was not so thoroughly destructive as they wished, it was rejected. No thanks, however, to Mr. Giles or his colleagues that its fate is suspended.

To have triumphed over their predecessors—to have pulled down in a single session much of what the government had erected for twelve years before, might have satiated a common thirst of revenge or rage for innovation. It was not suf-

cient for the present administration. It was not sufficient to have turned from office the friends of the constitution, however distinguished by virtues and services; the constitution itself has not been spared. The judiciary bill, passed at the preceding session after much experience and deliberation, has been repealed. By this act, by the diminution of courts and judges, the administration of justice is rendered less expeditious, less convenient, and less entitled to confidence. But this evil, great as it is, is only a small part of the evil. The judges, who by the constitution, hold their offices during good behaviour, are displaced without a crime laid to their charge, and one of the great independent branches of government is broken down, and brought to the feet of the others. Will then judges, who hold their offices at legislative discretion, oppose the legislative will? Will any law, however unconstitutional and oppressive, be declared so by a judiciary who are dependent on those who pass that law? The question is answered by the party themselves. They assert that the judiciary have no such power. What barrier, then, it is asked, have the people left against the uncontrouled power and tyranny of these legislative despots?

But what were the motives for this unconstitutional and pernicious act? Was this also economy? If 30,000 dollars will be saved next year, has not an expense of more than that sum been already incurred by the 40 or 50 days which have been employed upon the repealing bill, and the consequent amending bill? A leader of the party has declared the saving but a paltry consideration; but the constitutional question, he said, must be settled. Who was it then that raised this question? And why was it raised? And how is it settled? Can the judges, will the people acquiesce, in such a settlement? Will they acquiesce in a decision of the majority of the legislature in their own favour, when that decision is contrary to the plain language of the constitution, hostile to the rights of the citizen, and destructive of public liberty? Let the people consider, whether it was not party spirit, revenge, and a wild spirit of innovation, which dictated this attack on the federal judges and constitution. Let them consider, whether some of the party were not secretly actuated by a dislike to speedy justice, especially to federal justice, and to the constitution itself?

With such rulers as we now have, and such a system as they pursue, will not this great nation be reduced back to a state, worse than the old confederation? Will not this constitution, under which we have heretofore flourished, be made a worthless wreck? Will not this temple of liberty, the noblest on earth, robbed of its pillars, crush millions in its fall? We are certainly in danger of such a fate; but the sun of federalism shall arise in its brightness, and the dark and perilous night of democracy disappear.

AMERICAN NAVY.

Extract from an address to the People of the United States on the Policy of maintaining a Permanent Navy. Published in Philadelphia, 1802.

If it be impracticable, as well as impolitic, to relinquish our navigation, we must, fellow citizens, afford it adequate protection. A defenceless commerce offers to avarice and ambition temptations which they are incapable of resisting. Responsible to conscience and heaven alone, and urged by a policy which is callous to remorse, can that spirit which aims at universal empire, or the avarice and jealousy which spring from a false idea of a balance of trade, be taught, through a sense of justice, the remote connexion of policy with virtue, to respect the rights of nations? When have these principles directed the conduct of independent states? How inadequate have they ever proved to restrain individuals bound together by the affectionate ties and amenable to the awful tribunals of society. And can it be supposed that powerful nations, mutually jealous, and rivals each other, accountable to God alone, will listen to their dictates when they come in competition with their interest. An unprotected commerce will have to enter foreign ports under restrictions which will, sometimes, amount to actual prohibition. Interest being the only rule to which power will deign to submit, where that can be promoted, no regard will be paid to reciprocal obligation. Beside the motives to restrict or prohibit an unprotected trade, which are common to all nations, there are some who, avowedly, subsist by plunder. It will not be declamation to assert on the authority of the most respectable writer on the law of nations, that the piratical states of Barbary, are even employed, by the powerful nations of Europe, to distress the commerce of their weaker rivals. Insecure is that commerce, which, when the world is at peace, relies for its freedom on the wisdom of the cabinets of the princes, which has in so few instances been capable of discerning, or willing to promote the happiness of mankind. War, however, which changes the pre-existing, and establishes new relations between states and empires, naturally produces a policy unfavourable to the freedom of commercial intercourse. Laws, oppressive on the commerce of neutral nations, become here the obvious interest of the belligerent powers. Neutrality is even odious to nations at war. They will court its secret aid by intrigue, or they will fret it into open violence by unwarrantable insults. An enraged competitor would destroy that sun which shines with equal fervour on his rival as on himself. Fear alone will compel a nation, calmly to permit its enemy to receive, through the commerce of a neutral state, the sinews of war. Unless we possess the means of exciting this fear, in vain may we desire to retain our navigation. A powerful state will tell us, *these* ports you may enter, *those* you shall not. Disregarding the rights of neutrality, while she dispatches her squadrons to another quarter, she will proclaim a whole country to be blockaded, in order to starve its inhabitants into terms. Where there is no plausible pretext for actual blockade, she will, by fraudulent constructions of the law of nations, a law which is made, at once, every thing and nothing, as the authority of force may please to interpret it, or by more fraudulent evasions of existing compacts, extend the list of contraband articles. She will finally tell us, "with this nation you are permitted to trade, but with that you shall hold no commercial intercourse. You shall not import the manufactures of this state, to that you shall not export your own commodities." She will specify, not only the channels of our commerce, but the burthen of the vessels which we shall employ, and the articles that shall compose their cargoes. Do we submit to the encroachments of one nation, our submission will not only invite the rapacity, but will be conceived to justify, or be

urged to excuse, the spoliation of all. To redress our wrongs, should we with-hold our favours from the nation who has commenced the injury, she will plunder us to the full amount of her wants. The only alternative then left us, is, by a *general embargo*, to blend our friends with our enemies. To seek through a miserable retirement within our *shell*, to repair one loss by incurring a greater, and punish the plunderer of three or twenty millions of our property, by an annual sacrifice of sixty. And shall the expense which would attend the preservation of our independence, be deemed a sufficient reason for abandoning it altogether. Had such been the policy of seventy-six, we should have continued the humble instrument of foreign greatness, as we now are the sport of foreign cupidity.

But may not this argument, the strongest that has been advanced by the enemies of our navy, and the most frequently adduced because the most popular, be turned against them on a liberal and comprehensive view of political economy. I trust it can. It has, already, been adverted to. Permit me, for a moment, to direct your attention more particularly to it. When the hazard to be encountered in commercial intercourse, is increased, whatever be the cause, whether the wars of other nations, or our own, the price of insurance is proportionably augmented. The risk of capture is added to the ordinary accidents of the sea, and forms a part of the standard by which the insurer regulates his premium. And by whom is this premium paid? Certainly by the consumer of the articles insured. Is it conceived that the merchant pays it? He must make a certain profit on his capital proportionate to its amount. Where a duty is imposed on any commodity imported, its price is enhanced to the consumer. The merchant advances the duty, but the consumer ultimately pays it. In like manner, where the losses sustained at sea are increased, or the danger* of incurring them is magnified, an additional charge is laid upon every commodity by the merchant, in order to repay himself the price of its insurance, together with a profit on its advancement. And as, in the first instance, it is immaterial whether the consumer pays the duty as a tax, or as a part of the price of the commodity, so is it, in the last, as immaterial on the score of expense, though all important on every other, whether

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* What may be hereafter the consequence of insecurity arising from the wars of other nations may be ascertained by a recurrence to past experience.

In 1793, insurance from Philadelpha to the West-Indies was from two and an half to three and an half per cent.—To the West-Indies and back five and an half per cent.—From Philadelpha to New Orleans and back six per cent.—Philadelphia to Europe generally three and an half, sometimes two, seldom four, per cent.

In June 1794—To the West-Indies five per cent.—West-Indies and back eight and an half per cent.—To New Orleans five per cent.—To London and back ten per cent.

In June 1795 and 6—nearly the same to the West-Indies—To Europe rather less.

In June 1797—To the West-Indies and back twelve and an half, fifteen, and twenty per cent.—To Europe ten, seldom nine or eight per cent.

In June 1798—To the West-Indies twelve and an half to seventeen and an half per cent.—To Europe twenty per cent.

In June 1799—To Europe and back seventeen and an half to twenty—To Europe ten to twelve and an half—To the West-Indies ten per cent.

The above was copied from the books of one of the first houses in Philadelphia. I annex to it a list of premiums established in the Insurance Company of North America, on the 7th of March 1794.

To Great-Britain and Ireland	12½
Holland and Ostend	15
Ports in France out of the Streights	20
Spain in the Bay of Biscay.....	20
- - - - - - Ocean, Portugal and Gibraltar	30
Sweden and Denmark.....	15
Russia	17½
Hamburg and Bremen.....	12½
All Western and Canary Islands	20
All British, Spanish, and Dutch Isles and Ports in the West-Indies	out 12½ home 12½
Swedish and Danish Islands...	7½ 7½
French Islands.....	20 20
New Orleans	12½
East-Indies and China, to one Port	20
Home, to sail before the 1st of Mar.	15
The Isle of France & the Mauritius	25 25

The two following lists are from the speeches of Mr. Gallatin on the 7th of February 1799. The report of the committee from which they were taken is not in my possession.

"The committee stated, that about the time of the sailing of our ships of war, the rate of insurance in Philadelphia, stood as followeth,

	In 1798. Out	Home		In 1799. Out	Home
To Russia.....	22½	22½	....	12½	12½
Sweden.....	20	12½	....	12½	12½
Denmark & Hanse Towns.....	17½	17½	....	10	10
Holland.....	20	17½	....	15	12½
Great-Britain....	17½	17½	....	10	10
Spain.....	17½	17½	....	12½	12½
France.....	—	—	....	—	—
Portugal.....	15	15	....	10	10
Morocco.....	20	20	....	12½	12½
Italy.....	27½	27½	....	17½	17
China and the East-Indies...	20	15	....	10	10
West-Indies	17½	17½	....	12½	12½
Africa.....	20	20	....	12½	12½

The foregoing facts are not adduced for the purpose to which the select committee applied the last of them, and the inferences I shall draw from them will not be affected by the reasoning opposed to that of the committee. I mean to exhibit, not a particular effect produced by our present armament in any period of its existence, but the general effect of a state of insecurity, arising from wars in which we either bore no part, or confined our efforts to repel aggression. The greatest expense of this insecurity, whether incurred in insuring against real or imagined danger, is the difference between the insurance against the risk of the sea, and the risk of the sea together with that of capture. Assuming the insurance of 1793 as the first, we have about 6 per cent. for insurance out and in, to and from Europe and the West-Indies, and nearly 30 per cent. for the highest insurance before 1799, for the last. Consequently 30 per cent. is the amount of the extra

he pays a certain sum when he purchases an article as its insurance against the danger of capture, or contributes that amount through a direct tax or an additional duty on consumption towards the maintenance of a navy that will remove the danger. The instrument * of commercial intercourse is also rendered more expensive by the risk to which a defenceless commerce is exposed. The freight of a vessel may be resolved into a profit upon the sum which she has cost her owner, and the expenses of the voyage. And the first is regulated by the profit of stock in other directions of industry, with the additional consideration of the perishable nature of the subject in which it is here invested, or the danger of losing the capital itself. In peace, this is great from the casualties of the sea, and the rapid decay of the materials of which the vessel is constructed. In war, it may be yet greater, from the frequency of capture. The owner insures against this new risk, and charges the premium on the use of his vessel; the merchant returns it, and charges it on the commodities. Both, the consumer eventually pays *. Of the second constituent of freight, or the expenses of the voyage, which may be subdivided into various items, I select only the wages of the seamen, because the only one affected by the risk of capture. The wages of the crew of a vessel are affected, not only by the price of labour in other avocations, but by the peculiar hazard accompanying this. War adds to this hazard, painful detentions in foreign ports, the loss of liberty, or death from the hand of an enemy. And the compensation for it constitutes a part of the augmented price of freight *. Moreover, the owner of the vessel insures his freight, and charges the insurance as a part † of the freight itself. The captain

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nary premium paid, in consequence of the real or apprehended danger of a voyage out and in, to and from the West-Indies or Europe. About one half of that, or 15 per cent. must be charged on our exports, and the other half, or 15 per cent. on our imports. Since the report of the select committee, the former have been augmented to more than 70,000,000 of dollars. From an increase of population, the latter must also have increased. As a part of our exports consists of articles imported from abroad, and afterwards exported to pay for other imports, in what is called an indirect trade of foreign consumption (a trade not as advantageous as the direct, though not a mere carrying trade, as it has been represented to be:) I will assume 100,000,000, the amount proposed by the select committee in 1799, as the basis of calculation. I am, therefore, warranted in stating 15,000,000 of dollars, as the loss which we should annually sustain in the present circumstances of our commerce, from an insecurity, either real or imaginary, equal to that of 1799, when we were provided with some defence (however incompetent) for our trade, when the only depredator upon it was not deemed to be at open war with us, and his means of injury were, moreover, controlled by a superior force.

* On this part of the calculation I have proposed to pursue, I am very sensible of a defect of materials. Having made this assurance, I offer the following:

	Tons.
Present amount of American tonnage ..	950,000
Internal trade which I except as not equally exposed.....	150,000
Foreign trade and fisheries.....	800,000

Value according to Mr. Coxe (View of the United States, page 184) at 34 dollars per ton, 27,200,000.
According to Lord Sheffield (On American Commerce, page 87) at about 40 dollars per ton, 32,000,000.
According to respectable private information of freights during the war, at 45 dollars per ton, 36,000,000.
A medium of the two first will be 29,600,000, and of the two last 34,000,000, and of the two averaged sums 31,800,000.
The first exceeds but 200,000, the value assumed by the select committee in 1799. Deducting from the last averaged value 1,800,000, for the sake of round numbers and to avoid objections, and we have 30,000,000 for the value of our foreign tonnage. At the premium established in the last note for a voyage out and in, viz. 30 per cent. we have nine millions of dollars as the annual expense of insecurity, added to the freight of our vessels, and borne by the American consumer. The risk, it must be observed, is that of 1799.

* Assuming 800,000,000 tons, as before, for our foreign trade, and allowing 100 tons to each vessel, we have eight thousand vessels. Allowing a master, or captain, and a mate, and an average of four sailors to every vessel, and we have eight thousand captains, eight thousand mates, and thirty-two thousand sailors, for the whole number, whose wages were affected by the risk of 1799, or would be hereafter affected by a similar hazard.

The wages of a captain or master before 1793 were from twenty to twenty-five dollars per month. In 1799, sixty dollars.

The greatest difference of wages per month before and during the war, forty dollars; the least, thirty-five dollars; average thirty-seven and an half dollars: ×8000 the whole number of captains, or masters, gives a monthly expense of 30,000 dollars, incurred, in consequence of insecurity, for the wages of the captains, or masters.

The wages of a mate before 1793 were from fourteen to sixteen dollars per month: in 1799 from thirty-six to forty dollors: one half of 14+16=15; one half of 36+40=38; difference 23, which multiplied by 8000, the whole number of mates, gives a monthly expense of 184,000 dollars incurred, in consequence of insecurity, for the wages of mates.

The wages of common sailors before 1793 were from eight to twelve dollars per month; during 1799 from twenty to twenty-six dollars: one half of 8+12 =10; and one half of 20+26=23, the difference is 13; which multiplied by 32,000, the whole number of common sailors, gives a monthly expense of 416,000 dollars incurred, in consequence of insecurity, for the wages of seamen.

These three items added together make 900,000 dollars, which multiplied by 12 for the annual wages, gives the sum of 10,800,000 dollars for the annual augmentation of the wages of seamen, or the second item of freight, by the hazard of capture in 1799.

† I shall not pretend to estimate this amount, or those arising from the additional primage, which is a commercial term for the sum which the merchant allows the captain on the whole freight of the vessel which he commands, and which is about 5 per cent.—and the additional brokerage, which is a sum paid by the underwriter to the broker who negotiates a policy for him, and which is about one per cent. on the premium. It will be sufficient to state, that

receives a primage proportionate to the whole amount of the freight. The broker for negotiating the several policies, a profit upon all the premiums. And, inasmuch as all those expenses together render it necessary to employ a greater capital in a certain number of vessels, they limit the extension of navigation, and by destroying a former, or preventing a new competition, augment the price of freight. The instrument by which commercial intercourse is maintained, is thus rendered more expensive by various causes resulting from a state of insecurity. But the whole expense is borne by the consumer. By the merchant, no farther than as he himself holds this character. In fine, the cultivator of the soil disposes of his productions at a price reduced by the accumulated expense of exportation abroad, their nominal value is depressed. He purchases manufactures at a price enhanced by the additional charge on the food which supports the manufacturer, and the rude materials of which they are wrought, as well as the extraordinary risk attending their importation. The real value of his productions, which is to be estimated by the wants which they will enable him to gratify, is sunk yet lower. The possibility of transporting our commodities to a foreign market, where, according to their general character, they comprize a small value in a great bulk, is rendered precarious.

It is not, let me add, our own wealth alone which we put in jeopardy by this absurd system of economy. We are, under certain circumstances, responsible for that of our allies. A belligerent power is bound, by the law of nations, to hold sacred the property of his enemy, provided it be within the territorial jurisdiction of a neutral state, this jurisdiction extends to the distance of one league from the sea-shore; and over all bays, rivers, and harbours within her territory. And the same law declares, that if a belligerent power capture the vessels of his enemy within these limits, the neutral state shall indemnify her ally for the loss which she sustains. What, let me ask, avails the acknowledgment of a law where it can be violated with impunity?

But, if the risk arising from the wars of other nations; if the depredations which belligerent powers are prone to commit on the unprotected commerce of a neutral state; if the spoliations, I speak not, here, of the indignities, to which we have so patiently submitted for more than six years, are to be deprecated, on an extensive view of political economy, when contrasted with the price of commercial security, and I insist that they are, yet more deplorable would be the calamities of a commercial war, to which, without the means of defence, we should be ourselves a party. Let them not be estimated by the events of a period when the world contributed, by the most destructive havoc, to encourage our industry, and the misfortunes of other nations, gave to our seamen, the navigation of the richest commerce. Nor should they be measured by the feeble efforts of the crippled marine of France during the last three years of that period. It had been previously humbled by the naval power of Great-Britain. Her numerous squadrons deterred its shattered remnant from tempting the ocean. It will not be deemed candid by those who differ from me in opinion to estimate them from the transactions of the revolutionary war, mingled, as they then were, with peculiar and complicated misfortunes. Let it be recollected, however, that our population has since progressed more rapidly than our arts: that our tonnage has been trippled; our exports quadrupled. That vast forests have been opened to the light of cultivation by an industry which is cheered by the prospect of distant markets. That the arts which we possess, are intimately connected with, have in some instances grown out of, our foreign commerce, which supplies their basis, or furnishes a demand for their products. That our hardy and enterprising countrymen of the north, have converted the Banks of Newfoundland into a mine of wealth, of population, and, if rightly used, a formidable safeguard of independence. That we have, moreover, incurred an immense debt, the price of the political blessings procured by that war, and which all these resources are to discharge. On these fountains of opulence, of enjoyment, of independence, what would be the operation of a commercial war, in which we should oppose our imbecility to the naval strength of a powerful enemy? How are our harbours, our maritime cities, defended? Many of our rivers present no other obstacle to a foe, from their mouths to their sources, than the rocks which terminate their navigation. A fleet of twenty sail properly distributed, would block up every harbour in the United States. Half that number would shut up the Narrows of New-York, the entrance of the Sound, the ports of Boston and Charleston, and the mouths of the Delaware and Chesapeake. A single armed ship would intercept every bark that is carried down the Mississippi. A stroke is aimed at our industry, whose paralytic power would be felt through every department of the community. The sinews of labour are withered. The husbandman neglects the harvest field, his ploughshare rusts in the furrow. The disconsolate mariner beholds the sails of his vessel idly flapping in the wind, or indignantly sees her led away by a rapacious enemy. The fisherman of the north no longer frequents the Banks of Newfoundland, or courses the whale in the southern ocean. He turns to the Atlantic, and with hopeless dejection, beholds the avenues of an employment, to which nature had conducted him in childhood, which she had made the honour and support of his maturity, closed up. The silence of desolation reigns in our cities. Perhaps even the flames of war fill them with the cries of their defenceless inhabitants*. Flying from their paternal abode, they curse the wealth which

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the hazard of 1799, (whether real or imaginary, I must, contrary to a respectable authority, deem altogether immaterial as to the immediate loss) applied to our present circumstances, would produce an annual expense of 15,000,000 of dollars, for the insurance of the articles of commerce, 9,000,000 for the insurance of the vessels engaged in it, and 10,800,000 for the augmentation of seamens' wages beyond the peace rates. In all nearly 35,000,000 of dollars for the annual expense which would be incurred by the United States of America, in consequence of the commission of depredations as extensive as those of 1798, 1799, and 1800, on their commerce.

I ask if this sum would support a navy powerful enough to command respect from other nations while we are engaged in a lawful commerce? For the motives which those nations must ever feel to respect us, motives which must however be unavailing while we are unarmed, I refer to Jefferson's Notes, pages 258, 259, and 260, new edition of 1801.

* Will such a calamity be deemed impossible, after the recent bombardment of the capital of a brave people by a British squadron? One of the strongest cities in the world!

invited the rapacity of their enemy, and their government which surrenders them a helpless prey to his power. Public credit calls in vain upon the empty treasury for the sums destined for the national debt. The necessary violation of private contracts, undermines the morals of society. The government itself, hitherto accustomed to rely, almost exclusively, upon the duties on imports for revenue to fulfil its engagements, sees the public confidence deserting it, and all its operations delayed or defeated. Before the loss of its old can be supplied by a new revenue, it institutes expensive loans without funds to pledge as a security for their redemption. Perhaps, at this awful crisis, it swells its expenditures by appropriations for defence, for that very navy which it recently spurned. It establishes a new system of taxation, not only more expensive in collection, but from its drawing directly on the purse of the citizen, and from its necessary or fancied inequality, calculated to excite the clamour of the turbulent and the discontented. A clamour, the more alarming, from the period at which this new system is called into operation. At the moment when an enemy is on the coast, when the channel of commerce is obstructed, and the capacity of the citizen for discharging even the ordinary expenses of the government is restricted or utterly destroyed. Gold and silver disappear. The banks are shut up. A circulating medium consisting of their protested securities, of the depreciated certificates of the public debt, of a new paper currency issued on the verge of national bankruptcy, generate, in its perpetual and rapid fluctuations, swarms of speculators who intercept the blood of the nation before it has performed its natural office, and glitter amidst her ruins. And shall we hazard a situation so deplorable and trust our security, I had almost said, our existence, to the mercy of every nation capable of equipping a fleet of twenty sail. Can we expect succour from abroad, when we cease to confide in ourselves. It has been often urged, that those nations, from whom we have the greatest danger to apprehend, are most dependent on us for the employment of their artists and the subsistence of their distant colonies; and that to this necessary dependence we may safely trust the protection of our trade. It is not the first time it has been discovered, that if nations would consult their true interest, the world would no longer be disturbed by their broils. Were the policy of European governments founded always upon a virtuous concern for the happiness of their respective subjects alone, were they always capable of discerning the means of promoting that happiness, we might venture to rely for security on the nature of our commerce. But I will select the most commercial of these states and pursue this reasoning. Great-Britain, together with her dependencies, receives from the United States a greater quantity of food and manufactures than any other power in Europe. From the superior excellence of her government, public interest must be more frequently respected in her councils than in those of any other foreign nation. Her dependence so much relied on must therefore operate here with peculiar force. When plundered by her cruizers or by those of other nations turn to her then, Americans, and address her interest or supplicate her humanity. Your addresses to her interest will be opposed by her pride. She possesses the most powerful navy in Europe. Her painters, poets, and orators have leagued her with Neptune, and together with his trident have transferred to her the empire of the waves. Supplicate her humanity! To whom do you supplicate? Not the people of Britain, but a committee of her peers. They regulate the spirit of British commerce and the voice of the nation is that of the merchants of Bristol, Liverpool, and London, of the Board of East-India directors: the philanthropists who have dragged from Africa to a miserable servitude thousands of helpless wretches, whose only crimes were a capacity for labour and the complexion of a burning climate. Behold their humane policy deluging the plains of Indostan with the blood of her children and with a rapacity equally capricious and unrelenting, desolating the most populous region of the globe. Will you judge of the protection which you are to derive from their humanity? They have avowed, that it will be good policy in the nations of Europe to let loose on you the rovers of Salee and the corsairs of Algiers. Infernal policy! It is but a few years since two hundred Americans returned from a cruel servitude. On the southern shores of the Mediterranean I behold a land fertilized with the blood of my countrymen. I behold the chains which bound them to the instruments of labour and the bloody scourge just fallen from the hands of their inhuman tyrants. Their cries still vibrate in my ears. I hear them in the agony of despair abjure their country and their God. Americans, extend your protecting arms to the adventurous mariner. Do not, I conjure you, add to the thousand hidden dangers of the deep, to the howling tempest, and the desert coast, the horrors of an Algerine captivity. Had you yourselves witnessed the scoffs of the infidels and the tortures they inflicted on your countrymen, your cannon would long since have thundered on the coast of Africa. Told of their sufferings, your infant navy struggled for life. Faction however stifled her early efforts and you were content to purchase a shameful treaty stipulating a price for the freedom of American citizens. It is unfortunate, indeed, for republican governments that they are too prone to act from the impulse of the moment, and too seldom pursue the most important objects with firmness. We are plundered by the states of Barbary, and order six frigates to be built for the protection of our trade. We buy a treaty and determine to build but three. Could we tell how long this faithless people would *think it convenient to* fulfil their contract? Again, our commerce is plundered by the greatest naval powers of Europe, and its chief spoiler adds insult to injury, proudly spurns our proffered reconciliation, and turns a deaf ear to our remonstrances. All parties at length concur in ascribing these outrages and indignities to the same cause, the want of a navy sufficiently powerful to protect our rights.*

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* In two speeches delivered in Congress by the present Secretary of the Treasury on the 7th and 11th of February, 1799, our permapent resources (including internal duties, land and stamp taxes, which he there estimates at 2,600,000 dollars) are rated at 10,000,000 of dollars. In a report lately issued from the same quarter, they are estimated, without the land or stamp tax, at 10,600,000! Such is the difference between our resources under the management of O. W. and A. G.!

To serve a particular purpose, our expenditures for 1801, and 1802, were in 1799, calculated at 15,450,000, and 16,750,000 dollars respectively. In 1801, to serve another purpose, they are shrunk to about 7,000,000, including the expenditures for our persecuted navy, and the interest on our public debt!

Adam Smith tells us, that the high interest of

money in the United States (then British provinces) is a proof of their rapid progress to opulence. The public prints teemed with abuse of the government for borrowing at 8 per cent. Six per cent. stock was then selling at 16s. The new eight per cent. stock did not rise above par till a twelvemonth after it was issued! Profound financiers, wise statesmen!

Debate in the House of Representatives, March 29th, on the State of the Union.

Mr. Giles said "that when he found the law for "building the frigates would pass, he stated it as his "consolation, that the trees from which the frigates "were to be built were still growing." Again, "Perhaps, Gentlemen may say, what will you do if "France carries her injuries farther? I would, said "he, draw ourselves within our shell."

In his last speech, on that day, in reply to Mr. Harper, he concluded with the following remarkable declaration. "As to the frigates, he gloried in his "vote against them; but with respect to the use of "them, the gentleman (Mr. H.) was mistaken. "They were intended to be sent against the Alge-"rines only."

In a committee of the whole, on the State of the Union, April the 17th, 1798, Mr. Nicholas owned "it would be a painful thing to see our com-"merce carried on by other nations; but we have "no choice, if it is not in our power to give equal "protection. The southern states, he said, had "acted very liberally in this respect when they had "any thing in their power. They have consented "to lay a burthen upon themselves to increase the "navigation of the United States; but when they "were called upon to support additional burdens, "they would expect to see that the expense must "conduce to some public advantage."

Mr. Baldwin, in a debate on Thursday, Jan. 17, 1799. "The operation of building the frigates had "been the subject of more particular inquiry, and "more pointed censure from all parts of the house, "than any other: it had always been his opinion "that it was less exposed to such censure than "most of the other measures."

Peter the Great, Montesquieu informs us, produced an insurrection in his empire by an edict to shave the beards of the Russians. He was obliged to desist. The Tartars succeeded although not without blood-shed, in shaving the heads of the Chinese. Is it supposed that men prize their hair more than their liberty?

I am not disposed to decry what is the natural defence of every country, and the safest defence of a free state. But under the present militia system of the United States, or any which has been contemplated, there is little ground for the hope that it will ever be able to cope with the veteran armies of Europe. May I be allowed, here, to ask a question which would not have been deemed fanciful among the wisest nations of antiquity; it is, whether our militia system can ever be improved, while its offices are unconnected with those of the civil administration? Where the military character of a people is lost in the civil, in habits necessarily pacific, how can military duties be made respectable, but by associating them with the civil, and by making a military office the necessary avenue to the highest honours which the nation can confer. When the road to glory is conducted through this department, by the laws, the military character will be dignified. The civil offices which terminate it will reflect a lustre on the military from which it leads. The only remaining alternative, to pay the citizen for discharging his duty as a soldier, is not congenial to the spirit of our constitution, nor as likely to produce the end intended.

VICE PRESIDENT BURR.

Extract from a Narrative of the Suppression (by Mr. Burr) of the History of the Administration of John Adams.* Published at New York, May, 1802.

The period is arrived, when it is no longer necessary to conceal the fact, that the history of the administration of Mr. Adams was suppressed by the vice president of the United States. What the motives and objects of Mr. Burr were for the suppression, we are left principally to conjecture and inference to determine. In such a transaction, however, those who know the vice president, will readily allow that positive proof of the motives of the suppression is not to be exhibited. There is about his actions a cunning, a sort of legerdemain, which, while it defies conclusive proof, eludes the most acute research. In every thing therefore, which relates to this gentleman, no higher a species of testimony ought to be expected, than that of a circumstantial or presumptive nature. All the three kinds of proof indeed, are in their nature nothing more than comparative, and pursuing degrees of comparison to the extent of their applicability, and no further, it may be truly affirmed, that presumptive proof of whatever bears relation to Mr. Burr, is as positive as the most absolute evidence against plain, honest citizens. Habituated to intrigue, and distinguished by the secrecy and celerity of his movements, it is problematical whether even his confidential friends could bring home to him a single act of his of moment. It is said, and I believe with truth, that one of his primary political maxims is, never to converse on an important subject in the presence of two men! Nor is it, it is believed, less a maxim with him, to avoid communicating, even to his confidants, his ideas in writing on political subjects. Oral communication is his element, and even this is regulated by a rule of secrecy so nice, as to forbid his conversing on material affairs in the presence of more than one man! Thus fortified by subtle rules, from which he never departs, it will not be expected that I can so far enter his cabinet of curious secrets as to adduce that sort of testimony concerning the suppression of the history, as will impose conviction on every mind, that it was suppressed with views unfriendly to the adminis-

* This narrative throws great light on the character and political views of the vice president.

tration of Mr. Jefferson. Nor indeed will this be strenuously insisted on. I shall content myself in the present publication, with offering a few remarks in addition to what has been said, and with laying the facts I possess before the public, who are most competent to form a correct opinion of the subject.

Habituated to secret movements and dark consultations, it may be said, that the covert manner in which Mr. Burr carried on the negociation for the suppression of the history, was nothing out of the ordinary way in which he conducts his political affairs. But let it not be forgotten, that Mr. Burr possessess sufficient powers of mind to distinguish between what requires concealment and what does not; and that both the one and the other are by him regulated by his inordinate views of personal ambition. In matters in which the public are concerned, secrecy which abhors disclosure and shuns the light of day, ill comports with the general welfare. Nor is it to be presumed that the public can with safety, repose confidence in him who appears solicitous only to wrap his actions in profound mystery. Such conduct is calculated to inspire jealousy and distrust. A state juggler, who, retiring from the public eye, spreads mischief by his puppets, may astonish with his ropes and pullies the satellites by whom he is surrounded; but a sensible public knowing their rights and valuing their liberty, will abandon him as they would flee from a destructive pestilence.

Thus Mr. Burr is conducting his political affairs, and mounting step by step to the summit of political authority. Versed in the art of hocus-pocus, while sitting in his state room waiting the entrance of his political tools into the antichamber, the wretched heralds of his will, his mandates fly through the union and extend to its extremities. Hence his invisible spirit insinuates itself into every circle, and with its deleterious qualities corrupts whatever it touches. Operating upon the public by numerous agents, confidence must sometimes be misplaced; and from necessity he is reluctantly constrained to employ men who are either incompetent to carry into execution his secret designs, or who, vainly proud of their menial and dishonourable offices, proclaim their business by unfolding their connexion. Hence, to know the mind of the principal, it is only necessary to sound the opinion of the agent. To ascertain the views of the former, nothing more is requisite than to hear the latter speak. These agents differ however in degrees of taciturnity and circumspection. Some, perhaps from long habit, are little inferior in subtilty, in assimulation and dissimulation to the prime mover. But there is one, who, unfortunately for Mr. Burr, divulges secrets confided to him with great indiscretion. He is young, impetuous, and loquacious: And, if general report be true, nature (sometimes sportive) placed on his head the tongue of a woman. It is probable that this young man, without intending it, has injured Mr. Burr much. This, no doubt, is the effect of an over-zeal, at all hazards and by all means, to lift him to the pinnacle of political glory. Whether this ardency of zeal arises from expectancy or disappointment is not precisely known; it is however believed that both these ingredients are mingled with those motives which impel the youth to move with the velocity of Mercury, and to chatter with the fluency of a Magpye!

The suppression of the history, is one of those items in the catalogue of Mr. Burr's intrigues, which required, from a variety of considerations, unusual care to hide it from the public. But here the danger to which he was exposed, was equal to the novelty and magnitude of the undertaking. The suppression could not be effected by the ordinary agents, not even by the subtlest class. It was necessary to call in, in in some respects, extraneous aid. In this there was danger. For in proportion to the multiplication of agents, the craft with its artifices were liable to exposure. Of this no one could be more sensible than the vice-president. The suppression was however a favourite point; to effect it was an essential part of his general system of finesse; and something must therefore be risked.

Mr. Wood, the writer of the suppressed history, and Mr. Burr, have long been intimate. When the latter first heard that the former was about to write a history of the administration of Mr. Adams, he expressed a desire to see him on the subject. Accordingly an interview was had, but for what particular purpose is not precisely ascertained It is, however, known, and asserted as true, that Mr. Burr furnished Mr. Wood with materials for writing his own biography, which is a master piece of the hyperbolic, and exhibits in Mr. Burr, to whom the biography of himself was submitted by Mr. Wood for inspection, no common degree of vanity. His revolutionary services, which were so trifling as to escape the notice of the writers of the different histories of the revolution now extant, were so represented by Mr. Wood as to dazzle the reader with the brilliancy of his exploits. The painting was undoubtedly fine, but it bears no characteristic resemblance of the original. For this I am not disposed to censure Mr. Wood, who drew the martial character and revolutionary achievments of the vice-president from materials with which he was furnished by him. He had no public documents to which he could have recourse. History is silent as the grave concerning the revolutionary services of Mr. Burr. Ramsay never mentions him once in his two volumes, and it is believed that the same may be said of Gordon and others. This is sufficiently excusatory of Mr. Wood. He was to write a biography of Mr. Burr; he could not write it without materials; these could only be furnished by him who was to form the subject of the biographic eulogium; and if they were improper ones, the fault was attributable, not to Mr. Wood, but to Mr. Burr who supplied him with them. But while I censure misrepresentation in others, it is peculiarly incumbent on me to avoid being guilty of it myself. I am

equally concerned with other men in doing justice to all, and, following her pleasing dictates, I sincerely declare it as my opinion, that, although Mr. Burr has no good title to the martial character of Buonaparté, he is not altogether destitute of military merit. Nature may have formed him for an Anthony, but may it not be asked whether she has endued him with the just and magnanimous soul of Aristides?

Proceeding in this strain of exaggeration, the character given of Mr. Burr in other respects in the suppressed history, is liable to censure. This was, however, no doubt done by Mr. Wood as an additional recommendation of the vice-president to the favour of his fellow-citizens. When it was written, Mr. Wood could have had no idea of Burr's subtle machinations to supplant Mr. Jefferson, nor of his agents employed in this dishonourable work.

The 7th number of Hardie's "New Biogra-" phical Dictionary," pages 406-7, contains an elegantly drawn portrait of the vice president's father by governor Livingston. Aaron Burr (the father of the vice president) was undoubtedly a man of amiable manners, of good erudition, and of a sublime genius. He has left behind him a character honourable to his memory, honourable to his country, and which will command esteem, if not reverence, while learning, and piety, and patriotism shall have a friend. Although governor Livingston's character, therefore, of this worthy man, may be a little overstrained, we view without reluctance the exuberant fancy of the limner, and readily pardon trifling aberrations from exactitude. The character given by governor Livingston of the father, Mr. Wood asserts in the suppressed history, which contains the extract, is exactly applicable to the son. How far this is correct, I leave the reader to judge for himself.

Governor Livingston, in speaking of his (the father of the vice president,) assiduity and usefulness, thus expresses himself. "Though "a person of a slender and delicate make, to "encounter fatigue, he had a heart of steel; "and for the dispatch of business, the most "amazing talents joined to a constancy of mind, "that ensured success in spite of every obsta-"cle. As long as an enterprize appeared not "absolutely impossible, he knew no discourage-"ment; but in proportion to its difficulty aug-"mented his diligence: and by an insuperable "fortitude, frequently accomplished what his "friends and acquaintance conceived utterly "impracticable."

This passage is extracted verbatim from the suppressed history; it is however to be found, as I before stated, and as Mr. Wood has himself also stated, in "Hardie's Biographical Dic-"tionary."

Thus deified Mr. Burr could not but be pleased with the transcendent character given of him by his new biographer. He little imagined it would ever be publicly known, that the outlines of it were drawn by himself. Charmed with the notion of being transformed into a celestial being he was solicitous to view his likeness in print before the history was issued to the public.

In November 1801, Mr. Burr visited Philadelphia to project with others a new Manhattan bank. As usual, in passing through the state of New-Jersey, it is believed on credible information, he waited on the honourable Jonathan Dayton. Between this gentleman and Col. Burr an uninterrupted and cordial intercourse has taken place ever since the celebrated struggle in the house of representatives for a federal executive. Whether Mr. Wood's history formed a subject of their colloquies on national affairs, is not known; but from a variety of circumstances it is deemed probable. For although Mr. Burr had not seen the whole of the sheets as they were issued from the press, he was sufficiently acquainted with the contents of the history to form a pretty accurate notion of its tenor. He had reason to believe, for instance, that the characters who acted conspicuous parts in the federal drama of 1798-9, were severely lashed by Mr. Wood.

On the 4th or 5th of December, 1801, Mr. Burr, after the project of the new Philadelphia bank was completed, returned to New-York. The history was then ready for sale, and was to have been issued to the public the following week. One of his first enquiries was about it, and Mr. Wood was requested by Mr. Burr to bring a copy of it to his house, that he might peruse the character given of himself, previous to the publication of the history. This request was complied with, and Mr. Burr either discovered or pretended to have discovered some errors in his biography respecting dates. He very sagaciously felicitated himself on the discovery before the history was given to the public; desired Mr. Wood to leave the copy with him, and promised (after the errors of date were corrected) to defray the expense of printing a new sheet of his own life and exploits. These errors would have made Mr. Burr about fifty, whereas he stated he was not more than forty-five years of age. Viewing matters prospectively, it was deemed of some consequence to correct the mis-dates. To one who is looking forward to the presidency; to gain, at the age of fifty, five years on the side of youth, is no inconsiderable acquisition!

According to promise, Mr. Wood waited on Mr. Burr the following morning to receive the copy with the corrections; some evil genius, however, had prompted Mr. Burr to read the volume throughout, and more errors were discovered. These were enumerated to Mr. Wood with great apparent candor and sincerity*. It was objected that the character of Mr. Hamilton, Charles C. Pinckney, Jonathan Dayton, and General Washington were not accurately delineated; and it was added with great ten-

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* The reader may rely, if he pleases, implicitly on the following facts. They are indubitable. They can be proved in a court of law if necessary.

derness that the book contained many libellous passages. He therefore enquired whether an agreement could not be made with Barlass and Ward to suppress it? He conceived that the character of Mr. Hamilton was misrepresented, meaning, that where encomium was bestowed upon him it was unmerited—that Mr. Charles C. Pinckney, who was represented by Mr. Wood as a person of less integrity than Mr. Hamilton, was a man of purer principle than any other in the union. Upon general Washington, undeserved eulogiums he said had been lavished; and that during his presidency he had evinced himself a person possessed of unbounded vanity, without talents either as a soldier or scholar. Continuing his criticisms, Mr. Wood he observed had wholly mistaken the character of the honourable Jonathan Dayton. Referring to his connection with Francis Childs, which Mr. Wood had noticed in his history to the disgrace of Mr. Dayton, he declared that Childs was a scoundrel, and indebted to Mr. Dayton in the sum of one hundred thousand dollars. The character given by Mr. Wood of Mr. Adams, he liked; it was a bad one, and he thought it representative of the ex-president. Mr. Burr reserved his critical remarks on the character given by Mr. Wood of Mr. Jefferson to the last. This he did not think exactly descriptive of that illustrious person. He observed that Mr. Jefferson was not a man of genius; he was a plodding, mechanical person, of little activity of mind, and possessed of a judgment not very discriminative. Mr. Jefferson he said had also another great failing; he courted and was fond of popularity! He suggested to Mr. Wood the propriety of writing his character anew, and promised to furnish him with facts relative to Mr. Jefferson which were little known to the public, and which would be found exceedingly interesting. Respecting the libellous passages contained in the history, Mr. Burr was mute; he did not even condescend to mention one of them. His whole soul seemed absorbed in disposing of certain characters as Buonaparté disposes of petty nations, to gratify his ambition and to exalt his own.

These were the reasons assigned by Mr. Burr for his solicitude to suppress the whole edition of the history of the administration, to have "a new history written under his immediate inspection, and to be made up of materials to be furnished principally by himself." These promised to supply in abundance, and dilated the value of such a production would be of the union. By way of superinducement, he hinted that facts would transpire in congress in the course of ten or twelve days which would furnish the nation, and convince Mr. Wood that the notions he had entertained of the various characters just enumerated were erroneous. As over the history Mr. Wood had no control; he had written it by contract for Barlass and Ward, who were the sole owners of it. Being however the writer of the history, he was thought by Mr. Burr the most eligible person to negotiate its suppression. He therefore requested Mr. Wood to wait on Barlass and Ward to make an agreement with them to suppress it, and promised that he and his friends would bear the expense which might be agreed upon. Not clearly perceiving Mr. Burr's views for wishing it to be suppressed, and being anxious, as every author necessarily is, to make his work as perfect as possible, Mr. Wood accepted the office of agent of Mr. Burr, and, receiving suitable instructions, commenced the negotiation.

There was one difficulty in the suppression which it was necessary immediately to remove. In the preceding week a copy of the history had been sent to London by the Juliana, for publication. It was necessary to countermand the order of publication immediately. Had the history been published in London, the suppression of it here would not have answered the intended end. The suppression was to be universal and entire. After its publication in London, it would soon have reached America. To this point therefore, the talents and address of the negotiator were early directed.

[Here the Narrator gives an account of the progress of the negotiation, which, after much higgling and shuffling on the part of Mr. Burr, finally closed with a suppression of the book.]

Such is the character of the man who, "Fit "to disturb the peace of the world," is endeavouring, by little arts, to supplant the chief-magistrate, and to estrange the affections of the people from him. This indeed has been his uniform practice from the very moment the republicans agreed to support Mr. Jefferson as President and himself as Vice-President. To effect this he had agents in the different states during the Presidential election. This shall hereafter be proved.

It is matter of extreme felicity that the improper intrigues of the vice-president are well known by those men in different states who are most competent to guard against them; men whose attachment to Mr. Jefferson increases with his days; who view with mingled emotions of regret and indignation those acts of Mr. Burr which can only tend to make him odious to the people, and blast his once flattering prospects. Had the vice-president consulted his true interest, he would have accompanied the wishes and expectations of the people. Predicated on an unaccountable ignorance of their character, his calculations of them have been erroneous. The American nation will neither be surprised by artifice, nor subjugated by splendid deception. Duly appreciating their rights, their affections are to be one only by good offices. They love their executive for the good he has done and still does them. They repose confidence in him because he has never deceived them. Meriting and possessing their affections to an extent rarely equalled, he is invincible to the stratagems of the vice-president. The majesty of the people shines resplendently in the executive; that people who burst the chains of Mr. Adams, and who will rend the silken cord of Mr. Burr.

A STATISTICAL TABLE *for the* UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA, *for a Succession of Years, compiled chiefly from Official Documents.*

Length of the United States, 1,250 miles—Breadth, 1,040 miles—Containing more than one million of square miles, or 640 millions of acres.

Years.	Population.	Improved Lands, Part of 640 Millions Acres.	Militia.	Navy United States.	Seamen.	EXPORTS.		Tonnage Merchant Vessels.	Receipts, Revenue, &c.	Expenditure.	MONEY.		*Deduct from the Debt.*		*Dormant and active Sinking Fund.*
						Domestic Produce.	Total.				Metallic Medium.	Nominal Public Debt.	Active Sinking Fund.	Custom-House Bonds receivable and Cash in the Treasury.	
												Paper Money.		*Note.*	Specie by law of congress of Aug.
							Dollars.		Dollars.					The Bonds	1790 dollars 2,000,000.
1774	2,486,000	20,860,000	421,300	— —	— —	15,000	6,100,000	6,100,000	198,000	— —	— —	4,000,000	200,000,000	— —	are under-	Ditto, surplus of duties per ditto.
1784	3,250,000	21,500,000	541,666	— —	— —	19,000	9,000,000	10,150,000	250,000	— —	— —	10,000,000	Funded.	— —	rated per	Ditto of May, 1792.
1790	3,930,000	30,000,000	654,000	— —	— —	25,000	14,200,900	16,000,000	486,890	— —	— —	9,000,000	72,237,301	— —	Valuation.	Proceeds sale Lake Erie land.
1791	4,047,900	31,000,000	677,650	— —	— —	28,000	14,600,000	18,399,202	502,698	4,771,200	3,797,436	16,000,000	76,781,953	— —	2,596,356	4500 lots in the city of Washington.
1792	4,160,337	32,000,000	694,889	— —	— —	30,090	15,060,500	21,005,568	567,699	8,771,600	8,962,920	18,000,000	77,124,300	— —	— —	235 millions acres lands limited by
1793	4,294,417	33,500,000	715,736	— —	— —	33,060	15,420,000	26,011,788	627,570	6,456,195	6,479,977	20,000,000	78,402,246	2,019,194	6,000,000	law at no less than 2 dlls. per acre,
1794	4,423,249	34,000,000	737,208	Vessels.	Guns.	39,900	16,200,100	33,043,725	628,617	9,439,855	9,041,593	21,500,000	79,424,668	2,265,022	8,000,000	Dollars, 470,000,000.
1795	4,555,946	34,550,000	759,324			45,000	18,064,050	47,855,556	747,964	9,515,758	10,151,240	19,000,000	84,989,438	3,254,235	10,000,000	N.B. *Part of the above lands have*
1796	4,692,624	35,100,000	782,104			51,500	20,024,021	67,064,097	831,900	8,740,329	8,367,776	16,500,000	83,404,139	3,900,344	11,000,000	*sold for more than the above price. It*
1797	4,833,402	35,600,000	805,567	3	124	60,200	24,052,671	51,294,710	876,912	8,758,780	8,625,877	16,000,000	81,324,139	4,549,627	13,000,000	*is proposed that part of the residue*
1798	4,978,404	36,100,000	829,734	13	350	62,300	27,991,413	61,327,411	893,329	8,179,170	8,583,618	14,000,000	81,244,139	5,233,174	12,500,000	*should be rented, and also the lots in*
1799	5,127,756	36,300,000	854,626	42	950	63,500	33,142,187	78,665,522	920,000	12,549,381	11,004,965	17,000,000	88,456,038	9,052,232	13,000,000	*Washington.*

To account for the fluctuation of the metallic medium it must be observed, that funding the debt, and establishing the national bank, occasioned the great influx from 1790 to 1795; after which the spoliations on commerce occasioned the decline till the loan of five millions, 1799, when specie again returned for the purchase of stock.

N.B. For an account of the progressive increase *since* 1799, see the parts Register referred to in the Index under the words *America* and *American*. See also the words, *Finance, Export, Import.*

AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

PAPERS RESPECTING THE TRADE BETWEEN INDIA AND EUROPE. PRINTED IN APRIL, 1802.

Letter from the Right Hon. Henry Dundas to the Chairman of the East India Company. Dated the 2d April, 1800.

SIR, *Somerset Place, 2d April, 1800.*

THE ſubject of this letter is the queſtion of private trade and India-built ſhipping, on which I am anxious to lay my ſentiments before the Court, in order to attract their early attention to a deciſion upon it; believing that from the ſtate in which the queſtion is now left, much miſchief reſults to the intereſts, both of the Eaſt India Company, and of the public at large.—I feel the more anxious to come forward on this ſubject, becauſe it is impoſſible for me not to obſerve a ſhyneſs on all hands to come to the diſcuſſion: and I am not ſurpriſed at it; becauſe, ſo far as my reading or obſervation goes, there never was any queſtion where thoſe who differ upon it went into ſuch oppoſite extremes, as thoſe have done who have taken an active part in the agitation of it. This very circumſtance emboldens me to ſtep forward in the manner I am now doing; becauſe it being my lot to agree in the extreme of none of the opinions which have been held out to the public conſideration, I am the more likely to ſuggeſt ſome proper medium between thoſe extremes, which may bring together the diſcordant ſentiments which are entertained upon it.—In the firſt place, I ſet out with diſclaiming being a party to thoſe opinions which reſt upon any general attack of the monopoly of the Eaſt India Company, either as to the government or commerce of India. My ſentiments, in that reſpect, remain exactly the ſame as they were when I moved the renewal of the charter in 1793; and, if any thing, I am ſtill more confirmed in the principles I brought forward at that time. That a direct interference by Government in the affairs of India is neceſſary for their ſtability and uniformity, I am more and more convinced; but that the oſtenſible form of government, with all its conſequent extent and detail of patronage, muſt remain as it now is, I am perſuaded will never be called in queſtion by any but thoſe who may be diſpoſed to ſacrifice the freedom and ſecurity of our conſtitution to their own perſonal aggrandizement, and ill-directed ambition. I remain equally ſatisfied as to the propriety of continuing a monopoly of the trade in the hands of the Eaſt India Company. Thoſe who maintain the reverſe, appear to me to be miſled by general theories, without attending to the peculiar circumſtances of the trade they are treating of. Viewing it even as a mere commercial queſtion, I believe this propoſition to be a ſound one; and if the trade were laid open, the ſuppoſed advantages thence ariſing are at beſt very problematical, and would certainly be very precarious and ſhort-lived. It is, however, totally to forget the queſtion to treat it is a mere commercial one. The ſame principles which prove the neceſſity of the preſent form and mode of Indian government, evince the neceſſity of the monopoly of trade. The government and the trade are interwoven together, and we have only to recur to a very recent experience to learn the immenſe advantages which have flowed from that connexion of government and trade. By the commercial capital of the Company at home, acting in connexion with the public revenues under their adminiſtration abroad, they have mutually aided and adminiſtered to the wants of each other; and the reſult has been the fortunate achievement of thoſe brilliant events, upon the ſucceſs of which depended the exiſtence of the government, the territorial wealth, and the trade of India.—You will obſerve, Sir, that it is not my intention at preſent, to argue thoſe topics at large; but merely to ſtate the principles I hold upon ſuch topics, as may appear to be connected with the ſubject I wiſh to bring more particularly under your conſideration.—With the ſame view, it is, that I find it neceſſary to ſay a few words upon the ſubject of what is called the ſhipping intereſt of the Eaſt India Company. Upon that ſubject there ſeems to be a greater abuſe of terms, and a more palpable confuſion of ideas, than upon almoſt any other part of this complicated queſtion, in ſo far as any perſon is loud in declaiming againſt the abuſe of that great intereſt being confined excluſively to a few hands, who, by ſuch monopoly, might have it in their power to dictate ſuch terms as they pleaſed to the Eaſt India Company. On the ſubject of freights, I am as prepared as any man to join in crying down that abuſe. But I am equally adverſe to the ſentiments of thoſe who contend, that the great intereſt of the Company's trade is to be left to the chance of the market at large; and that the extent of the freight is either wholly, or primarily, to be the excluſive object of the Company's attention. I am deciſively of opinion, that both on views of public policy and commercial ſecurity, the ſame deſcription of ſhips ſhould be continued in the Company's ſervice, built under the ſame inſpection and regulations, fitted and found in every circumſtance, in the ſame reſpectable way they have hitherto been. And though every partiality and laviſh extravagance is to be avoided, a freight fully adequate to ſecure thoſe advantages, ought not to be churliſhly withheld. To what extent of ſhipping of this deſcription the Company ought to go, will be the ſubject of more minute diſcuſſion in a ſubſequent part of this letter.—Having, I truſt, made myſelf diſtinctly underſtood on thoſe leading points, I proceed next to ſtate, what I hold to be equally uncontrovertible, that although the Legiſlature has, for the wiſeſt purpoſes, given a monopoly of trade to the

East India Company, it is a monopoly attended with these two material circumstances:---1st, That the exportable produce of India exceeds what at present the capital of the East India Company is capable of embracing.---2d, That the monopoly of the East India Company does not rest on principles of colonial exclusion: for the trade to and from India is open to the subjects of other countries in amity with Great Britain. We must therefore accurately attend to the considerations which naturally result from those last-mentioned circumstances.---If it be true, that the trade to be carried on by the East India Company must, of necessity, be limited by the extent of their capital, the natural question is, What is to become of the remainder of it? Is it to be left exclusively to foreign nations, or is the monopoly of the Company to be so modified in the exercise of it, as to open this surplus market to the capital of British subjects? This is a mere question of policy, to be decided on principles of expediency and sound discretion, upon a due attention to all the considerations which enter into the discussion of it. And although nothing could be more invidious and impolitic, than to attempt to apply the principles of colonial exclusion to other independent nations; nothing certainly can be more just or natural than that those nations who trade to India, should trade there on their own capitals; and that the capital of the British subjects, resident in India, should be brought home to this country, in the manner most beneficial to their own interests, and to that of the mother country, where it is desirable all that capital should ultimately settle. This proposition then clearly points out the true appropriation of the surplus produce of India. When I state this, I am at the same time free to declare, that I totally disapprove of attempting to accomplish this by penal restrictive statutes. All such ever have been, and ever will be nugatory, when resorted to for such a purpose. Trade never can be regulated or directed by any other certain rule than the interest of those concerned in it. But it is so much the interest and natural bent of a British subject to send his fortune to that country which gave him birth, and where he means to close his days, that nothing but the most unnatural and impolitic restraints can suggest to him a desire to do otherwise.---But obvious as this principle may appear to be, it requires accurate attention in the application of it to the subject in question. If I am asked, whether, in stating this principle, I mean that the trade to and from India, in the common use of the terms, ought to be free and open to all his Majesty's subjects in India? I answer distinctly in the negative. The nature of the Indian manufacture, and the immemorial habits of the manufacturers, exclude the practical application of so indefinite a principle to the export trade from India. The manufacture of the finer and more valuable fabrics of India, has always been produced by advances from the Government, or individuals, for whose behoof those fabrics are manufactured; and if the dealing with those manufacturers was to be laid open to the uncontrolled competition of every individual, the consequence would be a boundless scene of confusion and fraud; and, ultimately, the ruin of the manufacturers themselves. It is unnecessary for me to detail this part of the subject at any length, because it is so clearly and ably explained in a letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Court of Directors, dated 1st November, 1788, that I have only to refer you and the Court to the careful perusal of it. The whole of it is worthy of your serious attention, but paragraphs 24 to 31 inclusive, are those to which I particularly refer, as bearing on the present question. It is not the purpose of the present letter to point out what the precise regulations ought to be; but it is obvious, that those employed in the agency of such a trade should be controlled by such regulations as may be requisite to secure both to the Company itself, and to other individuals, the full benefit of those advances they have made to the manufacturers of Indian fabrics.—It is immediately connected with the observations last offered, to consider by what agency is the trade of individuals in India to be carried on? If this question was to be decided on the principles of an open and free trade, the answer to the question would be, that every individual should send out or employ any agent he thought best to manage his own business. But from what I have already stated on the former point, you will anticipate my opinion on this, namely, that no agent should be employed in India, or permitted to reside there, except with the license of the East India Company, and subject to the control of such regulations as the habits, prejudices, and trade of the country may render expedient. In addition to every other consideration, arising out of the peculiar nature of the trade and manners of the country, there is one decisive circumstance against the tolerance of every unlicensed adventurer in India. It would rapidly, though insensibly, lead to the settlement and colonization of the worst kind of adventurers taking root in that country, than which there could not be a more fatal blow to the permanence of the British power and pre-eminence in India. No principle ought ever to be tolerated or acted upon, that does not proceed on the basis of India being considered as the temporary residence of a great British establishment for the good government of the country, upon steady and uniform principles; and of a large British factory, for the beneficial management of its trade, upon rules applicable to the state and manners of the country.—From these premises, the conclusion I draw is, that the surplus produce of India, beyond what the appropriated capital of the East India Company can bring home, should be considered as the means of transferring the fortunes of the servants in India

to Great Britain; and that the commerce ſhould be managed there, either by the parties themſelves intereſted in it, or by their agents acting under the licenſe, and ſubject to the control and regulations of the Eaſt India Company.—The queſtion which naturally follows is, By what mode of conveyance is that trade to be brought home? I anſwer, By the India-built ſhipping. Upon the policy and beneficial tendency of this meaſure, I have only to refer you to the unanimous opinion of all your ableſt ſervants in India, who have, from time to time, and in the moſt explicit terms, pointed out to you the expediency of this indulgence, both with a view to a juſt attention to the intereſts of your ſervants in India, and with a view to make Britain the great emporium of the trade of Aſia. Indeed nothing has hindered your ſervants abroad, ſanctioned by the expreſs advice of your Board of Trade, from acting upon theſe principles at different times, but the great quantity of unemployed ſhipping ſent out by the Eaſt India Company. I truſt henceforward you will ſee the wiſdom of deſiſting from ſuch a waſteful ſyſtem. If you fix the capital you mean to apply to inveſtment, and accurately direct your ſervants to provide that inveſtment, there can be no occaſion for any extra ſhipping. Your inveſtment and ſhipping will correſpond accurately together, and your commerce be ſyſtematically conducted. I mean, in a ſeparate letter, to treat of what the amount of that inveſtment ought to be, and what are the means by which it is to be provided. At preſent I mean only to ſtate, that, whatever the regular inveſtment is, it ought to be brought home in the regular home-built ſhips, of which I have referred in the beginning of this letter. If any accident ſhall befall any of thoſe ſhips in their outward paſſage, or if any circumſtances exiſt to render it expedient for you to bring home gruff goods, or any other articles of commerce from India, a diſcretion ſhould be left with your governments abroad to ſupply that deficiency from the ſhipping to be found in India. But it ought to be adopted and adhered to as an invariable rule, that the regular ſhipping to be ſent from this country, ſhould be in exact proportion to the amount of the inveſtment expected home.—When I am thus adding the concurrence of my opinion to the weight of authority which the propoſition derives from the unanimous ſentiments of your moſt intelligent ſervants in India, I am ſtrictly adhering to the principles I detailed when I moved the renewal of your charter in 1793. It was upon an application of thoſe principles that the proviſion was made in the act of Parliament, directing the Eaſt India Company to appropriate 3000 tons annually to the private trade to and from India. Although I oppoſed that meaſure, I ſhould be uncandid if I did not fairly acknowledge that experience has proved it to be inadequate to the purpoſes for which it was intended. If the object had been only to try an experiment how far individuals were not more competent to the export of Britiſh produce and manufactures than the Eaſt India Company, no other objection would lie againſt the meaſure, except what may be ſuppoſed to ariſe from the dearneſs of freight, at which the Eaſt India Company could afford to give ſhipping of that deſcription. But in ſo far as the proviſion went to ſecure the transfer of the capital of our ſervants in India to this country through the medium of trade, it is clearly aſcertained that the meaſure was a nugatory one. I need not enter into an explanation of the reaſons, for they are ſo diſtinctly and unanſwerably ſtated, both in the correſpondence of your Board of Trade at Bengal, and the memorials preſented by the merchants at Calcutta to your Supreme Government in India, that I have only to refer you to the peruſal of theſe documents, in proof of the inutility of that proviſion in the act of 1793.—I am therefore clear, that clauſe in the act ought to be repealed, and the Company relieved from the obligation it impoſes upon them: and in place thereof, a power given to your Governments abroad to allow the Britiſh ſubjects, reſident in India, to bring home their funds to Britain in the ſhipping of the country. I ſee in the records of the Company abroad, it is ſuggeſted, that thoſe ſhips ſhould be contracted for by the Government, and refreighted to the individuals. I do not exactly perceive what benefit ariſes from the Government having that kind of interference in the buſineſs; but if there is any good reaſon for it, there is not certainly any material objection againſt it. But it is material to attend to, and of courſe regulations will be made as to the time of ſailing and other circumſtances of detail connected with the ſafe execution of the meaſure.—It may, perhaps, be objected, that this propoſition is injurious to the regular ſhipping of the Eaſt India Company, for the preſervation of which ſyſtem I have already given ſo decided an opinion.—The anſwer to this objection is two-fold. Firſt, in point of fact, it will not diminiſh their ſhipping a ſingle ton; for the Eaſt India Company would not, if the meaſure was not adopted, ſend out a ſingle ſhip more. They ought and will ſend out as much of the regular Britiſh-built India ſhipping as is neceſſary to bring home the whole of their inveſtment, and they will act improvidently if they ſend out one ton more. The only effect of this meaſure not being adopted, would be to extend the trade and ſhipping of other nations, but in no reſpect to add to the regular ſhipping of the Eaſt India Company.—In the next place, thoſe intereſted in the regular ſhipping of the Eaſt India Company would do well to conſider the benefits they already enjoy, in place of endeavouring to

cramp and check the juſt pretenſions of others. They ought to recollect the rapid progreſs they have made from the time of the Commutation Act; and, above all, they ought to recollect that it has always been conſidered as a very problematical queſtion, how far, conſiſtent with the national intereſts, ſo much of the ſhip timber of the country ought to be appropriated to its commercial concerns, in the manner practiſed by the builders of India ſhipping. I am one of thoſe who think there are reaſons of public expediency, connected with the very intereſt on which the objection is founded, which ought to prevent any principle of that kind being inconſiderately acted upon. But one of the material grounds, upon which I am diſpoſed to think that the objection I have referred to ought to be well weighed before it is given way to, ariſes from the reflection, that we have a national reſource in India, which ought to lead to the reverſe of any invidious or unjuſt diſcouragement being given to the ſhip-building of India.---In ſome of the many ſpeculations I have heard, and the publications I have peruſed on this ſubject, it is uſual to aſk, in a tone of complaint, if it is not unjuſt and unfair that the merchants and ſhipping of this country, other than the ſhipping of the Eaſt India Company, ſhould be excluded from a participation of that trade which is allowed to the ſubjects of foreign nations?---The ſtatement, at firſt ſight, may appear plauſible; but when examined to the bottom, it has no ſolidity. In truth, it is only another mode of objecting to the monopoly of the Eaſt India Company. If there are reaſons of ſound policy, why the Legiſlature has decided that the Indian trade ſhould be carried on by a monopoly, it is becauſe, viewing the intereſts of the public as one aggregate, it is of opinion, that thoſe intereſts are beſt cared for, by that mode of conducting the trade. Thoſe, therefore, who ſtate this objection, being themſelves part of that whole, are, in common with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects, reaping the benefit of that influx of national wealth and capital, which the Eaſt India trade, ſo conducted, brings into the national ſtock. They cannot, therefore, more than others, becauſe their occupation happens to be that of merchants or ſhip-owners, complain of being injured by the means which the wiſdom of Parliament has deviſed, for introducing that flow of wealth into the kingdom.—The caſe is totally different with regard to the ſubjects of foreign nations. They are not the objects of the care of the Britiſh Legiſlature; neither are their intereſts at all in the view of its proviſions. They reap no benefit, but the reverſe, from the growing wealth and proſperity of the Britiſh empire; and therefore are, in no reſpect, on a footing of compariſon with any of the ſubjects of this country, to whom the reſtraints of the Company's charter, for the reaſons already aſſigned, do with perfect propriety apply.—It is quite a ſeparate queſtion, how far it would be right to hold our Indian poſſeſſions upon principles of colonial monopoly? and it would be deviating from the ſtrict matter of the objection, to enter into that diſcuſſion in this place. It is ſufficient, in point of fact, to obſerve, in anſwer to the merchants and ſhip-owners, that it is thought expedient for the intereſts of the empire at large, that the Eaſt India poſſeſſions ſhould not be regulated on the principles of colonial excluſion; and, therefore, no part of the ſubjects of Great Britain can be permitted to ſet up a ſeparate intereſt of their own, againſt that general policy. If the colonial principle was to be applied to the Indian territories, it would not advance, by one ſtep, that ſeparate intereſt ſet up by the merchants and ſhip-owners, to whom I now refer.—Another turn is given to this objection, in the mouth of the ſame objectors; and it is aſked, why, at leaſt, ſhould not the merchants and ſhip-owners, ſubjects of his Majeſty, reſident in Britain, have the ſame indulgences which are contended for by his Majeſty's ſubjects reſident in India? The anſwer is plain and concluſive, that, in contending for this indulgence to the Britiſh ſubjects reſident in India, I am contending for a material national intereſt, which is no other than this, that their fortunes, capitals created in India, ſhould be transferred from that country to this, in a manner moſt beneficial for themſelves, and the kingdom at large, in place of being transferred through the medium of commerce by foreigners, and thereby adding to the wealth, capital, and navigation of foreign countries.---There is not a ſingle circumſtance in which this applies to the caſe of merchants in this country. It might be proved, if neceſſary, that the only effect of giving ſuch an indulgence to the merchants reſident in this country would be a temptation to withdraw a part of the capital of the country from a more profitable trade, and more beneficial application of it, in order to divert it to another trade, leſs profitable to themſelves, and leſs beneficial to the public. Without, therefore, one ſingle reaſon, either of private juſtice or public policy, it would be introducing a rival capital in India againſt the remittance-trade of the Eaſt India Company, and in competition likewiſe with thoſe individuals, whoſe capitals, by the propoſed indulgence, it is wiſhed to tranſfer to Great Britain.---It is argued, that the extenſion of this indulgence of the Britiſh merchants would be an additional encouragement to the export of Britiſh manufactures. I need only obſerve, that the argument proceeds on an erroneous view of the ſubject. The export trade to India can never be extended in any degree proportionate to

wealth and population of the Indian empire; neither can the returns upon it be very profitable to individuals. Thoſe who attend to the manners, the manufactures, the food, the raiment, the moral and religious prejudices of that country, can be at no loſs to trace the cauſes, why this propoſition muſt be a true one. The importance of that immenſe empire to this country is rather to be eſtimated by the great annual addition it makes to the wealth and capital of the kingdom, than by any eminent advantages which the manufactures of the country can derive from the conſumption of the natives of India. I do not mean to ſay, that the exports from this country to India have not been very conſiderably increaſed of late years; and I make no doubt, that, from recent circumſtances, they may be ſtill conſiderably increaſed. But the proſpect, from the cauſes I have already referred to, muſt always be a limited one; and I am poſitive, that the ſhipping and exertions of the Eaſt India Company, joined to the returned cargoes of thoſe ſhips, who bring home the private trade of India, is more than adequate to any preſent or future increaſe of export trade, that this country can look to upon any rational ground of hope.—In this view, therefore, the Britiſh merchants are equally miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that there is any national intereſt implicated in their attempt to break in upon the monopoly of the Company, as they are in ſuppoſing that any material benefit would accrue to themſelves individually.—In ſome of the collections of papers I have read upon the ſubject of private trade, I have obſerved a difference of opinion entertained, to what places in India it has been or ought to be allowed. I am at a loſs to diſcover the grounds of this controverſy. If individuals are to be allowed to bring goods from India in India ſhipping, and to carry back goods to India in the ſame ſhipping, I cannot ſee the ground for reſtraining them in coming from, or returning to any part in India.—In like manner, with regard to agents, provided they are licenſed by the Company, and ſubject themſelves to the control of the regulations which the Company may ſee cauſe to eſtabliſh for the conduct of agents in India, I ſee no reaſons why thoſe agents may not be permitted to exerciſe their agency for behoof of their conſtituents in any of the territories of India. I ſtate this with regard even to agency exerciſed for behoof of foreigners trading to India. It is clearly beneficial for the intereſts of India, in every point of view, that foreigners ſhould rather employ Britiſh agents reſiding under the protection of the Company in India, than that theſe foreign nations ſhould eſtabliſh agents of their own in any part of India. In the former caſe, they are under the control of the Company, and bound ſubject to ſuch rules as the Company may think proper to lay down for the conduct of them; but there can exiſt no ſuch control or influence over the agents of the other deſcription. With regard to the agents to be employed at home to manage the private trade of individuals from India, and to take care of their intereſt in the cargoes of the returning ſhips, I do not ſee the uſe of any interference by the Company. The great intereſt to be attended to on the part of the Company is, that no goods come from India that are not depoſited in the Company's warehouſes, and that the goods ſo imported are expoſed at the Company's ſales, agreeable to the rules preſcribed for that purpoſe.—This letter has extended to a length far beyond what I intended or expected; but I was deſirous to have my opinion, on all the points connected with the ſubject, diſtinctly underſtood: and I ſhall leſs regret the trouble I have given you in the peruſal of ſo long a letter, if I ſhall be ſucceſsful in calling your attention to a ſpeedy and final deciſion of the queſtion, which has been too long in diſcuſſion, from the very diſcordant opinions and oppoſite extremes which have appeared in the agitation of it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

Firſt Report of the Special Committee, to whoſe Conſideration the preceding Letter from Mr. Dundas, and the Subject in general of enlarging the Private Trade from India, were referred.

I. Your Committee have proceeded to the diſcuſſion of the ſubject referred to their conſideration, under a deep impreſſion of its great importance, not only in itſelf, but as involving a variety of important intereſts and relations. The preceding agitation of it had led the individuals, now forming your Committee, in common with the other members of the Court, to regard it with very ſerious attention; and they have ſince endeavoured, in ſome meaſure, to qualify themſelves for the performance of the taſk aſſigned to them, by diligent inquiry and reflection; ſeeking to obtain from all the ſources of information within their reach, a comprehenſive knowledge of facts and opinions relating to this ſubject, and fairly to appreciate their nature and import, that thus they might be aſſiſted in forming intelligent and juſt concluſions.—With this deſign, your Committee have peruſed a great variety of writings, which they will beg leave to claſs under diſtinct heads, referring to the margin * for a more particular

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* PAPERS REFERRED TO ABOVE.

Extracts from the Bengal Correſpondence, &c. collected into one large Folio; relative to the Queſtion of extending the Trade between Great Britain and India, from 1785 to 1799, containing the following Particulars, viz.

Sir J. Macpherſon's Minute, 9th April, 1785.
Letter from Bengal to the Court, 9th ditto.
Letter from Sir J. Macpherſon to ditto, 10th January, 1786.
Extract from Mr. Haſtings' State of Bengal, 1786.
Mr. Bebb to the Board of Trade, 22d Auguſt and 17th November, 1788, and
Minute of Board of Trade thereon.

enumeration of them.—1ſt. *A voluminous collection of records of the Government General of Bengal, from the year* 1785 *to the year* 1799, *which contain numerous applications and propoſals from the free merchants of that preſidency, and the other Britiſh ſettlements, for indulgences and enlargements in the private trade between India and Britain; with the ſentiments and proceedings of the Company's commercial ſervants and the Supreme Board, in relation to that and other ſubjects of commercial policy.*—2d. *Applications made directly to the Court here, in behalf of the free merchants of India, and of the merchants of London, for a ſyſtematic admiſſion, with ſhips of their own, into the commerce and navigation between India and Great Britain, and for the indefinite extenſion of that commerce; under which head may be ranked the motion brought forward laſt year, in a General Court of Proprietors, on this ſubject; without adverting particularly to works not immediately addreſſed to the Court, but calculated to influence the public mind reſpecting the conduct of the Company, and the extent and appropriation of the Indian commerce; points which they profeſs to diſcuſs.*—3d. *A letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas to the Court of Directors, dated* 2d *April,* 1800, *wherein he delineates the leading principles and views, by which the trade of the Company and of individuals from India, and the intercourſe between that country and Great Britain, ought to be regulated.*—Another letter, which the ſame Right Honourable Gentleman was pleaſed to addreſs to one of the Members of the Court, and now of your Committee, in conſequence of ſome obſervations which that Member had made, on the queſtion of enlarging the private trade from India.—In this great diverſity of materials, your Committee have before them the mer-

Mr. Bebb to the Board of Trade, 14th April and 30th November, 1789.

Earl Cornwallis to the Court of Directors, 1ſt November, 1788.

Letter from the Court to Bengal, 11th March, 1791.

Letter from Bengal to the Court, 15th May, 1795.

Letter from the Court to Bengal, 27th July, 1796.

Proceedings of the Board of Trade, 21ſt October, 20th December, and 23d December, 1796.

Letter from the Court to Bengal, 17th February, 1797.

Bengal Commercial Conſultations, 13th March, 1797.

Bengal Public Conſultations, 3d April, 1797.

Public letter from Bengal, 30th April, 1797.

Commercial letter from the Court to Bengal, 4th October, 1797.

Proceedings of the Board of Trade, 26th December, 1797.

Proceedings of the Governor General in Council (Commercial Department), 8th May, 1798.

Commercial letter from the Court to Bengal, 23d May, 1798.

Public ditto, 25th May, 1798.

Proceedings of the Governor General in Council (Commercial Department), 28th May, 16th and 26th July, 1ſt and 15th October, 1798.

Letter from Bengal (Commercial Department), 31ſt July, 1798.

Letter from Bombay (Public Department), 7th December, 1798.

Letter from Bengal (Commercial Department), 1ſt January, 1799.

Proceedings of the Governor General in Council (Commercial Department), 1ſt and 15th April; 3d, 17th, and 28th June, 1799.

Commercial letter from Bengal, 2d September, 1799.

Letter from the Board of Trade to the Governor General in Council, 26th November, 1799.

Lord Mornington to the Chairman, 29th November, 1799.

Ditto to the Court, 9th March, 1800.

Commercial letter from Bengal, 1ſt March, 1800.

Proceedings of the Board of Trade, 1ſt and 12th November; 10th and 24th December, 1799.

Mr. Buckley to the Board of Trade, 11th and 30th December, 1799.

Letters from the Board of Trade to the Governor General in Council, 7th February and 4th March, 1800.

Arrivals and departures of foreign ſhips at Calcutta, for thirteen months.

Mr. Browne's report of the external commerce of Bengal by ſea, for four years.

Ditto, of the internal commerce of Bengal for 1796-7.

Extracts relative to the cuſtoms levied on the foreign trade in Bengal.

Proceedings of the Marine Committee at Calcutta, 1793, on India ſhip-building.

A letter from Meſſrs. William and Horſley Palmer, and other mercantile houſes, requeſting permiſſion for their own ſhips to proceed to India, laden as therein mentioned, read in Court the 2d April, 1800.

A letter from John Prinſep, Eſq. to the Chairman, detailing his ideas on the commerce between Britain and India: read in Court the 2d April, 1800.

Enclоſures in the Governor General's letter, dated the 30th September, 1800.

Extracts minutes of Court of the under-mentioned dates, viz.

2d April, 1800; ordering the letter from Mr. Prinſep, and the letter from Meſſrs. William and Horſley Palmer, &c. to lie for conſideration.

18th April, 1800; ordering Mr. Dundas's letter of the 2d of that month to lie for conſideration.

2d July, 1800; ordering Mr. Dundas's letters of the 2d April and 28th June, to be taken into conſideration on the 10th July.

9th, 16th, 23d, and 30th July, 1800; poſtponing the conſideration of thoſe letters.

14th Auguſt; appointing the Special Committee.

20th Auguſt; referring the letters from Mr. Prinſep, Meſſrs. Palmers, and others, to the Special Committee.

27th January, 1801; ordering the Special Committee's report, and reſolutions, to lie for conſideration.

4th February, 1801; approving the report and reſolutions.

24th March, 1801; referring Mr. Dundas's letter of the 21ſt of that month, and the letter from the Governor General, to the Special Committee.

26th March; ordering certain papers to be printed.

2d April; approving the Special Committee's ſecond report, and ordering it to be printed.

chants of India propoſing their own objects, and the arguments which ſupport tnem: they ſee alſo how far, and with what views for the public advantage, thoſe objects were favoured by the Company's governments abroad. The writings with which the cauſe of the free merchants has been ſeconded in this country, and the propoſal which another ſet of merchants in London have grafted upon it, diſplay the vaſt conſequences to which the principles and reaſonings, whereon commercial enlargements in India have been urged, may be puſhed, both in theory and practice; the obſervation of which has ſuggeſted to your Committee the neceſſity of previouſly examining, with care and foreſight, the nature and tendency of every propoſed innovation of the nature in queſtion; ſince innovation once admitted cannot eaſily be ſet aſide, but rather has the property of acquiring, in every ſtep it proceeds, an increaſed impulſe towards further advancement.—In the letters from the Preſident of the Board of Control, your Committee have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the main outlines of Indian policy, traced with (as they conceive) equal energy and juſtneſs, and with a liberality which muſt command reſpect and applauſe. The propoſitions theſe letters contain, for adjuſting the objects and the limits of private trade, will, both on account of the authority and the public views from which they proceed, eminently engage the attention of your Committee; though it may previouſly be neceſſary to review diſtinctly the principles and opinions maintained in other quarters, reſpecting the commerce and connexion between India and Britain.—In availing themſelves of all theſe materials for the aſſiſtance of their judgment, it will be the duty of your Committee to aim at aſcertaining what, on the whole, will be for the true intereſt of the Company and that of the nation, which, in their opinion, are not in variance with each other, but indeed the ſame; and as ſuch they will be regarded in this Report.—Beſides theſe numerous documents, your Committee have received written opinions on the preſent ſubject from ſeveral of their own members; for though in the meetings of your Committee the prominent parts of the queſtion before them were diſcuſſed *vivâ voce*, and, it may be hoped, with general elucidation, yet as in a ſubject of ſo much perplexity it was not eaſy thus to introduce and keep in view every pertinent topic, with its due relation to the whole, it was agreed that thoſe gentlemen who might be diſpoſed to treat of the queſtion at length, with its bearings and dependencies, ſhould deliver their ſentiments upon it in writing. The minutes, noted in the margin, were in conſequence brought forward; and your Committee muſt beg leave to refer to them, as containing much ſupplementary detail, and larger illuſtrations of a variety of relative topics than will well conſiſt with the proper ſtructure of ſuch a Report as, in their opinion, they ought to ſubmit to the Court.

II. To avoid the confuſion and indiſtinctneſs that might enſue from a diffuſive treatment of all particulars, your Committee conceive it ſhould be their buſineſs, and it will accordingly be their endeavour, to preſent with clearneſs a ſuccinct view of the great points on which the juſt deciſion of the preſent queſtion depends, and of the concluſions which reſult from a fair conſideration of them.—In order to execute this deſign, it will be expedient, as a preliminary, to take a ſhort retroſpect of the privileges which have been already conceded to individuals in the trade of India, with the reaſons for which they were accorded; then to ſtate the claims now advanced, and the grounds and principles, profeſſed or implied, on which they ſtand; after which your Committee will proceed to examine thoſe grounds and principles, with the conſequences to which they lead; and under this head, will conſider, among other things, what relates to the commerce of Britiſh India with Europe and America, the amount of that commerce, and its diſtribution to different countries; the Indian capital applicable to it; the ſhare of it which Great Britain ought to attract to her own ports; the nature of the ability which Britiſh India poſſeſſes for extending its produce and exports, and the policy of promoting, indefinitely, ſuch an extenſion; which laſt point will lead to the conſideration of the true principles of policy by which the dependency of India on Great Britain ſhould be maintained, and the commerce and intercourſe between the two countries carried on.—The *facts* which, it is hoped, will thus be aſcertained, reſpecting the actual ſtate of the foreign commerce of Britiſh India, and the manner in which any large augmentation of it is practicable, with the *principles*, political and commercial, which ſhould regulate our Indian ſyſtem, will, in the opinion of your Committee, conſtitute thoſe great points, by which the extent and the mode of any farther enlargements in favour of individuals ſhould be governed and determined.

III. It may be proper to recollect, that the original ſource of the intereſt which Britiſh reſidents in India have obtained in the trade between that country and Europe, is to be traced to the Company's acquiſition of territorial dominion in the Eaſt. Before that æra, the number of thoſe reſidents was ſmall; they were confined ſolely to commercial purſuits; and the few moderate fortunes which, in a ſlow courſe of years, were to be remitted home, eaſily found a conveyance by the bills of the Company. The vaſt wealth which poured into the coffers of individuals, upon the aſcendancy of the Engliſh power in India, at the ſame time that their number, in conſequence of this great change, rapidly increaſed there, ſoon overflowed the uſual channel of remittance

through the Company, who not having immediately adjuſted their meaſures to the policy which this new ſituation of things ought to have dictated, had it been regarded as permanent, nor indeed being well able, at firſt, to inveſt in goods even the great revenues which came into their own hands, many of the fortunes acquired by individuals found their way into Europe by foreign channels; and theſe channels being once opened for the remittance of Britiſh property, have ever ſince continued to ſerve, in a greater or leſs degree, for the ſame end, though the modes have varied. Foreigners, at firſt, gave bills on Europe for the money advanced them in India, with which money they purchaſed the inveſtments that carried on their Indian trade, and provided the funds for the payment of thoſe bills; but in proceſs of time, Britiſh reſident merchants, not confining themſelves ſolely to the original object of paper remittance, became, clandeſtinely and unlawfully, parties in the trade carried on to foreign Europe, and at length, as is ſuppoſed, in many adventures, the real though concealed principals; in which caſes remittance was rather the medium of trade than the primary motive: ſo that they, in fact, came to ſtand in the place where foreigners, who firſt received the fortunes of Britiſh ſubjects for bills on Europe, had ſtood; and thus was the monopoly of the Company groſsly invaded, and the trade of foreign Europe from India greatly carried on with Britiſh capital, which was an iſſue ſo little conſonant to the protection and proſperity enjoyed by Britiſh reſidents through the government of the Company, that to trace it to its remote cauſe, is certainly not to make any ſufficient apology for it. Prohibitions were enacted, but they did not prevent the continuance of it; and the example of laws, inefficient and diſregarded, became a new evil. To remedy both theſe abuſes, was one profeſſed object of the act of 1793, which renewed the Company's charter; and it propoſed to do this by abrogating the former prohibitory laws, and permitting Britiſh reſidents in India not only to act for foreigners, but to export from thence, annually, a certain quantity of goods in the Company's ſhips. It was intended by this laſt new privilege to furniſh a legal and patriotic channel for the trade which the fortunes of Britiſh reſidents carried on from India to foreign Europe, by admitting that trade directly into the Thames. It is true, that, at the period here ſpoken of, large channels of remittance, by bills on the Company, were open; and it was ſufficiently obvious that Britiſh reſidents, who had been carrying on a traffic in violation of the laws and their engagements with the Company, had not thereby merited new privileges; but this conſideration was abſorbed in the national object of bringing a trade, which it was found difficult to ſuppreſs, immediately to our own ports. Yet even in the way of eſtabliſhing this privilege, the free merchants of India were regarded rather as ſecondary than as principal objects; for it was primarily conceded to the manufacturers of Britain, who were allowed to ſend their productions in the Company's ſhips to India for ſale, and to bring back the proceeds in Indian goods; and the permiſſion to lade home ſuch goods was then alſo extended to Britiſh ſubjects reſiding in India. But the manufacturers have made ſo little uſe of it to the preſent day, that they need not be further conſidered in this privilege, which reſts, therefore, almoſt wholly with the reſidents abroad. The extent of it was 3000 tons annually, with a proviſo for the augmentation of this quantity, if ſuch augmentation ſhould be found neceſſary. Thus, for the firſt time, individuals were admitted by law into a participation of the trading privileges of the Company, by being allowed to ſend goods for ſale in the Company's ſhips.

IV. In proceeding to an account of what the free merchants now demand, it is fair to ſtate, that they do not appear ever to have been ſatisfied with the conceſſions of the act of 1793. The cauſes of their diſcontent will preſently be ſeen; and the meaſures they require in the way of remedy are, that they be allowed to ſend their own goods, on their own ſhips, from India to this country, and, in like manner, to carry returns from this country to India; in both caſes taking a licenſe from the Company, dealing in the aſſortments of goods permitted by the act of 1793, and paſſing all their imports here through the Company's warehouſes, to be ſold at their ſales; alſo to ſubject their ſhips to the general regulations of the Company, in reſpect to diſcipline on board, and the conduct of the navigation between India and Europe; but thoſe ſhips to be diſpatched at the periods choſen by the owners, without let or hindrance; to be allowed to trade from port to port in India; and even, inſtead of being freighted to the Company, and relet on the ſame terms to the individuals chooſing to lade goods on them, as has hitherto been uſual in any caſes of permiſſion to private ſhips, to be left in this reſpect entirely between the owners and the ſhippers.—Some advocates here for the free merchants explicitly advance views of enlargement, which if they may be ſaid to be virtually educible from the propoſitions of the merchants, are nevertheleſs not avowed, and probably not intended by them. Theſe advocates urge, in terms that ſeem to have no limit or qualification, the encouragement of Britiſh enterpriſe and capital in the trade of the Eaſt; and that Britiſh ſubjects, as ſuch, and the natives of our poſſeſſions, ſhall have ſuch a freedom in the trade of India as foreign Europeans enjoy; that is, be permitted to ſend at pleaſure to their own country, through the channel of the Company, their own goods and their own ſhips. They propoſe, moreover, that a regular conveyance over-land, for the ſpeedieſt tranſmiſſion of the correſpondence of both, be furniſhed; and

that the new ſyſtem of enlargement, with every facility and encouragement on the part of the Company and the ſtate, be eſtabliſhed by law. The merchants in London have in more general terms propoſed that their ſhips ſhall, in like manner, be allowed to navigate to and from Britiſh India, carrying all ſuch goods as the Company do not excluſively reſerve for themſelves.

V. The grounds and reaſons on which the free merchants prefer the claims which have now been ſtated, are in ſubſtance theſe: Firſt, in reſpect to the Company's ſhips, that the tonnage accorded to them in thoſe ſhips does not anſwer the deſign of the Legiſlature in granting it, and defeats the objects they muſt neceſſarily have in view as merchants, becauſe the rate of freight in the Company's ſhips is ſo extremely high, that many ſpecies of goods cannot bear it. Thoſe ſhips alſo are, in conſequence of the warlike and political operations which make a part of the Company's ſyſtem, ſo uncertain in the times of their arrival and departure, and ſubject to ſo many deviations in their voyages; the times, too, at which private goods are required to be ready for them are ſo inconvenient, and the whole quantity of tonnage ſo limited, and ſo little adequate to the wants which may occaſionally ariſe, that merchants are exceedingly diſconcerted and diſcouraged in forming their ſpeculations, neither knowing what quantity of tonnage they may depend on, nor when it will arrive, nor when the ſhips that do arrive may again fail, nor whither they may be intermediately deſtined; and if extra ſhips are allotted for the tranſport of their goods, though the rate of freight be leſs, the coſt of inſurance is higher, and the other diſadvantages nearly the ſame: from all which circumſtances they are rendered quite uncertain what proviſion to make of goods, or how to form their arrangements in taking up money and drawing bills on Europe, and regulating their inſurances with moſt ſafety and advantage; whence, in concluſion, it happens that they are frequently left, at the end of a ſeaſon, with goods on their hands, which either muſt remain in their warehouſes till another ſeaſon, or be ſold to foreigners (at leaſt ſhipped to foreign ports), to the manifeſt loſs of this country.—Another head of complaint among them, though leſs explicitly ſtated, is, that foreign Europeans enjoy greater privileges in Britiſh India than they do, who are natives of the governing ſtate. "Foreigners," ſay they, "come into the Britiſh territories without reſtraint, and they export ſhips and goods at pleaſure to their own country, and even to all the ſtates of foreign Europe and America; whilſt we, ſubjects of Britain, are deſtitute of ſuch privileges, reſtrained from ſending our ſhips to our own country, deprived of freedom in our commercial ſpeculations, and in territories belonging to that country are de-

"graded below the ſtate of aliens."—It is repreſented by the free merchants, in the third place, that the objects they propoſe are calculated, directly and greatly, to promote the benefit of Britiſh India and of the ſovereign ſtate, by increaſing the produce and exports of the one, the imports, duties, exports, and profits of the other, the ſhipping and navigation of both. That the Company cannot take off all the export produce of their territories, much of which, alſo, is now carried away by foreigners, whereas nearly the whole, both of theſe exports, and of the ſurplus not wanted by the Company, might be brought by the ſhips of Britiſh reſidents, if licenſed, into the Thames, to the entire extinction of the clandeſtine trade: That, moreover, the productions of thoſe territories, particularly in indigo, ſugar, cotton, and other bulky articles, are capable of being exceedingly extended and improved, if ſufficient encouragement were given to that end; and in proof of theſe poſitions, the merchants adduce the rapid increaſe in the exports from India to this country, ſince the liberty given by the act of 1793, notwithſtanding all the diſadvantages which have cramped the freedom of commercial enterpriſe; whence it is inferred, that the trade is, in its own nature, progreſſive, and, if permitted to expand freely, would ſoon become highly important to the nation.—Some of the advocates for the ſame cauſe on this ſide, have gone much farther in their reaſoning, as well as in their views, than the free merchants themſelves. Thoſe advocates charge the Company with having deſignedly obſtructed the operation of the act of 1793; with having followed a narrow jealous policy, which by preventing the capital and enterpriſe of Britiſh reſidents from being freely employed in the direct trade of England, has thrown it into foreign channels, whereby a fatal rivalſhip againſt ourſelves has been nouriſhed, the clandeſtine and neutral trade from India, in particular the trade of America with that country, has been moſt alarmingly increaſed; and even the Indian trade of our enemies, the French and Dutch, which a contrary conduct might have extinguiſhed, has been upholden; ſo that Great Britain is thus, by the prepoſterous policy of the Company, in danger of loſing the carrying trade of India, and the maritime aſcendancy ſhe has obtained over the nations: whereas, ſay thoſe advocates, if free ſcope were given to the enterpriſe of Britiſh merchants, if they were allowed to employ their reſources in the direct trade from India to Britain, nearly the whole commerce of the Eaſt might centre in, or paſs through, the Thames; and they add, that it was the ſpirit and deſign of the proviſions of 1793, to produce theſe effects. The privileges thus propoſed are ſaid to be the *natural right* of Britiſh ſubjects, and of the natives of our Indian poſſeſſions. The capital which may be employed in the export trade of that country is aſſerted

to be immenſe, and the capabilities of the country for exportable produce of many valuable ſorts unbounded.

VI. Your Committee having thus exhibited what they conceive to be, in ſubſtance, the requiſitions of the free merchants, with the arguments urged in ſupport of them, and alſo the more extenſive ſpeculations with which they have been followed up here, will proceed to make their obſervations on the whole.—And firſt, with reſpect to the Company's ſhips. During war, a ſtate in which we have been ever ſince the act of 1793 paſſed, the regular courſe of commercial operations muſt every where be more or leſs interrupted, whilſt the expenſe of freight and demorage will be greatly enhanced; and the ſafety of the Company's fleets, as well as the military expeditions, and political objects that occur in ſuch a period, doubtleſs expoſe the voyages of their ſhips to delays, changes, and uncertainties. The commerce of the Company has greatly ſuffered from theſe cauſes, and individuals who have embarked property in their ſhips, have no doubt ſhared in their inconveniences: but the Company have gone upon no deſign of obſtructing the fair operation of the act of 1793, as their proceedings will teſtify; nor could they make the greater objects of their complex ſyſtem bend to private intereſts; yet in the article of freight they have generally favoured thoſe intereſts, charging individuals conſiderably leſs than they have themſelves ſpecifically paid for the goods of thoſe individuals to the ſhip-owners. And if the merchants were, during war, to lade on ſhips entirely in their own management, thoſe ſhips muſt be ſubject to detentions for convoy, both out and home, or incur a proportionably higher charge for inſurance, and greater hazard of capture, by which the expeditions would be fruſtrated.—Nevertheleſs, after making theſe proper diſtinctions, your Committee are ready to allow that much uncertainty, in the times of arrival and departure of ſhips, and in reſpect of procuring freight on them, with long detention and circuitous routes, may naturally and juſtly be a ground of objection with individuals who are required to depend on them for freight; and that it is fit all inconveniences of this kind ſhould be remedied, though it will not follow that there is no other remedy but that which the merchants propoſe. And here your Committee feel themſelves obliged, in juſtice to the ſubject before them, to ſtate what they find from the proceedings of the Bengal government, that the propoſal of the merchants to employ their own ſhips in the tranſport of their goods from India, did not originate merely from experience of the inconveniences reſulting from their being confined to the Company's ſhips, nor had for its ſole object a better mode of conveying their goods; but proceeded, in part, from a deſire which ſeems to have been cheriſhed as early as the laſt renewal of the charter, of introducing Indian ſhips into the navigation to Britain, with a diſtinct view to the profit to be obtained by employing ſuch ſhipping in that new channel: for various applications appear on the Bengal records from owners of Indian ſhips therein ſpecified, admitting that thoſe ſhips were built on the ſpeculation of their being employed in the trade to Europe, ſtating the loſs to which diſappointment would expoſe the owners, and requeſting either that the ſhips may be taken up by the Company, or that individuals may be allowed to freight goods on them to Britain; and in other places, the wiſh of thoſe exporters of goods, who are alſo ſhip-owners, to prefer their own ſhips, although freight might be had on the Company's, is acknowledged, and acknowledged to ariſe from the profit and advantage expected by them as owners. Thus the ſcheme of employing private ſhips is not, on the part of the merchants, purely an auxiliary expedient for facilitating the transfer of Britiſh property in goods to this country. The tranſfer of goods is, indeed, the object originally and principally inſiſted on: it is the ſtrongeſt ground on which the Court could be required to relinquiſh part of their privileges; but the merchants of London, who have lately claimed a ſhare in any new enlargement that may be conceded to individuals, do not even place their application on this ground; and though the merchants of India ſo often urge the policy of bringing the produce of the Eaſt into the Thames, this transfer is not the *ſole end*, and the employment of Indian ſhips merely the *means*; but in part the transfer is the *means*, and the ſhips the *end*.

VII. With reſpect to the alleged inferiority of the condition of Britiſh ſubjects in our territories, compared with that of foreign Europeans, it is an objection which a brief explanation will anſwer; but the implied principle on which it reſts may deſerve ſerious attention. —The rights of ſeveral European nations to commercial eſtabliſhments in thoſe countries of Hindoſtan now ſubject to our government, exiſted and were enjoyed long before we acquired territorial power there, and have ever ſince been exerciſed by the ſubjects and the flags of thoſe nations, except as the fate of war has, in particular inſtances, ſuſpended or extinguiſhed them. Our acquiſition of territorial power, though we did not employ it to diveſt foreigners of their privileges, brought them, however, gradually into more dependance upon us for the proviſion of their inveſtments; ſo that at length finding, in Bengal particularly, a greater facility in tranſacting their buſineſs at our ſettlements than at their own, ſome of them began to bring their ſhips directly to our ports; and as thus their dependance on us would be increaſed, and the duties on their goods, with their expenditures whilſt in harbour, centre with us, it was evidently good policy to encourage them in this practice, which therefore received the ſanction of the Supreme Government, and of the autho-

rities at home. It was about that time (ſome years after the peace of 1782) that the ſhips of ſeveral ſtates which had no ſettlements in India, as the American, Tuſcan, and Genoeſe, began to reſort thither, particularly to Bengal; and as they might, if refuſed entrance into our ports, have proceeded to thoſe of the French, Dutch, Danes, or Portugueſe, it was but an extenſion of the ſame principle of policy which recommended our admitting the flags of theſe powers, to admit alſo the flags of other countries in amity with us; and the French and Dutch poſſeſſions on the continent having ſince fallen into our hands, beſides an increaſed foreign reſort at our other ports, Calcutta has become the ſeat of almoſt the whole export trade of Bengal.—Theſe changes, with the greater ſecurity derived from our Government, have indeed increaſed the number of foreigners in the trade; for ſingle ſhips of countries holding no footing of their own in India, now viſit its ſhores, with a confidence and ſafety which the protection of joint companies and factories could never give in the time of the Moguls. But ſtill theſe changes are only other forms of exerciſing rights which exiſted under the native government; and Britiſh merchants, far from ſuffering injury by them, find in the transfer of the buſineſs of foreigners to our ports, one of the cauſes of the elevation at which they have arrived ſince our acceſſion to territorial power: for they are the mean agents in the tranſaction of all that buſineſs: and inſtead of being now, in *any* reſpect, worſe, their condition is, in *every* reſpect, raiſed: they poſſeſs far the greater part of the trade of the Indian ſeas; they carry on extenſive manufactures in the interior of our provinces; they have in their hands the trade formed by the remittance of Britiſh fortunes from India. Many who were in that country, under the diſcredit of entering into it irregularly, and the ſuſpicion of forwarding an illicit traffic, have been relieved from thoſe depreſſing circumſtances, by receiving licenſes of reſidence, and by the indulgences of the act of 1793. That act, beſides its other benefits, inveſted them with a valuable privilege in the trade to England through the Company's ſhips, which was a new and very important conceſſion. They now deſire to ſend their own ſhips and their own goods to England, without any other material limitation except that of paſſing them through the channel of the Company: and this is, in effect, to deſire the opening of the trade altogether; for it is not to be imagined, that if ſuch a conceſſion were made in favour of one claſs of ſubjects, the reſt would not claim it likewiſe. Nay, the advocates of the free merchants already contend, that it is the right of Britiſh ſubjects as ſuch. The merchants of London, in their application to participate in any intended enlargements, follow up this argument practically; and the queſtion, therefore, thus brought forward, is not merely whether the Company, in its commercial capacity, ſhall, though remaining a corporate body, be diveſted of its moſt valuable excluſive privileges, but whether this country ſhall carry on its trade to India on the ſame principle it trades to its American colonies, and by multiplying communications and intercourſes open the way to the gradual coloniſation of Europeans in its eaſtern poſſeſſions, contrary to the policy hitherto adopted by the Legiſlature?—Of the wiſdom of this policy, there will be occaſion to ſay ſomething hereafter; but it will be proper to note here, why the danger apprehended from the unreſtrained intercourſe of our own ſubjects is not to be dreaded from the permiſſion which foreigners have to viſit the country. *It is becauſe we are the governing power.* We have already great eſtabliſhments of Europeans there, civil and military; our flouriſhing ſettlements attract multitudes not in the ſervice; the connexions, public and individual, already ſubſiſting between that country and this, ſend continually freſh ſupplies thither; the number of uncovenanted Britiſh ſubjects has very conſiderably increaſed there in the laſt twenty years; new enlargements of the intercourſe, it is obvious, would exceedingly augment their number; the vaſt capital and ſhipping of this country, with the natural relations ſubſiſting between it and India, all peculiar to itſelf, could at once pour in tides of men and money there; the ſanction of any public acts at home would, of courſe, diſpoſe the governments abroad to afford the commercial encouragements there, which would correſpond with the ſpirit of enlargement adopted here; the public opinion of a great European ſociety, formed in this ſpirit, would have an influence on the ſentiments of thoſe governments; through the medium of natives, alſo, lands might be extenſively occupied by Europeans; and the *genius* of this ſyſtem, without any formed plan, would gradually and inſenſibly antiquate the preſent one, and become impatient for all the rights of the Britiſh colonies; to give or to refuſe which would then be a moſt momentous queſtion. With reſpect to all theſe points, the circumſtances of foreign Europeans are very different. In the territories ruled by us, they have only circumſcribed factories; they are not allowed to ſpread themſelves in the country; they can have none of its honours or internal advantages; the numbers, capital, and influence of our own people, keep them from much ſhare in the maritime trade of India; their numbers and their actions are watched with jealouſy by our Governments; their capitals are ſmall; they are not one body moved by one mind, but detached and fluctuating parties, iſſuing from nations diſtant and diſcordant from each other; they form not themſelves into diſtinct ſocieties, but come, as already obſerved, chiefly to our ports; and in a word, whilſt common care is obſerved on our part, they can have

neither numbers, nor concert, nor means, nor, above all, any *growing principle of ſtrength*, that can become formidable to us.

VIII. The trade of foreigners to our Indian poſſeſſions, is a topic naturally connected with that which has juſt been diſcuſſed. Some late writings, in inſiſting ſtrongly on the dangerous growth and tendency of that trade (a point which will be examined hereafter), ſeem to imply, that it ſhould be the policy of this country, as much as poſſible, to draw the whole commerce of India to its own ports. A propoſition of this import, looſely taken up, may lead to very erroneous concluſions. Certainly we ought to obſerve the nature and progreſs of the intercourſe of foreigners with our poſſeſſions with vigilant attention; but we cannot, without ſome adequate provocation on their part, in juſtice, ſeek to deprive them of the rights they have acquired to a ſhare in the Indian trade; and if we had the power of accompliſhing ſuch an object, it would not be our true intereſt to uſe that power; for, were we to exclude them from the ſhores of India, it is obvious, that, in return, they would prohibit the entrance of the productions of that country into their ports; and thus the trade which we had ſought to engroſs, would, in fact, be loſt both to Britain and to the Britiſh poſſeſſions. The true and fair line of policy, with reſpect to foreigners, ſeems to be, to allow them to ſupply their own wants of Indian commodities, purchaſing them with their own funds; but to prevent them, as much as poſſible, from trading upon Britiſh capital; and always to exact from them due order and ſubmiſſion, in the countries belonging to us, where they come to traffic.—With reſpect to an idea lately advanced, that the Company might, and ought to have attracted the productions of the Indian poſſeſſions, ſtill in the hands of our enemies, into the channel of our own trade to this country, it is ſo unſupported by fact, probability, or policy, that your Committee deem it unneceſſary to go into any ſerious diſcuſſion of it. There appears no reaſon for believing the aſſertion on which this idea proceeds, that the trade carried on with Europe, from the Indian ſettlements in the hands of the French, Dutch, and Spaniards, has increaſed during the war, and has been nouriſhed by the impolicy of the Company. That trade, as every one knows, flouriſhed long before the preſent times: it flouriſhed in a greater degree than it does now, as it naturally would, when the mother-countries were far more commercial than they are at preſent, and when our fleets did not render the navigation of the world nearly impracticable to our enemies. No conceivable meaſures of commercial policy within the power of the Company, could have farther depreſſed that trade; and to bring that trade to our ports, had the thing been practicable, would, indeed, have been to nouriſh it moſt unwiſely.—Your Committee will next proceed to ſtate what they find reſpecting the nature and amount of the trade of foreigners with Britiſh India, concerning which ſuch alarming repreſentations have been made. And as, in order to judge more intelligently of this article, the extent of the private trade carried on directly between our own country and our Indian poſſeſſions ſhould alſo be known, this, which is ſeparately a neceſſary head of inquiry, will be introduced at the ſame time. Theſe together, will furniſh, as far as informations go, a view of the whole trade carried on, both by foreigners and Britiſh individuals (that is, excluding the Company's commerce), between Britiſh India on one ſide, and Europe and America on the other; and the view to be thus given will, in the opinion of your Committee, form a very material part of this Report.—The view will not, indeed, be complete, becauſe no authenticated accounts are obtainable of the private and foreign trade, which has been carried on from the preſidencies of Madras and Bombay; but in Bengal, on the contrary, a luminous and correct regiſter has of late years been kept, by order of Government, of all the exports and imports of Calcutta, the great emporium of that country, and, indeed (excepting the Daniſh ſettlement of Serampore, where ſome buſineſs is ſtill done, of which there are alſo particulars from equal authority), the ſole port: and as Bengal, with the adjacent allied provinces, far tranſcends the other preſidencies in population and wealth, in rich productions for commerce, and is the attractive centre of our power in the Eaſt, it may be concluded, that an accurate account of its foreign trade will go far to furniſh us with all the grounds of reaſoning, neceſſary for political purpoſes in the preſent caſe. In this opinion, your Committee, without reſorting to any informations of inferior authority, ſubmit to the Court the following collective views, formed from the public regiſter above mentioned.

EXPORTS,—CALCUTTA.

IMPORTS,—CALCUTTA.

Abridged Accounts of the IMPORTS *and* EXPORTS, *in Foreign and Private Trade (that is, exclusive of the Trade of the English East India Company) to and from all Parts of Europe, and America, from the Years 1795-6 to 1798-9, both inclusive, being the latest Accounts received.*

IMPORTS,—CALCUTTA.

		Total in Four Years.			Annual Average.		
		Goods.	Bullion.	Total.	Goods.	Bullion.	Total.
London	Rs.	55,42,677	17,91,019	73,33,696	13,85,669	4,47,755	18,33,424
Hamburgh		9,40,550	1,18,036	10,58,586	2,35,137	29,509	2,64,646
Copenhagen		16,59,735	3,25,692	19,85,427	4,14,933	81,423	4,96,356
Lisbon		3,33,084	21,08,386	24,41,470	83,271	5,27,096	6,10,367
Leghorn		74,190	—	74,190	18,547	—	18,547
America		13,76,368	33,77,203	47,73,571	3,49,092	8,44,301	11,93,393
	Rs.	99,46,604	77,20,336	1,76,66,940	24,86,649	19,30,084	44,16,735
Deduct London,		55,42,677	17,91,019	73,33,696	13,85,669	4,47,755	18,33,424
	Rs.	44,03,927	59,29,317	1,03,33,244	11,00,980	14,82,329	25,83,311
Add Serampore*, from the authority of the Reporter of External Commerce		9,03,720	12,15,480	21,19,200	2,25,930	3,03,870	6,29,800
	Rs.	53,07,647	71,44,797	1,24,52,444	13,26,910	17,86,199	32,13,111

EXPORTS,—CALCUTTA.

	Total in Four Years.	Medium per Annum.	Balance each, deduct Imports
Rs.	2,45,67,473	61,41,868	43,08,444
	31,64,456	7,91,114	5,26,468
	30,55,002	7,63,750	2,67,394
	46,18,772	11,54,693	5,44,326
	97,781	24,445	5,898
	77,24,730	19,31,182	7,37,789
Rs.	4,32,28,214	1,08,07,052	63,90,319
	2,45,67,473	61,41,868	43,08,444
	1,86,60,741	46,65,184	20,81,875
	38,28,000	9,57,000	4,27,200
Rs.	2,24,88,741	56,22,184	25,09,075

* Which may be supposed to have been consigned chiefly to Copenhagen.

IMPORTS *into* CALCUTTA, *in Private and Foreign Trade.*

		From London.	From For. Europe and America.	Total Imports.
1795-6	Rs.	22,73,161	32,95,628	55,68,789
1796-7		17,83,002	26,72,725	44,55,727
1797-8		15,34,219	19,86,142	35,20,361
1798-9		17,43,314	23,78,749	41,22,063

EXPORTS *from* CALCUTTA, *in Private and Foreign Trade.*

	To London.	To Foreign Europe and America.	Total Exports.
1795-6	84,08,800	66,81,864	1,50,90,664
1796-7	50,79,310	57,62,458	1,08,41,768
1797-8	69,71,529	38,83,737	1,08,55,266
1798-9	41,07,834	23,32,682	64,40,516

Balance of Exports above Imports.

	London.	Foreign Parts.
1795-6	61,35,639	33,86,236
1796-7	32,96,308	30,89,733
1797-8	54,37,310	18,97,595
		over imported.
1798-9	23,64,520	46,067

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT, *to shew the Amount of the Private and Foreign Trade in each of the above Years.*

	IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
	London.	Europe and America.	Total.	London.	Europe and America.	Total.
1795-6 Lacks,	22	33	55	84	66	150
1796-7	18	26	44	50	57	108
1797-8	15	20	35	69	39	108
1798-9	17	24	41	41	23	64

Theſe accounts will be found, on attentive inſpection, to afford detailed information of the private and foreign exports and imports, in the whole, and in reſpect to each of the heads, namely, the ports of London, foreign Europe, and America, diſtinguiſhing their ſeveral proportions; alſo ſhewing the proportion of imports brought in bullion by each, the exceſs of the exports to each place above its imports; and the total exceſs of the exports above the imports; likewiſe the variations in exports and imports in *each* of the *four* years, which ſhew their annual *increaſe* or *decreaſe*.---From all theſe particulars the following facts are derived:

The total medium of foreign and private exports of Bengal, per annum, to London direct, is Rs. - - -	61,00,000	
To foreign Europe and America, whether on neutral or clandeſtine account - - - -	56,00,000	
		1,17,00,000
If, to this ſum of private and foreign exports be added the Engliſh Eaſt India Company's, which is about per annum - - - - - - -		1,00,00,000
The total exports of Bengal, public and private, will be -	Rupees	2,17,00,000

And it will hence reſult;---*Firſt.* That the Company's export trade to Europe is *nearly one half* of all the foreign exports of Bengal to Britain, foreign Europe, and America.---*Second.* That the direct *legal trade* of individuals to London exceeds all the *neutral and clandeſtine trade* taken together.---*Third.* That foreign Europeans and Americans, whether trading on their own account, or covering the clandeſtine trade of Britiſh ſubjects to their ports, have very little more than *one fourth* of the foreign export trade of Bengal, the *other three fourths* centring, as juſt ſtated, on public or private account, in London.---*Fourth.* The exports from Bengal, on private and foreign account, to Europe and America, exceed the imports on the ſame accounts from thoſe places, in the ſum of rupees 68,17,519. Of this exceſs, London receives on

private account - - - - - -	43,08,444	
Foreign Europe and America -	25,09,075	
Rupees		68,17,519

Theſe ſums, which Bengal pays on the balance to individuals and foreigners, muſt be preſumed to be the acquiſitions of Britiſh reſidents; becauſe the natives neither adventure themſelves in foreign trade, nor lend to others for this purpoſe, to any extent; and reſident foreigners have little property to remit. According to this fair concluſion, therefore, the fortunes remitted by Britiſh reſidents in goods, directly to London, on an average of theſe four years amount, in round numbers, to Rupees - - - - - - - - - - - 43,00,000

And the fortunes they have either remitted through foreigners, or lent to them, appear to be, per annum 25,00,000

Fifth. London does not pay a *third* of the amount it receives from Bengal on private account, by the amount it carries thither, the bullion included, in which it does not exceed a tenth of what it receives. Foreigners pay to Bengal *above half* of the amount they carry away, and of this half, the *greater part* is bullion; that is, *more than a fourth of their exports* is paid in bullion. London, however, carries *more goods* to Bengal, than all foreign Europe and America; and it carries more *goods* than *ſpecie*. Foreigners carry more ſpecie than goods. ---*Sixth.* The ancient practice of exporting ſilver from the Weſt to India, appears of late years to have conſiderably revived.---The imports into Bengal in the laſt four years, appear to have been about eighty-nine lacks of rupees, of which ſeventy-one lacks were from foreign Europe and America.---*Seventh.* That in the courſe of the four years of which the accounts are here exhibited, there has been a *progreſſive decreaſe* in the exports from Bengal to foreign Europe and America. This may be more conciſely repreſented in the following view:

IMPORTS.

	London.	Europe and America.	Total.
1795-6	Lacks 22	33	55
1796-7	- - 18	26	44
1797-8	- - 15	20	35
1798-9	- - 17	24	41

EXPORTS.

1795-6	Lacks 84	66	150
1796-7	- - 50	57	108
1797-8	- - 69	38	108
1798-9	- - 41	23	64

Eighth. It will alſo be ſeen from the larger accounts above abſtracted, that America, and the foreign ports of Europe, have not maintained the ſame relative proportion of this trade in each year; but that the proportions of their exports have varied in the following manner:

		1795-6	1796-7	1797-8	1798-9
The American exports were	Lacks	19	25	20	11
Which leaves for foreign Europe	- -	47	32	18	12
		66	57	38	23

Theſe well-authenticated facts diſprove and diſcredit all the aſſertions which have been ſo long and confidently advanced, of the great extent of the *foreign and clandeſtine trade of India*, and of the *progreſſive increaſe* of that trade. Both poſitions appear to be alike groundleſs, ſince of the total exports of Bengal to Europe and America, amounting to Rs.

2,17,00,000, only 56,06,000 go to foreign parts. Of that ſum, the really neutral trade appears to be 31,00,000, and the clandeſtine trade carried on under foreign colours, 25,00,000. This is upon an average of four years, of which the latter years are in amount of exports the leaſt.---That the exports of Bengal to foreign Europe and America, taken together, have not, on the whole, increaſed in the laſt thirty years, there is alſo reaſon to believe, from a compariſon of its foreign trade at the preſent and at former periods; and that the clandeſtine trade has greatly decreaſed, there is poſitive evidence, both from the vaſt increaſe of remittances in bills and goods, directly to this country, whilſt the ſtandard of Britiſh acquiſitions in India has had no increaſe, but rather the contrary; and from the preſent little amount of that trade.---Thus the main argument, on which extenſive enlargements of the privileges of Britiſh individuals have been preſſed, namely, the alarming increaſe of foreign and clandeſtine trade, completely fails.

IX. Another argument urged to the ſame end remains now to be conſidered; the improvement of the productive powers, and the export commerce of our Indian poſſeſſions. Theſe objects, the free merchants believe, will be promoted by the meaſures they propoſe. More than one opinion which has come before your Committee, repreſents the capabilities of thoſe territories as prodigiouſly great, and nothing to be wanting for turning them to the happieſt purpoſes, but the removal of reſtraints. This is a ſubject that particularly merits attention: for to the intereſts of our Indian dominions, with which the intereſts of the ſovereign ſtate are now ſo much united, hardly any thing can be more important than a proper ſyſtem of political economy. It may, however, be obſerved, in proceeding to this head, that the merchants, in reſorting to it, loſt ſight of the ground upon which the privilege of ſending goods to this country was conceded to them by the act of 1793, namely, the remittance of Britiſh fortunes, and thereby the annihilation of the clandeſtine trade. They propoſe now objects of much greater magnitude. In the reaſonings uſed by ſome of the free merchants, it has been ſaid, *that the ſurplus produce of Britiſh India, which the Company's commerce cannot take off, ſhould be left to the induſtry of other traders.* Such a poſition may be underſtood to imply, that the Company wiſh to prevent the exportation of what they do not themſelves require, or that the produce of that country remains on hand for want of ſale; and when applied more particularly to infer, that the ſurplus produce ſhould be brought immediately to Britain, it does not diſcriminate the *bona fide* foreign trade with India, which ought to be permitted. But as the produce of every country muſt, in the courſe of things, bear a certain proportion or relation to the demand made for it, ſo there appears no reaſon to doubt, that the productions of Britiſh India, fit for the European market, whether raiſed by its own native ſtock of capital, or occaſionally quickened by importations of bullion from foreign Europe and America (which is a precarious thing, and quite diſtinct in its nature and conſequences, from the transfer of private capitals from the ſovereign Britiſh ſtate, to the dependant Aſiatic ſtate), have uſually had a current vent into one or other of the channels of trade now open with that country; that hence the alleged difficulties of conveying goods by the Company's ſhips, have not prevented the diſpoſal of all the produce which the capital of the country raiſed.---But if this poſition were to convey any ſuch idea, as that the Company deſired to limit the productions and exports of their poſſeſſions to what they themſelves can inveſt, it would be moſt unjuſt. The admiſſion of the ſhips of all friendly nations to their ports, the indulgences given to Britiſh ſubjects before the act of 1793, the privileges of that act, and the large importations theſe ſubjects have made here ſince, all ſerve to confute ſuch a notion. It is the principle of the Company, to give free ſcope to the internal powers of their territories, in agriculture and manufactures, and a free vent, by exportation, to the commodities thus raiſed. They therefore, long before the act of 1793, encouraged the culture of indigo, which from being no article of export, is now produced in ſuch quantity, and of ſuch excellence, as to ſupply nearly the demands of all Europe. They alſo gave various encouragements to the culture of ſugar, and other articles, new as imports from India into this country. Indigo is become one of the grand ſtaples of the Indian trade, and, with ſugar, has been the chief cauſe of the increaſe in the ſale amount of privileged goods for ſome late years. But the indefinite terms in which the improvement of Britiſh India is now urged in ſome writings, will comprehend principles of a very different kind from that which has juſt been ſtated; and a clear underſtanding on this head, as well as reſpecting the means which Britiſh India poſſeſſes for foreign commerce, is become neceſſary: for the whole of the ſyſtem by which the commerce and the government of India ſhould be regulated, is involved in this inquiry.---It is ſufficiently known, that India, under Aſiatic ſovereigns, never had any capital of its own, applied to the European commerce. The great body of the people of that country have always been, and ſtill continue, averſe to diſtant and hazardous enterpriſes, eſpecially by ſea. Their genius and their means have ever mainly turned into the channels of domeſtic induſtry, little adventuring even upon coaſting voyages. From the remoteſt times of which we have account, down to our own days, the manufactures of India, fit for the European market, were ſet on foot by money imported into that country. Since the period of Britiſh acquiſitions there, this order has been reverſed. The tribute of India and the gains of Britiſh individuals, have

furniſhed the capital of the exports to Europe, from at leaſt all the territories poſſeſſed by this country; but beſides that tribute and thoſe gains, there is, at this day, no capital in thoſe territories, applicable to an extenſion of their exports to Europe: and the vent of European manufactures there is limited by phyſical and moral cauſes. If it were practicable for us to take off, and India to ſupply ten times the quantity of produce we now receive from it, that country would not increaſe its conſumption of our manufactures in any proportion. After, then, India has paid by her commodities for her limited purchaſes of European manufactures, there remains with her no other means of an export trade to Europe, but the public and private Britiſh funds above mentioned: for thoſe which reſident foreigners may acquire by trade hardly merit any attention. The public funds, or the tribute by which chiefly the Company's commerce is carried on, need not be further noticed, ſince the inquiry is about enlarging the trading privileges of private merchants. It is evident, that there are no means of doing this upon any great ſcale, conſonant to the ideas held out of improving our poſſeſſions, but by capital transferred thither in bullion from this country. The firſt queſtion then to be determined is, whether it would be good policy thus to employ any large portion of the commercial capital of Great Britain, either in addition to all that it has already laid out in its plantations and colonies in the American States and in Europe, or by withdrawing ſuch portion from ſome other branch of trade nearer home, in which it muſt be now engaged; for it cannot be ſuppoſed that any conſiderable part of the national ſtock lies dormant and uſeleſs.---It is to be obſerved, that with regard to old ſtaple articles of import from India, ſuch as piece goods and raw ſilk, which are of great value in proportion to their bulk, the preſent ſcale of importation into Europe ſeems nearly equal to the vent for them; and as, from the largeneſs of that importation, and other cauſes, the profit on theſe articles is very moderate, there could be no encouragement on that ſcore to increaſe the importation; nor as the law has left it optional with the Company to permit individuals to trade in piece goods to this country, could the Court be expected to extend the participation they now give to private merchants in that article, becauſe a great increaſe in the importation would only make it a loſing one to both parties. And, indeed, the merchants themſelves, in their plans of enlargement, profeſs to look chiefly to articles new, or lately introduced in the imports from India, moſt of which are generally bulky, in proportion to their value. Theſe articles are *indigo*, *cotton*, *ſugar*, and *coffee*.—Upon the probability of advantage, from largely ſpeculating in any of thoſe articles, your Committee will beg leave to make ſome remarks.—*Indigo*, as has been obſerved above, is already carried to an extent that nearly ſuffices for the conſumption of all Europe. The Company, after advancing their funds to give a ſolid eſtabliſhment to this manufacture, left the whole trade in it to individuals, for whom it is brought home in the Company's ſhips, uſually at a war freight of only 22*l.* 10*s.* per ton, which is leſs than they pay the ſhip-owners; and being comparatively of ſmall bulk for its value, can no great way enhance the occaſion for private tonnage. The undertakers in it have actually ſuffered ſeverely from too rapid an increaſe in the manufacture and too eager a competition: to puſh this article, therefore, further at preſent, by encouraging new adventurers in it, would be unjuſt to thoſe who are yet hardly emerging from their difficulties; and on the general principles of trade, it would be evidently impolitic: but if, on fair inveſtigation, any further reaſonable encouragement ſhall be found neceſſary for the culture of this article, or for bringing it to Europe, there can be no difficulty in according it.—The article of *cotton* is liable to ſuch ſudden and great variations in the price, that it is natural the home manufacturers ſhould turn their thoughts occaſionally towards India for a ſupply. At one time, theſe manufacturers were clamorous with the Company to import the raw material for their uſe; but the Court of Directors very wiſely declined their requeſt. At the ſame time they manifeſted the deſire, which has always diſtinguiſhed the liberal principles of the Company, to contribute towards the proſperity of every part of the kingdom, by offering to thoſe manufacturers free permiſſion to ſend ſhips to India, to import cotton from thence for their account; but this they declined. The truth is, that in conſequence of the aſtoniſhingly rapid increaſe of the demand for cotton goods, there muſt, at intervals, be a want of the raw material, ariſing from particular circumſtances, chiefly occaſioned by the war; but as the produce of the raw material has increaſed, and is ſtill increaſing in the ſouthern parts of the American States, in the Weſt Indies, in Braſil, and above all, in Dutch Guyana, now ſettled by Britiſh planters, the cotton of India cannot ſucceed, the rate of freight being always too high, except on ſome very extraordinary occaſions. Further, the cotton which has been imported here from the Eaſt, is not the produce of Britiſh India. A conſiderable quantity of that cotton is required to give employment to the manufacturers in the Company's provinces, where enough is not raiſed for the demand; and a large quantity of it alſo is every year ſent to China, as a means of providing the Company's inveſtment of teas. In former times, the cotton was imported from Bombay, where it was collected from the various diſtricts in that quarter, to Bengal, to the coaſt of Coromandel, and ſome part of China. At preſent, and for ſome years, none has been imported into Bengal from the Bombay ſide of India by ſea; but on a reference to the Bengal Regiſter

of Exports, before quoted, your Committee find very large imports into the Company's poſſeſſions in Bengal from the upper provinces; which imports, they have reaſon to believe, may have been produced in thoſe diſtricts that furniſh part of the large export of cotton from Bombay: and your Committee are more confirmed in this opinion, from the very advanced price to which they find this article has riſen in Bengal. On the other hand, if, from the vaſt importation of cotton from ſo many quarters, part of it is again exported, it may deſerve conſideration, whether we ought thus to miniſter to the ſupport of foreign manufactures which affect our own. On the whole, therefore, your Committee muſt ſubmit, whether it would be proper on the part of the Company, eſpecially with the chance of aiding a foreign rivalſhip, to encourage the importation here of an article, not the produce of Britiſh India, eſpecially when attended with injury to the ſubjects of the Company, depending upon them for ſupport; and materially interfering with their China trade, which whether conſidered as profitable to the Company, or yielding a large revenue to the ſtate, muſt be regarded as of the firſt conſequence.—*Sugar* is an article which the Company have been at pains to encourage; but the prices here are known to have been variable and precarious; and from the experience hitherto acquired, in a time of war, indeed, when high freights have prevailed, it does not appear to be a commodity, which, unleſs changes are ſuppoſed in other parts of the world, and in the duties on home conſumption here, promiſes to produce, on any large ſcale of importation, a ſure or adequate profit. On the finer ſorts which the Company have imported they have gained a little, on the coarſer there has been a loſs; and from the preſent ſtate of the trade in this article, in the great European market, and in India, your Committee do not ſee the inducements which the Indian merchants can have to embark largely in it, unleſs the procuring of freight for their ſhips be a leading conſideration, which is a very diſtinct object, that has yet no title to the attention of the Court, as will be ſhewn hereafter.—*Coffee.* The trade of this commodity has been very great, and not much underſtood. The coffee imported here from the Eaſt is almoſt wholly the produce of Java; little, if any, from the Britiſh dominions. In conſequence of the war, the produce of ſeveral years had accumulated. The Dutch India Company, therefore, ſent ſhips under the Daniſh flag for a conſiderable part; but the larger proportion was brought to Europe, circuitouſly, by Americans, and of courſe ſold at the Company's ſale. In the Appendix will be found a liſt of the ſhips, with their cargoes, which were ſold by the Company in the preceding ſeaſon, whereby it will appear, that a very ſmall part, if any, is the produce of Britiſh India.—Your Committee have obſerved, among the articles imported by individuals, that of ſaltpetre, as forming one of the commodities, without which there cannot well be an aſſorted cargo. This being both of high political importance, and eſſentially neceſſary in various manufactures in this country, the ſupply ſhould, in no degree, be permitted to individuals. The Company have always taken care to provide for every demand; but if the private traders are allowed to deal in it as an article which is bulky, and of little value; and they, from the fall of price in Europe, or other cauſes, ſhould ceaſe to provide the requiſite quantity for properly loading their ſhips; the Company might not only ſuffer loſs in the firſt inſtance, but the public be materially diſappointed.

X. Your Committee having made theſe ſpecific remarks on the principal articles, which it is underſtood would ſupply the new enlargements propoſed in the Indian trade, will beg leave to proceed to ſome further obſervations, which have relation to the influence thoſe enlargements, though they ſhould be far ſhort of what ſanguine ſpeculation has conceived, may have on the inveſtment of the Company. And firſt, with reſpect to the ſupply of funds. From the heavy expenſes incurred by the Company in the courſe of the preſent war, there remains in effect, at preſent, little or no ſurplus revenue, to aid the proviſion of inveſtment; therefore the requiſite funds muſt be furniſhed by the proceeds of the exports from this country, and by money received for bills on the Court of Directors. Thoſe exports, it is ſufficiently known, ſupply but a ſmall proportion of the advance which the inveſtment demands; eſpecially at the preſent juncture, when bullion is not procurable at any price, and a bar is put to the exportation of copper, beyond a ſmall limited quantity. On the money, therefore, of individuals abroad, in exchange for bills on the Court, the Company muſt depend for the proviſion of the greateſt part of the inveſtment; and when it is conſidered, that the fortunes of moſt of thoſe individuals have been accumulated from the very ample allowances granted by the Company, and that every fortune has been acquired under their protection, it cannot be deemed an unreaſonable hope, that they ſhould have a preference over perſons, who now come forward as rivals to that very body, whoſe protection and foſtering care has enabled them to become what they are. It is from their competition for money, that the Company's difficulties to borrow in time of war, and the rate of intereſt on their loans, have been aggravated. The higher terms on the other hand, which the Company have thus been obliged to give, have raiſed the price of money to individuals, who complained hereof in their turn; but ſurely, if the preference commercially due to the Company were out of queſtion, the ſafety of the whole, which is intimately connected with

the Company's ability to raiſe ſupplies for the exigences of neceſſary war, has a better right to be conſidered, than the conveniency of a part.—Secondly, with reſpect to the freedom and extent of the Company's purchaſes. It ſeems to be an idea entertained by ſome, that the exceſſive freight and charges of the Company's commerce, incapacitate them from attempting any profitable ſpeculations on mercantile principles, eſpecially where competition is to be encountered; that they loſe on various articles of the Indian trade, and that their main uſe, in a commercial view, is to ſerve as the channel of the eaſtern tribute; and therefore, that all new attempts will be beſt conducted by the enterpriſe and economy of individuals. Theſe ideas go to deprive the Company of all commercial freedom, and may even be extended to a formal partition of the Indian trade; the old ſtaples to be left to the Company, and the new articles to private merchants; but your Committee feel themſelves warranted to maintain, that the Company ſhip their goods in India at a leſs aggregate of coſt and charges than individuals do, and realize the proceeds here at a leſs expenſe, ſaving only in the article of freight on the regular ſhips, which may be reduced, with reſpect to coarſe articles, by hiring ſhips of inferior equipment; and though, amidſt the fluctuations of war, the Company may occaſionally loſe by ſome articles, there are various reaſons why they ſhould not immediately ſtrike ſuch articles out of their inveſtment; and it will ſtill be true, that by their reſources and numerous eſtabliſhments, they have great advantages over private perſons, in all attempts, either to introduce new articles, or extend the proviſion of them; for they have only to avail themſelves of inſtitutions already exiſting, whereas private merchants muſt for theſe ends, in many caſes, form new eſtabliſhments. It is without ſufficient foundation, therefore, that the ſuperior capabilities of individuals for ſtriking out new branches of trade have been inſiſted on; and whilſt ſo many arguments have been induſtriouſly uſed, to obtain new privileges for private traders, that there has been ſuch a tendency ſhewn to reduce the Company to a mere routine of bringing home the tribute in a few old ſtaples, it is fit they ſhould poſſeſs full as much freedom as private merchants have, in managing and ordering their commercial affairs, to the extent of the funds and the credit which they may fairly apply to commercial purpoſes, without increaſing the preſent high ſcale of Indian debt. And if it ſhould be occaſionally found expedient for them, either with a view of profit, which in particular junctures may accrue, or to furniſh a ſaving tonnage for their ſhips, to make an extraordinary proviſion of new articles, it will not only be their duty to do ſo, but they may do it with greater advantage than individuals can; for if there be any new methods, by which they can increaſe their commercial gains, the vaſt expenſes incurred in warlike operations, require they ſhould be adopted; and at a time when the Company have ſtraitened themſelves in achieving conqueſts, highly beneficial to the nation, they have leaſt reaſon to conclude, that they ſhall be expected to make any undue ſacrifices of their privileges.—Thirdly, with regard to the competition which a great enlargement of private trade may occaſion in the Indian commerce. That the law of every market ſhould be a free permiſſion to thoſe who enter into it to buy and ſell, need not be diſputed; but it is a queſtion not of commercial principle, but of the policy of ſtates, whether their ſubjects ſhall be encouraged to enter into competition with each other, at any particular foreign market. There can be no doubt, that a great increaſe in demand and of purchaſes in India would enhance the coſt of commodities there; and that a like increaſe in the quantities ſold here, though this mart ſhould be the largeſt, would, on the whole, lower the proceeds. The conſequence from both branches of competition, would, therefore, be evident and direct diſadvantage to this country, and diſadvantage not to be compenſated, in this caſe, by the extent of the trade.—Upon the whole, then, of this part of the ſubject, there is not, in the opinion of your Committee, ſuch a rational certainty of mercantile profit to individuals, from largely increaſing the importation of theſe new articles (for the hope of profit by freight is not an admitted plea) as ought to induce them to embark in ſuch ſpeculations, in the face of a ſtrong rivalſhip to moſt of the articles from the produce of other countries: and where there is little appearance of benefit, the inconveniences of diſturbing the eſtabliſhed order of things ſhould not be encountered.

XI. But the grand objection, of a commercial nature, to this new trade is, that a conſiderable capital muſt be transferred from Great Britain to carry it on. In one of the papers from Bengal it is hypothetically ſtated, that in a few years the export of ſugar from that country might be raiſed to 100,000 tons. Doubtleſs, in a vaſt extent of fertile ſoil, ſtretching from the ſea almoſt to Delhi, it may be poſſible to carry the culture of ſugar, and various other articles, to very great length; and perſons unacquainted with the circumſtances of that country might imagine, from reading ſuch a ſtatement, that the main thing to be done was only to open the doors wide enough for exportation. The fact, however, is, that four or five millions ſterling from this country muſt be furniſhed, to pay for the firſt coſt, and the tranſportation of that quantity of ſugar; for Bengal has no ſuch fund of its own, applicable to any purpoſe of that kind; and the ſame obſervation muſt be applied to any large extenſion of other new articles.—The firſt point to be decided here, therefore, is, Whether the nation ought to embark its capital in ſuch a trade? This is

a queſtion of commercial policy, intereſting to the public, who ought to know the concern they have in it; and a queſtion on which it belongs to the Legiſlature to determine. If there are reaſons for withdrawing part of the capital employed in raiſing produce in ſome other dependencies of the Empire, and for encouraging preferably the productions of India, theſe reaſons, doubtleſs, ought to be heard; but this new buſineſs ſhould not be plunged into, without examining and underſtanding its nature and conſequences; and in the opinion of your Committee, unleſs there are ſome ſpecial motives for the preference juſt mentioned, or unleſs where ſome imperious exigency ariſes, it would be utterly impolitic to tranſplant much of the capital of Great Britain, to carry on the agriculture and manufactures of that remote region.

XII. But your Committee muſt believe, that the propoſed enlargements would involve a conſequence ſtill more ſerious, on which they have already touched, in conſidering the claim of Britiſh ſubjects to a like freedom with foreigners in the Indian trade. This claim is, in other words, the preſent queſtion. If, inſtead of carrying on the intercourſe, commercial and political, of this country and its Indian dependencies through one great channel, the Eaſt India Company, which has ſo much contributed to preſerve a vaſt people in their original habits of ſubmiſſion, the ſhips of Britiſh individuals were permitted to go and come at pleaſure, a great change in the political circumſtances of Britiſh India muſt, from the nature of things, be expected. Hitherto the want of an unexpenſive legal channel to India, and the difficulties of getting into employment in our dominions (for native governments invite only deſperate military adventurers), have prevented a great influx of Britiſh ſubjects into them, though foreign ſhips have been open to thoſe who could afford to pay them, and our Governments have choſen rather to licenſe perſons who had found means to ſettle themſelves there, than to force them from all their concerns. But the propoſed ſyſtem would, at once, confer both right and employment on multitudes; and it is from an inſtitution communicating theſe encouragements, that, in the opinion of your Committee, danger is to be apprehended. The reſidence of a limited number of Europeans in our provinces, as things at preſent are, is not a ground of any alarm, provided that number can be kept from increaſing; but in the propoſed ſyſtem, there would be a principle of progreſſive increaſe, and this, your Committee fear, might juſtly be conſidered as the firſt principle of a colonial ſyſtem.—A continual courſe of detached commercial adventurers would entail the reſidence of greater numbers of Europeans abroad; many others would be tempted to reſort thither, in the hope of eſtabliſhing themſelves; gradually, as conſequence of theſe changes, they would be enabled to ſtrike out new modes of employment, and ſpread themſelves in the country. Even now, the ſociety of merchants in India diſcover a wiſh to be emancipated from every material reſtraint: that ſpirit would live and be more powerful in the larger ſociety. Governments, then, would find it a new and arduous taſk, to maintain order and ſubordination. Every port in India would be accuſtomed to the viſits of adventuring Europeans; connexions between them and the country powers could hardly be prevented; part might go into the ſervice of thoſe powers; all could not expect fortunes to return; and thoſe who ſaw no proſpect of this kind, would naturally commence colonization. That the rights and uſages of our native ſubjects might not be encroached upon in this progreſs; that theſe people, though paſſive, might not be at length exaſperated, and that they might not, from example, gradually loſe their habits of ſubmiſſion to Government, no man can be warranted to deny: nor is it leſs probable, that a vaſt maſs of native ſubjects, thus put into a new ſtate of agitation, a numerous European community progreſſively enlarging its views with its importance, and the combinations of India politics influenced by, and influencing theſe circumſtances, might render it extremely difficult for this country to maintain in that remote quarter, a government ſufficiently ſtrong and energetic to contain all theſe intereſts within their due bounds.

XIII. For theſe reaſons, the inquiry concerning the principle by which our Indian poſſeſſions may be beſt preſerved, though it appertain to the preſent ſubject, need not be a long one. That ſyſtem cannot be beſt, which, by the adoption of colonial principles of free ingreſs and reſidence, would expoſe us to all the hazards juſt deſcribed, and through them, to the loſs of the Indian empire. The Legiſlature has already determined to maintain the independency of that empire, not on colonial principles, but through the medium of that body by which it was acquired, the Eaſt India Company, who are therefore conſtituted the ſole national organ for its local government, and its communication with this country. The rights of that Company, who through a long ſucceſſion of years ſuſtained alone the expenſes and perils which ended in the acquiſition of territorial dominion, have not been ſacrificed to the unfounded claims ſet up for every Britiſh ſubject as ſuch, to enter into the free enjoyment of what had coſt them ſo much. The advantages of a ſure and great commerce, of a large tribute, of a dominion maintained by its own reſources, have not been ſtaked, in the following uncertain theories, which could only be tried at the riſk of loſing what was poſſeſſed: and experience, as well as ſound reaſon, demonſtrates the wiſdom of this ſyſtem.

XIV. If then, in reſpect of *facts*, it be true, that the foreign trade of India, either carried on by our enemies or by neutral nations, or clandeſtinely under their colours by our own

the Company's ability to raiſe ſupplies for the exigences of neceſſary war, has a better right to be conſidered, than the conveniency of a part.—Secondly, with reſpect to the freedom and extent of the Company's purchaſes. It ſeems to be an idea entertained by ſome, that the exceſſive freight and charges of the Company's commerce, incapacitate them from attempting any profitable ſpeculations on mercantile principles, eſpecially where competition is to be encountered; that they loſe on various articles of the Indian trade, and that their main uſe, in a commercial view, is to ſerve as the channel of the eaſtern tribute; and therefore, that all new attempts will be beſt conducted by the enterpriſe and economy of individuals. Theſe ideas go to deprive the Company of all commercial freedom, and may even be extended to a formal partition of the Indian trade; the old ſtaples to be left to the Company, and the new articles to private merchants; but your Committee feel themſelves warranted to maintain, that the Company ſhip their goods in India at a leſs aggregate of coſt and charges than individuals do, and realize the proceeds here at a leſs expenſe, ſaving only in the article of freight on the regular ſhips, which may be reduced, with reſpect to coarſe articles, by hiring ſhips of inferior equipment; and though, amidſt the fluctuations of war, the Company may occaſionally loſe by ſome articles, there are various reaſons why they ſhould not immediately ſtrike ſuch articles out of their inveſtment; and it will ſtill be true, that by their reſources and numerous eſtabliſhments, they have great advantages over private perſons, in all attempts, either to introduce new articles, or extend the proviſion of them; for they have only to avail themſelves of inſtitutions already exiſting, whereas private merchants muſt for theſe ends, in many caſes, form new eſtabliſhments. It is without ſufficient foundation, therefore, that the ſuperior capabilities of individuals for ſtriking out new branches of trade have been inſiſted on; and whilſt ſo many arguments have been induſtriouſly uſed, to obtain new privileges for private traders, that there has been ſuch a tendency ſhewn to reduce the Company to a mere routine of bringing home the tribute in a few old ſtaples, it is fit they ſhould poſſeſs full as much freedom as private merchants have, in managing and ordering their commercial affairs, to the extent of the funds and the credit which they may fairly apply to commercial purpoſes, without increaſing the preſent high ſcale of Indian debt. And if it ſhould be occaſionally found expedient for them, either with a view of profit, which in particular junctures may accrue, or to furniſh a ſaving tonnage for their ſhips, to make an extraordinary proviſion of new articles, it will not only be their duty to do ſo, but they may do it with greater advantage than individuals can; for if there be any new methods, by which they can increaſe their commercial gains, the vaſt expenſes incurred in warlike operations, require they ſhould be adopted; and at a time when the Company have ſtraitened themſelves in achieving conqueſts, highly beneficial to the nation, they have leaſt reaſon to conclude, that they ſhall be expected to make any undue ſacrifices of their privileges.---Thirdly, with regard to the competition which a great enlargement of private trade may occaſion in the Indian commerce. That the law of every market ſhould be a free permiſſion to thoſe who enter into it to buy and ſell, need not be diſputed; but it is a queſtion not of commercial principle, but of the policy of ſtates, whether their ſubjects ſhall be encouraged to enter into competition with each other, at any particular foreign market. There can be no doubt, that a great increaſe in demand and of purchaſes in India would enhance the coſt of commodities there; and that a like increaſe in the quantities ſold here, though this mart ſhould be the largeſt, would, on the whole, lower the proceeds. The conſequence from both branches of competition, would, therefore, be evident and direct diſadvantage to this country, and diſadvantage not to be compenſated, in this caſe, by the extent of the trade.—Upon the whole, then, of this part of the ſubject, there is not, in the opinion of your Committee, ſuch a rational certainty of mercantile profit to individuals, from largely increaſing the importation of theſe new articles (for the hope of profit by freight is not an admitted plea) as ought to induce them to embark in ſuch ſpeculations, in the face of a ſtrong rivalſhip to moſt of the articles from the produce of other countries; and where there is little appearance of benefit, the inconveniences of diſturbing the eſtabliſhed order of things ſhould not be encountered.

XI. But the grand objection, of a commercial nature, to this new trade is, that a conſiderable capital muſt be transferred from Great Britain to carry it on. In one of the papers from Bengal it is hypothetically ſtated, that in a few years the export of ſugar from that country might be raiſed to 100,000 tons. Doubtleſs, in a vaſt extent of fertile ſoil, ſtretching from the ſea almoſt to Delhi, it may be poſſible to carry the culture of ſugar, and various other articles, to very great length; and perſons unacquainted with the circumſtances of that country might imagine, from reading ſuch a ſtatement, that the main thing to be done was only to open the doors wide enough for exportation. The fact, however, is, that four or five millions ſterling from this country muſt be furniſhed, to pay for the firſt coſt, and the tranſportation of that quantity of ſugar; for Bengal has no ſuch fund of its own, applicable to any purpoſe of that kind; and the ſame obſervation muſt be applied to any large extenſion of other new articles.—The firſt point to be decided here, therefore, is, Whether the nation ought to embark its capital in ſuch a trade? This is

a queſtion of commercial policy, intereſting to the public, who ought to know the concern they have in it; and a queſtion on which it belongs to the Legiſlature to determine. If there are reaſons for withdrawing part of the capital employed in raiſing produce in ſome other dependencies of the Empire, and for encouraging preferably the productions of India, theſe reaſons, doubtleſs, ought to be heard; but this new buſineſs ſhould not be plunged into, without examining and underſtanding its nature and conſequences; and in the opinion of your Committee, unleſs there are ſome ſpecial motives for the preference juſt mentioned, or unleſs where ſome imperious exigency ariſes, it would be utterly impolitic to tranſplant much of the capital of Great Britain, to carry on the agriculture and manufactures of that remote region.

XII. But your Committee muſt believe, that the propoſed enlargements would involve a conſequence ſtill more ſerious, on which they have already touched, in conſidering the claim of Britiſh ſubjects to a like freedom with foreigners in the Indian trade. This claim is, in other words, the preſent queſtion. If, inſtead of carrying on the intercourſe, commercial and political, of this country and its Indian dependencies through one great channel, the Eaſt India Company, which has ſo much contributed to preſerve a vaſt people in their original habits of ſubmiſſion, the ſhips of Britiſh individuals were permitted to go and come at pleaſure, a great change in the political circumſtances of Britiſh India muſt, from the nature of things, be expected. Hitherto the want of an unexpenſive legal channel to India, and the difficulties of getting into employment in our dominions (for native governments invite only deſperate military adventurers), have prevented a great influx of Britiſh ſubjects into them, though foreign ſhips have been open to thoſe who could afford to pay them, and our Governments have choſen rather to licenſe perſons who had found means to ſettle themſelves there, than to force them from all their concerns. But the propoſed ſyſtem would, at once, confer both right and employment on multitudes; and it is from an inſtitution communicating theſe encouragements, that, in the opinion of your Committee, danger is to be apprehended. The reſidence of a limited number of Europeans in our provinces, as things at preſent are, is not a ground of any alarm, provided that number can be kept from increaſing; but in the propoſed ſyſtem, there would be a principle of progreſſive increaſe, and this, your Committee fear, might juſtly be conſidered as the firſt principle of a colonial ſyſtem.—A continual courſe of detached commercial adventurers would entail the reſidence of greater numbers of Europeans abroad; many others would be tempted to reſort thither, in the hope of eſtabliſhing themſelves; gradually, as conſequence of theſe changes, they would be enabled to ſtrike out new modes of employment, and ſpread themſelves in the country. Even now, the ſociety of merchants in India diſcover a wiſh to be emancipated from every material reſtraint: that ſpirit would live and be more powerful in the larger ſociety. Governments, then, would find it a new and arduous taſk, to maintain order and ſubordination. Every port in India would be accuſtomed to the viſits of adventuring Europeans; connexions between them and the country powers could hardly be prevented; part might go into the ſervice of thoſe powers; all could not expect fortunes to return; and thoſe who ſaw no proſpect of this kind, would naturally commence colonization. That the rights and uſages of our native ſubjects might not be encroached upon in this progreſs; that theſe people, though paſſive, might not be at length exaſperated, and that they might not, from example, gradually loſe their habits of ſubmiſſion to Government, no man can be warranted to deny: nor is it leſs probable, that a vaſt maſs of native ſubjects, thus put into a new ſtate of agitation, a numerous European community progreſſively enlarging its views with its importance, and the combinations of India politics influenced by, and influencing theſe circumſtances, might render it extremely difficult for this country to maintain in that remote quarter, a government ſufficiently ſtrong and energetic to contain all theſe intereſts within their due bounds.

XIII. For theſe reaſons, the inquiry concerning the principle by which our Indian poſſeſſions may be beſt preſerved, though it appertain to the preſent ſubject, need not be a long one. That ſyſtem cannot be beſt, which, by the adoption of colonial principles of free ingreſs and reſidence, would expoſe us to all the hazards juſt deſcribed, and through them, to the loſs of the Indian empire. The Legiſlature has already determined to maintain the independency of that empire, not on colonial principles, but through the medium of that body by which it was acquired, the Eaſt India Company, who are therefore conſtituted the ſole national organ for its local government, and its communication with this country. The rights of that Company, who through a long ſucceſſion of years ſuſtained alone the expenſes and perils which ended in the acquiſition of territorial dominion, have not been ſacrificed to the unfounded claims ſet up for every Britiſh ſubject as ſuch, to enter into the free enjoyment of what had coſt them ſo much. The advantages of a ſure and great commerce, of a large tribute, of a dominion maintained by its own reſources, have not been ſtaked, in the following uncertain theories, which could only be tried at the riſk of loſing what was poſſeſſed: and experience, as well as ſound reaſon, demonſtrates the wiſdom of this ſyſtem.

XIV. If then, in reſpect of *facts*, it be true, that the foreign trade of India, either carried on by our enemies or by neutral nations, or clandeſtinely under their colours by our own

ſubjects, is not progreſſively increaſing; that nations in amity with us, and already trading to India, ought to be allowed to continue to trade on their own account, for the ſupply of their own wants; and that India has no capital within itſelf, for effecting the great enlargements of its exports now propoſed: if it be alſo true, in reſpect of *principles*, that it would be impolitic in this country to tranſplant any conſiderable portion of its capital to India, for extending the agriculture and manufactures of that diſtant dependency, and yet more impolitic to open the way for Britiſh colonization there; the concluſion reſulting from the whole is, that the only object for which the Company, or the nation, can now juſtly be called on to make new proviſions in favour of individuals, is that of bringing directly into this country the remainder of the trade yet carried on clandeſtinely by Britiſh ſubjects, with the removal of any inconveniences which now obſtruct the ready and eaſy tranſportation of the whole trade, which can be carried on by the fortunes of Britiſh reſidents in India, directly to the port of London.—Thoſe individuals, who thriving under the protection of the Company ſtill abet that clandeſtine trade, certainly act neither worthily nor gratefully; nor do they entitle themſelves to new privileges. The Company, however, deſirous to ſecure to the nation all the trade carried on from India by the capital of Britiſh reſidents, are willing to adopt ſuch meaſures as depend on them, for bringing directly to the Thames the merchandiſe which that capital yet conveys, in any form, to foreign ports; but as the comparative rates of duties payable at their ports and in our own, will always be regarded by the proprietors of Indian goods in the direction of their conſignments, it ſeems requiſite, in order to ſecure the object in queſtion, that the duties on the exports of goods from India, or the duties on Indian goods imported into this country, undergo ſtill further modification.

XV. Your Committee, reflecting on the various poſitions which have of late years been advanced, to impugn either the conduct of the Company or the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of Indian policy, were induced to take the preſent occaſion, to point out the errors by which thoſe poſitions, had they ſtill remained uncontradicted, might have miſled the public mind.—Of this labour, which they hope will not be unacceptable to the Court, a great part would have been needleſs, if they had confined themſelves to the letter of the 2d April laſt, from the Right Honourable the Preſident of the Board of Control, which chiefly fixed the attention of the Court in relation to the preſent ſubject, as it has been all along firſt in the conſideration of the Committee; for between the opinions which are therein delivered and thoſe they entertained, as well reſpecting the leading principles of Indian government and commerce, as the concluſions to be formed from them, they found, on the whole, ſo much agreement, as greatly limited the neceſſity of particular diſcuſſion.—On thoſe leading principles your Committee have reaſoned; and the ſame general views which are preſented by the longer inveſtigation into which the motive juſt aſſigned has led them, are with brevity and force exhibited in that letter. It infers from the whole two practical propoſitions; one concerning the object and meaſure of the privilege to be given to individuals in the trade from India, the other concerning the mode in which that trade ſhould be brought to this country.—The firſt is ſubſtantially the ſame which your Committee have had in view through the whole of this diſcuſſion, and have, they truſt, here eſtabliſhed, that to bring the fortunes of Britiſh reſidents, not inveſted in the bills of the Company, directly through the medium of merchandiſe into the Thames, ſhould be the main object of the privilege to be conceded to individuals; and that this privilege ought not, in reaſon, to extend beyond the total amount of thoſe fortunes, allowance being always made for returns of Britiſh manufactures, ſent from hence, according to the act of 1793.—The ſecond propoſition recommends, that the trade thus conſtituted ſhall be permitted to be carried on by Indian ſhips.—Your Committee are aware of the public motives which diſpoſe Mr. Dundas to make the reſources of India ſerviceable to the naval intereſts of this country; and are, at the ſame time, perſuaded, that the meaſure which thoſe motives may have more eaſily inclined him to favour, he means to be perfectly compatible with his own principle of continuing the Company as the one great national organ for the government and commerce of India.—Your Committee regard thoſe motives with reſpect; and in as far as the Court can, conſiſtently with the great intereſts intruſted to them, ſafely afford the aid of the Company to well-digeſted views of that kind, the diſpoſition they have ever manifeſted to benefit the nation may, in ſuch a caſe, be expected to appear.—Your Committee are further ready to grant, that if the occaſional admiſſion of Indian ſhips into this country, or an admiſſion continuing ſolely in the diſcretion, and changeable at the option of the Company, were the thing here in queſtion, it would be a matter of comparatively ſmall import, in reſpect to which the indulgences allowed at different times by the Company, in the courſe of the laſt ſeven years, ſhew, that they can, at fit ſeaſons, exerciſe with liberality, privileges which ſtill remain entire to them; but after a very mature and anxious conſideration of the preſent ſubject, your Committee are conſtrained to ſtate, that they regard the admiſſion of Indian ſhips, or any claſs of ſhips, Britiſh or foreign, into a formal ſyſtematic participation in the commerce and navigation between Britain and India, with moſt ſerious apprehenſion. They conſider it as involving a latent principle, that may eventually ſuperſede that very ſyſtem of

regulated intercourſe with India, which both Mr. Dundas and the Court are ſolicitous to preſerve. They are of opinion, moreover, that for the ends propoſed the meaſure is unneceſſary, and that the Company can themſelves provide, as your Committee will hereafter ſhew, all the ſhipping which that end requires, free of every fair objection hitherto made to the occupancy of tonnage provided by them. Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, the duty impoſed on your Committee requires they ſhould declare them; but in doing this, and in proceeding to explain farther the grounds on which they entertain thoſe ſentiments, they deſire to act in the ſpirit of men, looking only to a public object, and canvaſſing a meaſure propoſed in a like ſpirit.

XVI. A ſyſtematic admiſſion of any claſs of ſhips into the trade between this country and India, would, in the opinion of your Committee, virtually form a new ſociety, which having one intereſt, would, in effect, act with much of the ſpirit and unity of a joint company, and a company whoſe intereſts would not perfectly coaleſce with thoſe of the preſent one: ſtanding upon a legal foundation, and poſſeſſing a privilege enjoyed by none but the Eaſt India Company, it muſt at once be inveſted with a certain degree of importance. The principle common to individuals and ſocieties, ſelf-preſervation and advancement, would naturally lead the members of this body into thoſe views and meaſures, which would be moſt likely to give it permanence and power. The continuance of its exertions would not depend, altogether, nor perhaps chiefly, on the gain of the commodities carried to and from India. If commodities brought only prime coſt and charges, and yet the ſhip-owners could make out a profitable employment for their ſhips, which is avowed to be a leading motive for the preſent requiſitions of the merchants, it might ſtill be their intereſt to carry on the trade; and the private commerce, now ſupported by a remittance capital, would thus owe its enlargement to a ſhipping intereſt, though a trade which maintained only the ſhips engaged in it, would be one of the leaſt beneficial; and if thoſe ſhips were Indian, the benefit of it to this country would be indeed ſmall. In bringing to Europe Indian commodities, in which the trade mainly conſiſts, Indian ſhips would have a clear advantage over others, becauſe the equipment of them could be adjuſted with certainty to the number and times of the goods procurable, and therefore the comparative probability of the permanence of ſuch a claſs of ſhips is the greater.—It would be eaſy to employ capital belonging to the mother-country in building and repairing thoſe ſhips: the Engliſh merchants might become parties in the concern, and this would, in a certain degree, be the ſame as if Britiſh ſhips were confined directly from this country. The neceſſity of employing ſhips once built is obvious. The channels of trade in Europe, in a time of peace eſpecially, would not be likely to afford ſpace for this new claſs; the owners muſt therefore continue, as long as poſſible, in a line into which they have once entered, even if difficulties ſhould occur in it; and difficulties would be likely to put the adventurers on ſeeking whatever further indulgences remained to be granted them. To further indulgences the recogniſed enjoyment of the firſt privilege would more eaſily lead; and in this and other views, the probable effects of *uſage* deſerve to be conſidered. What is once eſtabliſhed obtains authority in the public mind; and new claims may, with leſs danger of ſhocking opinions, be raiſed upon it. From theſe cauſes, the exerciſe of this new privilege would be likely to be durable, and its operation progreſſive. One certain effect hereof would be to force a trade from India with a capital not its own. As the numbers concerned in this complex trade of ſhips and goods increaſed, ſo would their power, influence, and connexions, in both countries. If inconveniences ſhould be found to reſult from this inſtitution, great intereſts, formed under the ſanction of it, would plead againſt a ſuppreſſion of it; and it ſeems entirely probable, that as ſoon as the privilege to Indian ſhips were thought to have acquired ſufficient ſolidity, if not before, the merchants of this country would become clamorous for admiſſion into it: nor is it eaſy to conceive how, after preſcription had ſmoothed the way, and Engliſh merchants were known to have become, though unallowedly, partners in the Indian ſhips, their claim could be long reſiſted, for it could never be maintained, that one Britiſh ſubject, reſiding in London, might carry on a trade with India, becauſe his ſhip was built there, whilſt another Britiſh ſubject, in the ſame place, ſhould be interdicted, becauſe his ſhip was built in the Thames. And indeed, whenever the trade from India came to be any other than a trade of remittance for the fortunes of Britiſh reſidents, the reaſon on which Indian merchants only were permitted to carry it on would ceaſe. In a commercial view, the ſyſtematic introduction of any claſs of private ſhips appears, from what has been already ſaid, to be unneceſſary. As the true intereſt of the country does not require that it ſhould transfer capital to India to raiſe a trade there, ſo it is ſufficiently obvious, that there is in India no great capital which wants to exert itſelf in the European trade; no ſuch general ſwell in the tide of Indian commerce as ſeeks a new channel. Far the greater part of the Europeans there have nothing to do with the export trade, which reſts chiefly with the houſes of agency, in whoſe hands much of the remittable property of Europeans centres, by which means they are enabled to enter into great ſpeculations; neither is there any ſurplus of Britiſh property there, which the Company cannot convey in ſhips furniſhed by themſelves, as cheaply and expeditiouſly as it could be conveyed in private ſhips: therefore, to privilege

a claſs of ſhips for the trade of individuals, when the ſcale of that trade does not require it, would be to introduce an innovation, which your Committee cannot but regard as a hazardous one, without any adequate cauſe. Conſidering, then, that there is no neceſſity for the propoſed meaſure; that it would be the genius of the new trade, as of all others, to ſeek its own enlargement; that ſo many cauſes would, probably, concur, to render it permanent and progreſſive; that, above all, a conſtant intercourſe, by private detached ſhips, with every part of India, familiarizing European adventurers with that country, Indian ſailors with this, would gradually and indefinitely widen the channel of that intercourſe, extremely multiply the relations between the two countries, and tend to diſturb and ſhake our government there, to which danger is more likely to ariſe from our domeſtic commerce than from the foreign one; conſidering all theſe circumſtances, your Committee cannot but deprecate the ſyſtematic eſtabliſhment of any claſs of ſhips in the trade between India and Britain, as what, in their moſt ſerious judgment, would, in its nature and conſequences, tend, however the contrary might be meant, to ſuperſede the Company's privileges, and open the way to what all agree ought to be prevented,—the colonization of Europeans in our Indian territories, and the dangers connected with that ſyſtem.

XVII. Beſides theſe objections, which apply to the meaſure generally, there is one that lies peculiarly againſt ſhips whoſe voyages commence from India,—that they will uſually be manned, in great part, with laſcars, or Indian ſailors. Men of that race are not, by their phyſical frame and conſtitution, fitted for the navigation of cold and boiſterous latitudes; their nature and habits are formed to a warm climate, and ſhort and eaſy voyages performed within the ſphere of the periodical winds; they have not ſtrength enough of mind or body, to encounter the hardſhips and perils to which ſhips are liable in the long and various navigation between India and Europe, eſpecially in the winter ſtorms of our northern ſeas; nor have they the courage which can be relied on for ſteady defence againſt an enemy. To have any conſiderable portion of the property and trade of this country, therefore, dependent on the energy of men of this ſtamp, unleſs on the coaſts of India, where they are leſs expoſed to dangers, cannot be adviſable: yet on the employment of Indian ſailors the cheap freight of Indian ſhips ſeems materially to turn; for if theſe ſhips, rigged and fitted out as they are with ſtores chiefly brought from Europe, were manned with Europeans, receiving wages far higher, and proviſioned at much greater coſt than laſcars, it does not appear how they could be afforded at a lower rate of freight than Britiſh bottoms. But this is not all. The native ſailors of India, who are chiefly Mahomedans, are, to the diſgrace of our national morals, on their arrival here, led into ſcenes which ſoon diveſt them of the reſpect and awe they had entertained in India for the European character: they are robbed of their little property, and left to wander, ragged and deſtitute, in the ſtreets; a ſight that, whilſt it wounds peculiarly the feelings of men connected with India and the Company, raiſes both the compaſſion and indignation of the public; the one in favour of thoſe miſerable objects, the other againſt the Company, as if they had drawn the poor creatures into ſuch a ſtate of ſuffering, or neglected them in it; when in fact, though individuals bring them home, the Company are at great pains and expenſe to collect, maintain, and return them! but ſuch are the bad habits they acquire, that they often eſcape from the houſes where the Company have them lodged and provided for, and take to a mendicant ſtate, for the chance of obtaining from the pity of paſſengers new means of vicious indulgence. From cauſes of this nature, and from expoſure to the ſeverity of our winters, not a few have loſt their lives, or become incapable of further ſervice. On the continent of Europe, and even in America, where ſome of theſe laſcars are alſo now carried, they have no protector as here, and their caſe muſt be ſtill more deplorable; ſo that, inſtead of a larger introduction into the Weſtern World of this feeble race, it is very ſeriouſly to be wiſhed, that before their numbers are thinned by fatigue, climate, and diſeaſe, ſome means were deviſed for preventing them from leaving their own ſeas.—The contemptuous reports which they diſſeminate on their return, cannot fail to have a very unfavourable influence upon the minds of our Aſiatic ſubjects, whoſe reverence for our character, which has hitherto contributed to maintain our aſcendency in the Eaſt (a reverence, in part, inſpired by what they have at a diſtance ſeen among a comparatively ſmall ſociety, moſtly of the better ranks in India), will be gradually exchanged for the moſt degrading conceptions; and if an indignant apprehenſion of having hitherto rated us too highly, or reſpected us too much, ſhould once poſſeſs them, the effects of it may prove extremely detrimental.—From the waſte of life, and other loſſes attending the employing of this claſs of ſailors, perhaps it may appear at length neceſſary to reſort to European mariners: theſe, in ſuch caſe, will flock in greater numbers to India; and hence it may be expected, that colonization will be accelerated there. Indeed the return of peace might call for this ſubſtitution of Britiſh ſeamen, many of whom muſt then have to ſeek employment in the merchants' ſervice; and no Britiſh heart would wiſh, that any of the brave men, who had merited ſo much of their country, ſhould be without bread, whilſt the natives of the Eaſt brought ſhips belonging to our own ſubjects into our ports. Conſidered therefore in a commercial, phyſical, moral, and political view, the apparent conſequences of admitting theſe Indian ſailors largely into our

navigation, form a ſtrong additional objection to the conceſſion of the propoſed privilege to any ſhips manned by them.

XVIII. It will be proper, in this place, to advert to the reaſons which induced the Company's governments and ſervants abroad to countenance, and in ſome inſtances to recommend, the applications of the free merchants in India for leave to ſend goods here in their own ſhips. They were chiefly theſe: to direct to this country, in preference to foreign ports, all the merchandiſe which could be ſuppoſed to be in the diſpoſal of Britiſh individuals, and ſo to prevent the growth of foreign trade; to aſſiſt in reducing the freights paid by the Company, immediately before and after the commencement of the preſent war, for their regular ſhips; which reduction, it was hoped, would be forwarded by the introduction of a claſs of cheap ſhips between India and Europe; to promote the induſtry and export trade of India, and thereby to augment the ſources of its revenue, and to increaſe the commerce and government cuſtoms of this country.—With regard to theſe objects, all, doubtleſs, laudable in themſelves, and ſought from public motives, it may be obſerved, that the reduction of the Company's freights has been ſome time accompliſhed; that the Court have been, on their part, alſo deſirous to bring all the property of Britiſh reſidents, inveſted in goods, directly to our ports; and that the meaſures now to be propoſed will, in the opinion of your Committee, amply ſuffice for this end. The other objects of preventing the growth of foreign trade, and promoting the produce of our Indian poſſeſſions, have been diſcuſſed in this Report, and your Committee have endeavoured to diſcriminate the true principles on which they ſhould be followed, and the extent to which they ſhould be ſought. Into theſe inquiries the ſervants abroad do not ſeem to have felt themſelves called to enter deeply and ſyſtematically; nor do they appear to have looked forward to all the probable remote effects, commercial and political, of a progreſſive increaſe in the trade and intercourſe of individuals between India and Britain. They rather ſeem to have acted on the view of exiſting circumſtances, and to have recommended the meaſures which, under thoſe circumſtances, they deemed to be, both for public and for individual intereſts, beneficial and convenient. But as they did not profeſs to inveſtigate remote conſequences, ſo they certainly do not appear to have propoſed or expected that the diſcretion of the Company ſhould be taken away in the admiſſion of Indian ſhips, or that any claſs of ſhips ſhould be inveſted with a permanent ſyſtematic participation in the commerce and navigation between India and Britain; and this, in the opinion of your Committee, is the great point of importance in the whole of the preſent ſubject.—If, therefore, the reaſons which they have thought themſelves obliged to advance againſt this new principle ſhould prove ſatisfactory to the Court, your Committee take the liberty to ſuggeſt, that they may be ſubmitted to the judgment and candour of Mr. Dundas, who, your Committee are perſuaded, will not, when he ſees no imperious neceſſity, wiſh for the adoption of any meaſure which, immediately or in its conſequences, ſhall be found materially to trench on the privileges of the Company.

XIX. Your Committee will now proceed, in the laſt place, to propoſe the means by which, in their opinion, all the property of Britiſh reſidents in India, at any time inveſted in goods, together with the returns of manufactures ſent from hence, may, with every requiſite convenience, be brought directly to this country, without any change in the principles of the preſent ſyſtem. It may be difficult to aſcertain exactly the annual remittable amount of that property; but in the nature of things it muſt have a moderate limit, and a conſiderable part of it is ſent home in bills upon the Company. From a general retroſpective view, carried back for ſeveral of the laſt years, of the goods conſigned from India directly to London, whether on account of Britiſh reſidents or in return for Britiſh manufactures, and of thoſe conſignments to foreign ports, which may be ſuppoſed to have belonged to Britiſh ſubjects, together with the bills drawn on the Company in the ſame period, the total aggregate of theſe different branches will probably be rated fully, if eſtimated about, or ſomewhat beyond, a million and a half ſterling. Of this amount 650,000*l.* may have come in bills; and the whole, therefore, of what has of late been ſent from India in goods, either to our own or foreign ports, on account of Britiſh reſidents or Britiſh manufactures, on an average of ſeveral paſt years, ending with April 1799, may be taken at a little more than 850,000*l.* per annum: and of this ſum about 600,000*l.* comes already into the Thames; the reſt, as ſhewn in a former part of this Report, has gone to foreign Europe and America. To encourage the conſignment of this remainder, alſo, to our own ports, and to provide for the more convenient tranſportation of what already comes here, is, in reality, as your Committee apprehend, all that is now to be performed: but to remove every ground for complaint in future, your Committee are of opinion that the Company may, at once, undertake for the conveyance directly to our ports in goods, of the whole remittable property of Britiſh reſidents in India, and the whole returns of Britiſh manufactures, ſuppoſing that no part of either ſhould be ſent home in bills on the Company, which, however, is at preſent, and likely to be at all times hereafter, utterly improbable.—For this end, your Committee propoſe, that the Company ſhall themſelves furniſh whatever amount of tonnage ſhall be wanted for bringing home the private trade, as here deſcribed; that they ſhall ſupply this tonnage in ſhips either wholly deſtined to bring home

that private trade, or whether ſo deſtined or not, in ſhips which ſhall not be applied to political or warlike purpoſes, but ſail from India directly for the port of London at fixed periods, and thoſe periods moſt convenient for the ſhippers of goods within the fair weather ſeaſon.—That the rate of freight on thoſe ſhips ſhall, during the war, be as low as that at which the Indian ſhips arrived here in the preſent ſeaſon are chartered to the Company; and that, in time of peace, the rate ſhall be proportionably reduced.—That the commodities to be permitted in the private trade, the manner of warehouſing and ſhipping them in India, and receiving and bringing them to the Company's ſales here, ſhall be ſettled in the ſpirit of the exiſting regulations, and with every fair attention to the intereſt of the private trader.—That a particular claſs of ſhips, ſuitable for this ſervice, ſhall be built by the Company, to be manned with Europeans, and armed ſo as to make them equal, in point of defence, to the beſt of the Indian ſhips which have come to this country; and until theſe are built, other proper ſhips to be ſupplied.—That if at any time the tonnage provided by the Company for private exports ſhall not be ſufficient, it ſhall be allowable for the governments abroad, on the part of the Company, to freight Indian ſhips for the conveyance of ſuch goods as cannot be otherwiſe accommodated; care being taken that this conceſſion be not ſtrained into an indirect ſanction to the ordinary ſtated employment of thoſe ſhips, nor as holding forth any expectation of connivance at fictitious pleas for the introduction of them; the ſole object of the Company being the ready tranſportation of private goods, furniſhed by the capital of Britiſh reſidents, as before mentioned, and the removal of every pretence for complaint on this ſcore.—That no perſon ſhall be permitted to embark in this trade, in any form, who has not the licenſe of the Company to reſide in India.—Your Committee truſt, that theſe propoſitions make full proviſion for the removal of all the defects and inconveniences hitherto complained of, in reſpect to the conveyance of private goods; they provide for the certainty of a ſufficient quantity of proper tonnage, for a reaſonable rate of freight, for the ſailing of the ſhips at the ſeaſons moſt convenient for the merchants, and for the direct performance of the voyages, without detention or deviation on account of political or military objects.—If theſe outlines ſhall be adopted as the baſis of the arrangement to be now made, it will then remain to fill them up with ſuch regulations of detail as ſhall be found requiſite, in order properly to act upon them, of which a few particulars will be found under the head to be preſently mentioned.

IX. Your Committee having now, in performance of the duty with which they were charged, brought the taſk they propoſed to themſelves to a cloſe, will beg leave to wind up the whole with a ſet of reſolutions comprehending the principal matters of this Report. Theſe reſolutions have been agreed upon and paſſed by your Committee; and it will afford them great ſatisfaction if, by the means here propoſed, or any means proceeding on the ſame general principles, the momentous queſtion which, from its intricacy and extent, has engaged their attention and that of the Court ſo long, ſhall be ſettled once for all.

(Signed) HUGH INGLIS,
DAVID SCOTT,
FRANCIS BARING,
STEPHEN LUSHINGTON,
ABRAHAM ROBARTS,
JACOB BOSANQUET,
JOHN ROBERTS,
CHARLES GRANT,
EDWARD PARRY.

East India Houſe,
27th January, 1801.

Minutes of the Court of Directors of the 4th February, 1801, containing the Reſolutions of the Special Committee adopted by the Court.

At a Court of Directors, held on Wedneſday the 4th February, 1801.

The Court proceeded to conſider further the Report from the Special Committee appointed to take into conſideration the letters from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, of the 2d April and 28th June, 1800, and the reſolutions founded thereon, which were ſubmitted to the Court on the 27th ultimo:—The Report was read, and on the queſtion unanimouſly approved.—The ſaid reſolutions were then read; and the Court approving thereof, it was, on the queſtion, *Firſt*, Reſolved unanimouſly, That in the opinion of this Court, the ſyſtem by which the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the Eaſt are now held and governed, is the ſyſtem beſt adapted to ſecure to the nation the benefits, political and commercial, which are derivable from thoſe poſſeſſions; and that the eſtabliſhment of an open trade between them and Great Britain, would not only be ſubverſive of the rights and privileges of the Eaſt India Company, but without enſuring to this country commercial advantages equal to thoſe it now enjoys from them, pave the way for European colonization, and ultimately hazard the loſs of thoſe invaluable acquiſitions.—*Second*. That it is therefore equally the intereſt of the nation and the duty of the Company, to guard againſt all principles and meaſures which, by an indefinite enlargement of the preſent channel of communication, in their nature tend to the introduction, immediate or gradual, of ſuch an open intercourſe and its probable conſequent colonization.—*Third*. That the Eaſt India Company, far from entertaining the erroneous policy of limiting the induſtry and trade of their provinces to the demands of their own commerce, have given ſuch encouragement to both as they never received under the native governments; ſo that the ſhips of all nations in amity with this country have free admiſſion there, and

maritime exports from India, exclusive of those for the Company, are now greater than they were at any former period.—*Fourth.* That if it were practicable, it would not be expedient to prevent the other European nations, who, by privilege or concession, now trade with British India, from enjoying such a share of that commerce as may serve to supply their own consumption of Indian commodities, and at the same time to bring bullion into our eastern territories.—*Fifth.* That the regulations established by the Legislature in 1793, with the professed view of extending the exports of this country to India, and bringing directly to it the trade clandestinely carried on by British capital from India to foreign ports in Europe and America, have not been misapplied or evaded by the Company; but that the Company have, as far as consisted with the necessary course of their own affairs, political and commercial, given effect to those regulations, though at a considerable expense to themselves; and that all allegations of the growth of the trade of foreigners with India, and the extension of the clandestine trade from India, by means of any such misapplication on the part of the Company, are unfounded.—*Sixth.* That, according to the most authentic information which has appeared on the subject of clandestine trade, particularly the public register of exports and imports kept in Bengal, that trade has not of late years increased, but rather diminished; and that the amount of the clandestine trade of Bengal, the centre of our eastern power and commerce, whether the said trade has been fed by that part of the capital of British residents which was not sent directly to this country, or by any other source, cannot, on an average of four years, ending with 1798-9, reasonably be estimated to have exceeded twenty-five lacs of rupees per annum.—*Seventh.* That from this important fact, as well as from a variety of other evidence, existing in the recent proceedings of the Company's governments abroad, it may safely be concluded, that any increase which has taken place in the course of the war in the trade of foreigners with our settlements, is the increase of a trade carried on, *bonâ fide*, for their own account, and in a great degree with specie which they import into India, and pay for the goods they export, and that this is a trade which, in sound policy, ought to be permitted.—*Eighth.* That the trade carried on with Europe from the Indian settlements of our enemies, the French, Dutch, and Spaniards, which is said to have greatly increased through the late mismanagement of the Company, flourished long before the present times in a greater degree than it does now, and could not have been depressed by any measures within the Company's power; nor would it be a wise policy, under the notion of bringing that trade to our ports, to nourish, as in fact we thus should, the source whence it proceeds.—*Ninth.* That as it is the wish of the Company to give free scope to the native powers of their Indian subjects in agriculture and manufactures, so it is also their wish to exercise the rights and privileges they possess in the government and commerce of India, not in the narrow spirit of rigid monopoly, but liberally to the benefit of the nation at large. They thus, before the last renewal of their charter, occasionally permitted the importation of private goods on their ships, and encouraged the culture and importation of several valuable articles on private account, particularly sugar and indigo, the latter of which has become one of the grand staples of the Indian trade, as both together constitute the chief causes of the increase in the sale amount of privileged goods for some late years. And the Company are still desirous to secure to the nation all the trade which the capital of British residents in India yet carries on from that country to foreign Europe and America.—*Tenth.* That the only certain considerable capital which at present exists in British India, for an export trade from that country to Europe, is formed by such part of the savings of British residents in India, as is not remitted to England by bills of exchange of one description or another on the Company, who now provide so amply in this way for the purpose of transferring the fortunes of individuals; and that the amount of such portion of the savings of British residents, as is not sent home by bills on the Company, can never, in the nature of things, exceed a certain moderate limit, which will probably be estimated largely if taken at half a million sterling per annum. Should, indeed, the natives of British India desire to invest any money, *bonâ fide*, on their own account, in exports from India to Britain (to which it does not appear that they shew much disposition at present), this may be admitted under proper regulations, as an addition to the capital of Indian export to Europe; and these two sources, with any circulating property possessed by British traders and manufacturers in India, not in the service of the Company, which circulating property in the whole, after allowing for the part of it that ought to be employed in the coasting trade of India, can hardly be imagined to amount to any considerable sum, supply the whole aggregate of the capital of British India, applicable to an export trade in articles, either new or old, from that country to Europe.—*Eleventh.* That if to this aggregate capital, which may be termed the present maximum of the native stock of British India for a trade to Europe, it became a practice to add capital belonging to private residents in Great Britain, and transplanted to India for the purpose of forcing the productions of that country beyond the ability of its own means, this would be the introduction of one of the first principles of the colonial or West Indian system; and if it were sanctioned, directly or impliedly, by any public regulation, it would tend greatly to extend the relations and intercourses between those countries

and this, as well as to ſuperſede covertly, if not openly, the prohibition to Europeans not to occupy lands there, which prohibition is already, in a variety of inſtances, diſpenſed with; and thus, without any certainty of ultimate commercial benefit to the Britiſh empire at large, a change would be commenced in the preſent ſyſtem of Indian policy, which is allowed to be the beſt for the maintenance of thoſe diſtant poſſeſſions.---*Twelfth.* That as the produce of every country muſt, in the courſe of things, bear a certain proportion or relation to the demand made for it, ſo there appears no reaſon to doubt that the productions of Britiſh India, fit for the European market, whether raiſed by its own native ſtock of capital as above deſcribed, or occaſionally quickened by importations of bullion from foreign Europe and America, have uſually had a current vent into one or other of the channels of trade now open with that country; that hence the alleged difficulties of conveying goods by the Company's ſhips have not prevented the diſpoſal of all the produce which the capital of the country raiſed, and therefore the plea ſo often urged by perſons intereſted in the private trade, that the Company ſhould permit the *ſurplus produce of the country to be exported*, proceeds upon looſe erroneous implications; becauſe when uſed in theſe general terms, it ſeems to convey what is not the fact, either that the Company wiſh to prevent the exportation of what they do not themſelves require, or that the produce of the country remains on hand for want of ſale; and when applied more particularly, to infer that the ſurplus produce ſhould be brought immediately to Britain, it does not diſcriminate the *bonâ fide* foreign trade to India which ought to be permitted.---*Thirteenth.* That as from an early period of the Company's territorial adminiſtration, the acquiſitions of Britiſh ſubjects in India have, in a greater or leſs degree, unhappily ſupported the trade of foreign Europe from the Eaſt, and notwithſtanding the means which the Company have uſed, by opening channels for the remittance of private fortunes, both in bills and in goods, directly to this country, that medium of conveyance through foreigners, appears to be, in ſome meaſure, ſtill employed; this Court, following the principles before laid down, agree in opinion with the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, as to the expediency of affording to Britiſh reſidents who may chooſe to convey their property to Europe in goods, whatever means, in addition to thoſe already ſubſiſting, may be fairly ſufficient to induce them to conſign thoſe goods immediately to the mother-country. And though the Court conſider the fortunes of Britiſh individuals not remitted by bills on the Company (in which a very large ſum is ſent home annually), together with ſuch conſignments as European manufacturers and the natives of India may furniſh from their own ſtock, to conſtitute the total capital of Britiſh India, at preſent applicable to a trade with Europe (that is, of capital originating in India, contradiſtinguiſhed from capital transferred thither from Europe), yet being of opinion, that to remove all colour for complaint on this ſcore, the Company may afford ample means for conveying in goods even the total remittable property of Britiſh reſidents, they offer the following propoſitions for bringing accordingly the whole trade formed by that aggregate capital, as well as the conſignments of European manufactures, directly to the port of London. 1. That in addition to the quantity of three thouſand tons of ſhipping, now annually allotted to the exports of individuals from India, three, four, or five thouſand tons more, or as much as may be wanted, ſhall be aſſigned. 2. That the ſhipping to be thus annually employed ſhall be wholly applied to the uſe of private traders, and ſhall neither be deſtined nor detained for political or warlike ſervices in India, but ſail from thence directly for the port of London, at fixed periods, within the fair weather ſeaſon. 3. That the rate of freight from India on thoſe ſhips ſhall, during war, be as low as that at which the Indian ſhips, arrived here in the preſent ſeaſon, are chartered to the Company; and in time of peace, the rate of freight ſhall be proportionably reduced. 4. That all commodities of the *produce of the continent, or of the Britiſh territories in India*, ſhall be permitted to be laden on thoſe ſhips; excepting only piece goods, raw ſilk, and ſaltpetre, which ſhall not be laden, unleſs by ſpecial licenſe from the Company or their governments abroad. 5. That the goods to be exported on private account be, as now, received into the Company's warehouſes in India; and that the ſame care be taken in aſſorting them into cargoes, in due proportions of light and heavy goods, according to the deliveries into the warehouſes, as is obſerved in forming the Company's own cargoes. 6. That theſe goods ſhall be brought to the Company's warehouſes in London, and thence to their ſales, in the regular order, ſubject to the charge of 3 per cent. now allowed to the Company for landing, warehouſing, and ſelling private goods. 7. That the ſhips to be employed in this ſervice ſhall be built for the purpoſe by the Company, and ſhall be of the deſcription beſt calculated for the propoſed trade. In the opinion of this Court, they may be of the burden of five hundred tons, builder's meaſurement, or thereabout, and equipped on what is called the diſmantled plan; but be manned with Europeans, and armed ſo as to make them equal, in point of ſafety and defence, to the beſt of the Indiaſhips which have come to this country. The ſize and equipment, however, of theſe ſhips may be more minutely conſidered hereafter, and until they are built, other ſtout and proper ſhips, or the regular ſhips of the Company, as far as they ſhall be wanted, ſhall be employed in this ſervice on the terms before mentioned. 8. That when the private goods

vided for exportation from India ſhall not ſerve to fill all the ſhips ſent out for them, the Company ſhall put gruff goods into thoſe ſhips on their own account. 9. That if at any time the tonnage provided by the Company for private exports, ſhould not be ſufficient for all the goods prepared for exportation, it ſhall be allowable for the governments abroad, on the part of the Company, to freight Indian ſhips for the conveyance of ſuch goods as cannot be otherwiſe accommodated; care being taken that this conceſſion be not ſtrained beyond its juſt object, the ready and convenient tranſportation of private goods, furniſhed by the capitals of Britiſh reſidents, or ſent as the returns of Britiſh manufactures. 10. That no perſon ſhall be admitted to embark in this trade as principal or agent, who is not licenſed by the Company to reſide in India.—*Fourteenth.* That although this Court is well convinced of the public views with which the Right Hon. Henry Dundas has countenanced the idea of bringing the produce of India, exported thence on account of Britiſh reſidents to this country, on private Indian ſhips, yet the propoſals which have been brought forward by certain deſcriptions of men, both in India and in England, for the admiſſion of their ſhips into the trade and navigation between India and Europe, propoſals which extend to the eſtabliſhment of a regular ſyſtematic privilege in favour of ſuch ſhips, appear to this Court, when maturely weighed, and followed into all their operations, to involve principles and effects dangerous to the intereſts both of the Company and of the nation. In the opinion of this Court, the adoption of thoſe propoſals would immediately and eſſentially affect both the ſyſtem of policy which the Legiſlature has eſtabliſhed for maintaining the connexion and communication between this country and Britiſh India, and the chartered privileges of the Eaſt India Company; and the introduction of any practice of this nature would tend to widen, gradually and indefinitely, the channel of intercourſe between India and Britain; to multiply the relations between individuals in the two countries; to pour Europeans of the lower ſort into India, and Indian ſailors into this country; to leſſen, by both theſe means, the reſpect for the European character, which has hitherto contributed to maintain our aſcendancy in the Eaſt; to diſturb and ſhake our Government there; and, in a word, to lead progreſſively, but ſurely, to colonization.—With reſpect to the Eaſt India Company, the introduction of this practice would ſet up a certain claſs of perſons with peculiar privileges, who would, in effect, conſtitute another Company, having a common intereſt, and that intereſt very likely to be underſtood as oppoſed to the intereſt of the old Company, and hence to generate diſputes and hoſtilities.—With reſpect to Britiſh ſubjects in general, new rights would thus be eſtabliſhed in favour of a few, to which all might think themſelves entitled, which many would endeavour, openly or clandeſtinely, to ſhare (invited by the expected profits of freight as well as of trade), and in the end would unavoidably ſucceed in ſharing; all which, this Court fear, would tend more and more to throw the communication between the two countries quite open, and to remove that great and effectual medium, the Eaſt India Company, by whom the connexion has hitherto been preſerved, ſo much to the benefit of both. And in a commercial view, the introduction of a privilege of this kind is unneceſſary, ſince the true intereſt of this country does not require that it ſhould transfer capital to India to raiſe a trade there, ſince it is ſufficiently evident, that there is in India itſelf no great capital which wants to exert itſelf in the European trade: and ſince, for the conveyance to this country of the property of Britiſh reſidents inveſted in merchandiſe, the Company are willing to make, and this Court now propoſe ample proviſion. The object of acquiring profit by the freight of ſhips, propoſed to be thus introduced, inſtead of being an argument for their admiſſion, is a ſtrong argument againſt it; becauſe that object would excite the employment of private ſhips to and from India, independent of any previous occaſion for them, for the tranſportation of goods, and thus force a trade in which, ſooner or later, merchants in Europe would become parties, and ſuch various competition be introduced, as would neceſſarily tend to antiquate the preſent ſyſtem of regulated monopoly, without any aſſurance of equal advantage and ſafety to the political, financial, and commercial intereſts of this country. And for all theſe reaſons this Court cannot but earneſtly deprecate the ſyſtematic admiſſion of any ſuch privilege as is now required by the above deſcriptions of perſons.—*Fifteenth.* That this Court, perſuaded the view given in theſe reſolutions of the important ſubject referred to their conſideration, will be juſtified by the documents that have been before them, ſome of which, material in themſelves, and others only lately arrived from India, they ſuppoſe have not yet been peruſed by the Right Honourable Mr. Dundas; and perſuaded alſo, that it is the principle of that Right Honourable Gentleman, fairly to maintain the rights and privileges of the Eaſt India Company, as therein conſulting the true intereſt of the nation, beg to propoſe a full diſcuſſion of this important ſubject with Mr. Dundas, in the deliberate manner obſerved at the late renewal of the charter, and do accordingly lay before him the judgment of this Court, with all the reaſons and authorities on which it is founded.

Letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas to the Chairman; dated the 21ſt March, 1801.

SIR, *Wimbledon, 21ſt March, 1801.*

I have attentively peruſed and conſidered the reſolutions which the Court of Directors unanimouſly came to on the 4th of February

laſt, reſpecting the correſpondence I have had with them on the ſubject of the private trade between India and Europe; and it will not be neceſſary to trouble you with many additional obſervations on that ſubject. The reſolutions are diſtinctly and clearly ſtated, and the propoſition in the laſt of them, expreſſing a deſire for a free and full diſcuſſion of this important ſubject, is perfectly fair and candid; and the Court of Directors may reſt aſſured, that upon this, and every other ſubject connected with their intereſts, I ſhall be ready and happy, in every ſituation, public or private, to give every aid to their deliberations which they may deſire to obtain from me.—Upon the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth reſolutions, I have only to obſerve, that my opinions entirely accord with the general principles detailed therein.—With regard to the fifth, ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth, I only pauſe in giving any opinion, from not having before me the particular documents and materials, eſtabliſhing the facts upon which thoſe reſolutions are founded.—The thirteenth reſolution contains the principles and details of the meaſure upon which the Court of Directors are diſpoſed to act; and if the baſis upon which the reſolution proceeds is admitted to be the beſt which is applicable to the ſubject, the details ſeem aptly deviſed for the due execution of thoſe principles. But it is upon the principle and baſis of the meaſure which I ſtill have the mortification to find myſelf in a difference of opinion from thoſe whoſe integrity and talents I am equally bound to acknowledge; and this radical difference is the more to be regretted, becauſe the great object of ſolicitude which both parties entertain is preciſely the ſame. We are both ſtrenuouſly maintaining, that the preſervation of the monopoly of the Eaſt India Company is eſſentially requiſite for the ſecurity of every important intereſt connected with our Indian empire; and ſo deeply am I impreſſed with the truth of that propoſition, I am prepared explicitly to declare, that although the firſt formation of an Eaſt India Company proceeded upon purely commercial conſiderations, the magnitude and importance to which the Eaſt India Company has progreſſively advanced, is now ſo interwoven with the political intereſts of the empire, as to create upon my mind a firm conviction, that the maintenance of the monopoly of the Eaſt India Company is even more important to the political intereſts of the ſtate, than it is to the commercial intereſts of the Company.—With this conviction ſo ſtrongly impreſſed upon my mind, you will give me credit when I aſſure you, that I have reviewed my own opinions with the moſt jealous attention, and that I have weighed, with the moſt anxious care, the arguments of thoſe who ſuppoſe that the ſyſtem which I have recommended is likely to produce any inconvenience or danger to the rights, privileges, and excluſive intereſts of the Eaſt India Company; but it is my misfortune to view the ſubject in an oppoſite light. If any thing can endanger that monopoly, it is an unneceſſary adherence to points not eſſential for its exiſtence; and on the other hand, if it is ſeen and felt by ſober, thinking, and wiſe men, that every facility is given ſpontaneouſly by the Company, which can be given conſiſtently with their commercial intereſts, and the political welfare of the ſtate, that conſideration will preſent an impregnable rampart againſt any attack, which at any time, either the ſecret or the avowed enemies of the Company may be diſpoſed to make, againſt the ſyſtem of Indian government now eſtabliſhed, in connexion with the excluſive charter of the Eaſt India Company.—It was my intention to have entered more at large into a detailed conſideration of this view of the ſubject; but ſince I began to write, I have received, and carefully peruſed, the letter of the 30th September laſt, recently tranſmitted from the Government General of India: and as that letter has, with clearneſs and perſpicuity, ably detailed, and in my opinion, demonſtrated the grounds of thoſe opinions, which I have from time to time taken the liberty of laying before the Court of Directors, upon the ſubject of Indian trade, I ſhould conſider it as an unneceſſary waſte of time, if I was to trouble you with a repetition of the topics therein ſtated.—It is ſcarcely neceſſary for me to obſerve, that in all the diſcuſſions I have had on this ſubject with the Court of Directors, I have not been entitled to exerciſe any authority in the determination of the ſubject. It is a ſubject over which the Commiſſioners for the Affairs of India have no control; and whatever I have ſtated, or now ſtate, or may hereafter ſtate, muſt be received from me in my individual capacity; and therefore if either my reaſoning and judgment, or the reaſoning of your Government abroad, has not the effect of varying the opinion of the Court of Directors, I truſt you will not delay acting upon the principles detailed in the reſolutions you have done me the honour to communicate to me; for the worſt reſult that can ariſe from the diſcuſſion is, any further delay in coming to a deciſion upon it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

Letter from the Governor General to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, the 30th September, 1800, and received over-land the 2d March 1801.

Fort William, 30th September, 1800.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

1. Having deemed it to be my duty to revert, during the preſent ſeaſon, to my plan of the 5th of October, 1798, for the encouragement of the private trade between India and the port of London, I now have the honour to ſubmit to your Honourable Court, a view of the urgent conſiderations which have determined me to adopt this temporary arrangement for the

current year; and to add the reaſons which induce me to hope, that your Honourable Court will ſpeedily confirm my proceedings, by a permanent ſyſtem of regulation founded on ſimilar principles.—2. Your orders of the 25th of May, 1798, were not received by the Governor General in Council until the 29th of October in that year, when the arrangement for the private tonnage of the ſeaſon in 1798-9, had already been publiſhed, and ſeveral ſhips and cargoes had been already provided, according to the terms of the advertiſement of the 5th of October, 1798. Under ſuch circumſtances, it would neither have been juſt nor expedient, to have diſturbed that arrangement; but my diſpatches in Council, of the 1ſt of March, and my ſeparate letter of the 9th of March, 1800, will have apprized your Honourable Court, that I had conſidered it to be my duty to adhere ſtrictly, in the year 1799-1800, to your orders of the 25th of May, 1798, and that, in deference to your authority, I had ſuſpended for the ſeaſon 1799-1800, the operation of the plan contained in the advertiſement of the 5th of October, 1798, although my conviction remained unaltered, with regard to the expediency and juſtice of that plan.—3. I entertained a confident expectation, that I ſhould have received, at an early period of the ſeaſon, the ſanction of your Honourable Court, for reverting to the plan of October, 1798, or for adopting ſome arrangement, equally calculated to facilitate and encourage the private trade between India and England; and my letter in Council of the 1ſt March, as well as my ſeparate letter to your Honourable Court, of the 9th of March, 1800, will have ſatisfied you of my diſpoſition to await your final determination on this important ſubject, and to avoid even a temporary departure, without your direct authority, from your orders of the 25th of May, 1798.—4. But I have been diſappointed in my expectation of receiving an early and ſeaſonable notification of your final commands; and the uſual ſeaſon for exportation from this port to Europe is already opening under ſuch circumſtances, as abſolutely compel me to adopt a reſolution, which my duty and inclination would have induced to delay. —5. In the diſpatch * from the Governor General in Council to your Honourable Court, dated the 13th inſtant, I had the honour to ſubmit to you a ſtatement of the intended diſtribution in India of the tonnage provided by you, for conveying the Company's inveſtments of Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay, and thoſe of Ceylon and Fort Marlborough, to England, in the ſeaſon of 1800-1.—6. From that ſtatement, your Honourable Court will obſerve, that the expected amount of the tonnage of 1800-1 is inadequate to the demand in India, and that a large proportion of the gruff goods belonging to the Company at this preſidency, and nearly † the whole of the private goods, for which the Company is bound by law to furniſh tonnage, cannot be ſhipped during the ſeaſon 1800-1 for England, unleſs ſhips built in India ſhall be employed between this port and that of London.—7. The employment of ſhips built in India between this port and that of London, is therefore no longer merely a queſtion of expediency, or of liberal commercial policy. The deficiency of the tonnage expected from Europe reduces me to the abſolute neceſſity of providing a large proportion of Indian tonnage, for the ſervice of the preſent ſeaſon, in order to ſecure the conveyance of the heavy articles of your inveſtment, and to fulfil your legal obligations. The only queſtion on which I retain the power of exerciſing a free judgment with relation to this ſubject, is confined to the mode of obtaining the neceſſary tonnage for theſe indiſpenſable purpoſes.—8. In forming my deciſion on this queſtion, it was alſo neceſſary to conſider what proviſion ſhould be made for the conveyance to the port of London of ſuch goods as might be provided during the current ſeaſon, by private Britiſh merchants reſident in India, beyond the amount of the ſtatutable tonnage of 3000 tons, and by what regulation the exportation of ſuch goods ſhould be governed. The importance and urgency of both theſe conſiderations were greatly enhanced by the actual ſtate of the foreign trade of this port.—9. The nature of the caſe appeared to me to limit my deciſion to an option between the regulation obſerved in the ſeaſon 1799-1800 (conformably to the orders of your Honourable Court, of the 25th May, 1798) and the plan contained in the advertiſement, publiſhed by the Board of Trade, under my orders, on the 5th of October, 1798.—10. I have carefully compared the principles, objects, policy, and practical operation of both ſyſtems; and I have now the honour to lay before your Honourable Court the reſult of that compariſon.—11. The orders of your Honourable Court, of the 25th May, 1798, were framed with a view of facilitating and encouraging the private trade between India and England. The primary objects of thoſe orders were, to protect the merchants, not being proprietors of ſhips, againſt any undue enhancement of the price of freight by the proprietors of ſhips, and to prevent perſons, being proprietors of ſhips, and alſo merchants, from trading to greater advantage than ſuch merchants as might not unite both capacities. —12. From the diſpatches of the Governor General in Council, dated the 1ſt of March,

* Not received.

† The whole of the private goods of this ſeaſon muſt be ſhipped in Indian ſhipping, with the exception of a ſmall proportion of light goods, which may be employed to aſſort the cargoes of the extra ſhips.

N. B. This and the following notes to this letter (except the note marked * in page 1260) are inſerted by the Governor General himſelf in the original.

1800, and from the correſpondence to which thoſe diſpatches refer, your Honourable Court will have obſerved, that your order, of the 25th May, 1798, was conſidered by the merchants, for whoſe benefit it was intended (particularly by the proprietors of heavy goods), to be extremely prejudicial to their intereſt.---13. Thoſe orders were received with equal diſſatisfaction by the proprietors of ſhips, who manifeſted the greateſt reluctance to let their ſhips unconditionally to the Company, although the rate of freight allowed for the ſhips was comparatively high.---14. The ſame correſpondence affords abundant evidence, that the proprietors of ſhips, and the freighters (poſſeſſing no property in ſhips), conſidered it to be for their mutual advantage, that they ſhould be left to make their arrangements with each other; both parties appearing equally adverſe to the intervention of the Company's agency.---15. Under the plan contained in the advertiſement of the 5th October, 1798, the proprietors of ſhips were enabled to make a more perfect aſſortment of the cargoes, to load their ſhips in the moſt advantageous and expeditious manner, to diſpatch them at the moſt favourable periods of the ſeaſon, and to prevent the loſs which (under the plan adopted in conformity to your orders of the 25th of May, 1798) the proprietors of ſhips ſuſtain, by unavoidable delays in the adjuſtment of accounts, and in the payment of the freight by the Company in England.---16. The proprietors of ſhips were enabled, under the plan of October, 1798, to afford the freight at a reduced rate, at the ſame time that they derived a greater profit on that rate, than on the higher rates of freight fixed by the Governor General in Council in 1799-1800, in conformity to your orders of the 25th May, 1798.---17. To the merchant who is not proprietor of a ſhip, the plan contained in the advertiſement of the 5th of October, 1798, affords the moſt important advantages: he obtains a conſiderable reduction in the rate of freight: he is enabled to ſettle his engagements with the proprietor of the ſhip, previouſly to the purchaſe of goods; to purchaſe ſuch goods as may be advantageouſly inveſted under the exiſting rates of freight; and to regulate every conſignment and draft, according to the quantity of the tonnage engaged, to the period of diſpatching the goods from India, and to that of their expected arrival in England.---18. The merchant is embarraſſed, if compelled, under any modification, to depend on the Company for tonnage, for the arrangement of the rates of freight, or for the diſtribution of the cargo: he can neither be ſecure of the requiſite quantity of tonnage, nor of the time of diſpatching his goods from India, nor of the ſhip on which they may be laden, nor of the mode in which they may be diſtributed; and his trade is burdened with an expenſive rate of freight, which deprives him of all reaſonable expectation of profit.---19. The quantity of tonnage (exclusive of the goods ſent in the privileges of the commanders and officers of ſhips) annually occupied by private goods ſhipped from this preſidency alone, in the ſeveral years elapſed ſubſequent to the act of Parliament in 1793, is ſtated in the following account:

	Tons.		Tons.
1794-5 . .	2,473	1797-8 . .	3,787
1795-6 . .	5,346	1798-9 . .	6,223
1796-7 . .	4,659	1799-1800 .	7,748

20. The correſpondence * of the Board of Trade with the Governor General in Council, on the ſubject of the proviſion of tonnage, has been ſubmitted to the conſideration of your Honourable Court. The reports of that Board, with the documents annexed to them, afford abundant proof, that a much larger quantity of private goods would have been ſhipped for England, during the ſeaſons enumerated in the preceding account (particularly during the year 1799-1800), if adequate encouragement had been extended to the navigation and commerce of your dominions, in ſhips built in the ports of India; and if the Britiſh merchants reſident in India, had been aſſured of permanent indulgence to their trade with the port of London.—21. Upon an average of the ſix years ſpecified in the preceding account, about 5000 tons of private goods from Bengal alone were annually exported to England; the amount, therefore, of the private goods exported from Bengal alone, during that period of time, has exceeded, by 2000 tons annually, the amount of the tonnage allotted by law for all India. It is to be obſerved, that a conſiderable portion of the total amount of theſe 5000 tons was annually furniſhed by ſhips built in India.—22. Excluſively of two ſhips recently engaged and provided with cargoes, to the amount of 1500 tons, the port of Calcutta now contains above 10,000 tons of ſhipping, built in India, of a deſcription calculated for the conveyance of cargoes to England. This tonnage has already been tendered, and is actually at command for that purpoſe.---23. From the preceding ſtatement, and from the correſpondence of the Governor General in Council with the Board of Trade, it is evident, that the wiſe policy which dictated the clauſes of the act of Parliament paſſed in 1793, with reſpect to the trade of private merchants between India and England, has been to a great degree fruſtrated, by the inſufficiency of the tonnage furniſhed from England, and by the unavoidable expenſe and inconvenience attending the terms and manner of its proviſion.---24. From the quantity of private tonnage now at command in the port of Calcutta, from the ſtate of perfection which the art of ſhip-building has already attained in Bengal (promiſing a ſtill more rapid progreſs, and ſupported by abundant and increaſing ſupplies of timber †), it is

* Not received.

† Large and thriving plantations of teck have been made in Bengal, and the cultivation of that timber is ſpreading over the whole province.

certain, that this port will always be able to furniſh tonnage, to whatever extent may be required, for conveying to the port of London the trade of the private Britiſh merchants of Bengal.—25. The conſiderable amount of tonnage occupied by private goods from Bengal in the years 1795-6, 1798-9, and 1799-1800, compared with the amount occupied by goods of a ſimilar deſcription in the years 1794-5, 1796-7, and 1797-8, affords a ſatisfactory proof, that the permiſſion granted to individuals of providing their own tonnage, was equally favourable to the intereſt of the proprietors, and to that of the freighters of the ſhips.—26. This concluſion is not affected by the large quantity of goods ſhipped in 1799-1800, under the arrangement made in conformity to your orders of the 25th of May, 1798; for it is well known, that under a confident expectation of enjoying the continued advantages of the plan of 1798, the merchants had conſiderably extended their proviſion of goods for the European markets. Many from neceſſity, others from motives of reſpect to the laws, ſhipped their goods on the tonnage provided by the Government, while others diſpoſed of their goods to the numerous foreign agents then employed in the port of Calcutta.—27. The quantity of private goods ſhipped for England in 1799-1800, affords, therefore, an incontrovertible proof of the cagerneſs and alacrity with which the Britiſh merchants, reſident in Bengal, provided goods, with a view to embrace the expected opportunity of conveying their trade to London on terms of advantage; but no argument can juſtly be drawn from the ſame circumſtance, to prove that the continuance of the regulations adopted in 1799-1800, would afford adequate encouragement to the private trade between India and England.—28. The preceding conſiderations ſatisfied me, that the plan of hiring ſhips on the part of the Company, and of reletting them to the proprietors of ſhips, leaving the proprietors of ſhips and the merchants at liberty to ſettle the terms of freight, is more advantageous both to the proprietors and freighters of ſhips, than the arrangement adopted under your orders of the 25th of May, 1798.—29. In your letter of the 25th May, 1798, your Honourable Court appears to have intimated an opinion, that perſons uniting the capacities of proprietors and freighters of ſhips, may trade from Bengal to the port of London, to greater advantage than merchants poſſeſſing no property in ſhips. It appears to me, that the difference between the actual charge incurred by merchants, being proprietors of ſhips, on account of the freight of their goods ſent to England in their own ſhips, and the rate of freight paid by merchants not being proprietors of ſhips, cannot be deemed a profit derived by the proprietor of a ſhip on his goods. No perſon will employ any part of his capital in the purchaſe of property in ſhips, without the proſpect of deriving an adequate profit on the capital ſo inveſted. I am ſatisfied, that it would not be practicable for the proprietors of ſhips in this port to maintain an effectual combination for the eſtabliſhment of enhanced rates of freight. Unleſs ſuch a combination ſhould be maintained, it is to be preſumed, that the profits of the proprietors of ſhips on their capitals inveſted in ſhips, will never exceed, on an average, a reaſonable advantage on the amount of thoſe capitals, after defraying all the expenſes of their ſhips. This profit muſt, therefore, be deemed entirely diſtinct from the profit which the proprietors of ſhips may derive on their goods conveyed to England in their own ſhips, and conſequently, the proprietors of ſhips cannot be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs, in the general courſe and conduct of their trade, in the purchaſe, tranſportation, or ſale of their goods, any material advantage over merchants who are not proprietors of ſhips.—30. Various additional arguments, involving conſequences of a more complicated and comprehenſive deſcription, appeared to me to demand, not only that I ſhould recur, without delay, to the plan of the 5th of October, 1798, but that I ſhould reſpectfully repreſent to your Honourable Court, in the moſt diſtinct terms, my decided and conſcientious conviction, that the permanent eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtematic intercourſe between the ports of India and that of London, regulated by principles ſimilar to thoſe adopted by this Government in October, 1798, is become indiſpenſable to the united and inſeparable intereſts of the Company and of the nation in India.—31. Under the beneficial influence of the Britiſh Government in India, combined with the increaſed demand, both in Europe and in America, for Indian commodities, the produce and manufactures of the Britiſh territories in India have increaſed, to an extent far exceeding the amount which the capital applicable to the purchaſe of the Company's inveſtment can embrace.—32. The wiſe policy, the juſt pretenſions, and the increaſing commercial reſources and political power of Great Britain in India, claim for her ſubjects the largeſt attainable ſhare in the valuable and extenſive commerce of ſuch articles of Indian produce and manufacture, as are neceſſarily excluded from the Company's inveſtment.—33. A large proportion of this valuable trade is already in the poſſeſſion of foreign nations; and unleſs means be immediately adopted for depriving thoſe nations of the undue ſhare which they have obtained in that trade, the moſt ſerious conſequences are to be apprehended, to the combined intereſts of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, and of the Britiſh nation.—34. In the letter of the Governor General in Council, of the 1ſt March, 1800, I ſtated to your Honourable Court, that the Britiſh merchants at this preſidency, not having obtained the expected permiſſion to freight their ſhips to the port of London in the laſt year, agreeably to the plan adopted in October, 1798, goods to a large amount, originally in-

tended for the port of London, had been ſold to foreigners in the port of Calcutta, and thus diverted to the channel of the foreign trade. At the ſame time I tranſmitted a liſt of the foreign ſhips, which either had failed, or were preparing to ſail from the port of Calcutta to Europe and America, in the ſeaſon 1799-1800. —35. The nature and extent of that trade have ſince undergone a particular inveſtigation. From the accompanying ſtatements, your Honourable Court will obſerve, that the trade of America and Portugal with the port of Calcutta alone, in 1799-1800, amounted,

In imports, to - Sicca Rupees 81,81,005
In exports - - - - - - - - 71,30,372

being an increaſe, in 1799-1800, of the trade carried on in ſhips bearing American and Portugueſe colours, compared with the average of that trade in the three preceding years:

In imports, of - Sicca Rupees 63,98,678
In exports - - - - - - - - 43,92,768

—36. On the other hand, the imports of the Britiſh ſubjects in the year 1799-1800, amounted only to Sicca Rupees 47,87,101, and the exports to 67,66,649.—37. Of the trade carried on in foreign bottoms with the other ports in India from Europe and America, I poſſeſs no ſufficiently accurate information. It is, however, known to be conducted on a very extenſive ſcale.—38. In the preſent ſeaſon, the trade conveyed in foreign bottoms, if left unreſtrained, promiſes to increaſe beyond even the rapid progreſs of laſt year. From the accompanying ſtatement, your Honourable Court will obſerve, that the port of Calcutta, at this early period of the ſeaſon, contains about 8,500 tons of ſhipping, under American, Portugueſe, and Daniſh colours.—39. I poſſeſs no means of forming an accurate eſtimate of that proportion of the foreign trade from India to Europe and to America, which is ſupported by capital actually belonging to the nations under whoſe flags the ſhips are navigated.—40. It appears, however, from the ſtatements prepared by the Reporter of external Commerce, that leſs than one fourth of the funds imported by the Americans in 1799-1800, for the purchaſe of their inveſtments, was brought from America. Of the bullion, 200,000*l.* was imported from London, and the remainder from other parts of Europe, and from the iſland of Madeira. I have not been able to aſcertain the proportion of Britiſh capital employed in the trade between India and Portugal. Admitting the whole capital employed in the foreign trade with India to belong to the nations under whoſe flags the ſhips are navigated, the undue proportion which they have obtained of that trade, to the injury of the Britiſh merchants, demands the moſt ſerious attention.—41. The trade conveyed in the foreign ſhips is conducted with all the advantages of a comparatively low rate of freight, of ſtrict economy in the management of the concern, and of voyages and returns of extraordinary expedition and celerity. The voyage from America to Calcutta is frequently performed in leſs than four months. In the laſt ſeaſon, ſeveral American ſhips diſpoſed of their imports, purchaſed their cargo for exportation, and left the port within twenty-five, and ſome within twenty days from the date of their arrival.—42. Under all the exiſting impediments, and under the uncertainty which has hitherto embarraſſed the trade of the Britiſh merchant in India, it is impoſſible that his goods can reach the markets of the continent of Europe, through the channel of the public ſales in England, at ſo low a price as the goods conveyed directly from India to the ſame markets in foreign bottoms. The Company's ſales in England muſt neceſſarily be affected by the quantity of Indian goods paſſing into the markets of the continent of Europe, through the channel of the foreign trade; and the profits of the private Britiſh merchant, whoſe goods are diſpoſed of at the Company's ſales, muſt be proportionably diminiſhed.—43. Although the voyage by which the produce of India is conveyed in foreign ſhips to Europe may occaſionally be circuitous, the ſuperior advantages enumerated in the preceding paragraphs, enable the proprietors of the goods to diſpoſe of them at a lower price, than that for which the ſame deſcriptions of goods can be brought to the continental markets of Europe, if exported from India by Britiſh merchants under the heavy freight, and * other incumbrances, to which their trade is at preſent ſubject.—44. It muſt ever be impracticable, if it were juſtifiable or politic, by any reſtrictions or penalties on the trade of the Britiſh ſubjects, to prevent the increaſing produce and manufactures of India from being conveyed to the markets in Europe, where a demand for ſuch articles ſhall exiſt. Such reſtrictions tend to throw the trade into the hands of foreign nations, and to enable them to ſupply the markets of Europe, on terms which muſt equally affect the Company's ſales in England. If the ſame goods which now paſs to the continent of Europe through foreign hands were brought to the Company's ſales in England, the effect on the general price of articles expoſed to ſale at the Company's warehouſes would be leſs prejudicial, than that now experienced from the ſale of thoſe goods in the markets on the continent of Europe. The Company and the private Britiſh merchants would equally feel the advantage in the improvement of the general ſales in England, and the private trade of India would

* The Portugueſe Americans pay only one per cent. on Indian produce imported and re-exported by the warehouſing act lately paſſed in Great Britain. Calicoes pay 2½, muſlin 7½ per cent. on the ſales, if ſold for exportation; all other goods (excepting cotton, ſpices, bullion, &c. diamonds, precious ſtones, which pay no duties), pay two per cent. exclusive of the convoy duty, payable by the importers. A reduction of thoſe duties in England is abſolutely neceſſary, to complete the ſyſtem of drawing the private trade of India to the port of London.

become a fertile ſource of wealth and ſtrength to the Britiſh nation, inſtead of contributing to the opulence and aggrandizement of foreign powers.—45. The intereſts of the Company and of the Britiſh nation are undivided and inſeparable with relation to this important queſtion. Every principle of juſtice and policy demands the extenſion of the utmoſt practicable facility to the Britiſh merchants in India, for the export from India to the port of London of the largeſt poſſible proportion of the manufactures and produce of India, not required for the Company's inveſtment. Such advantageous terms of freight, and ſuch other benefits, ſhould be opened to the Britiſh merchants in India, as ſhould not only remove every inducement to conduct the trade through foreign channels, but ſhould enable the Britiſh merchants in India to enter into a competition in the markets of Europe, with merchants trading in goods of ſimilar produce or manufacture, provided by foreign capital.—46. To foreigners, the indulgence may ſafely be extended, of purchaſing with their own capital ſuch part of the manufactures or produce of India, calculated for the European or American markets, as may not be embraced by the capital employed in the purchaſe of the Company's inveſtment, and of the cargoes of the Britiſh merchants reſident in India.—47. It is, however, doubtful, whether ‡ foreign nations would be able to retain any conſiderable proportion of the trade from India to Europe, were the Britiſh merchants in India permitted to avail themſelves of their ſuperior means of drawing the whole of the trade to England. Their local knowledge, added to all the advantages neceſſarily derived from a conſtant reſidence on the ſpot, muſt always enable them to command a ſupply of goods, of a better quality, and at a cheaper rate, than foreign merchants can obtain. In the conveyance of Indian goods to Europe reſts the foreign merchant's ſole advantage over the Britiſh. The ſuperior facility which the foreign merchant enjoys, in this reſpect, gives him ſo decided a command over the trade, that he is enabled not only to outbid the Britiſh merchant in India, but alſo to underſell him in the markets of Europe.—48. Were the Britiſh merchants in India permitted to provide their own tonnage, as occaſion might require, every reaſon exiſts to juſtify a belief, that they would ſoon poſſeſs themſelves of nearly the whole of the private export trade from India to Europe, and would render London the univerſal mart for the manufactures and produce of Aſia.—49. If the capital of the merchants in India, and the remittance of the fortunes of individuals, ſhould not ſupply funds ſufficient for the conduct of the whole private export trade from India to Europe, no dangerous conſequences could reſult from applying to this branch of commerce, capital drawn directly from the Britiſh empire in Europe.—50. Beneficial conſequences of the utmoſt importance would certainly reſult to the Britiſh empire in India, from any conſiderable increaſe of its active capital, which is known not to bear a juſt proportion to the productive powers of the country.—51. The neceſſary effect of ſuch an increaſe of active capital in India, would be to augment the produce and manufactures of your dominions, to the full extent of any poſſible demand. The high rate of intereſt on money applied to mercantile purpoſes, and the charge of the public debt, would conſequently be diminiſhed in India; while every ſource, both of public and private credit, would be proportionably improved. No poſſibility appears of any injurious conſequences reſulting to the Britiſh empire in Europe, from an event ſo advantageous to India. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that the private trade of India will ever abſorb any portion of Britiſh capital, which can find more advantageous employment at home. If any portion of Britiſh capital be now employed in the American, or Portugueſe, or Daniſh trade with India, the general intereſts of Great Britain will unqueſtionably be promoted, by inviting, under increaſed advantages, the application of the ſame funds to the trade of the private Britiſh merchants, reſident within the Company's dominions.—52. From whatever ſource the capital of the private Britiſh trade in India might be derived, the goods would be obtained in India under the ſame wiſe, humane, and ſalutary regulations, now enforced, with reſpect to the proviſion of every article of produce or manufacture in this country, either by the Company or by private merchants: Great Britain would enjoy all the advantages of that trade, which is now a ſource of increaſing wealth and ſtrength to foreign nations, and which tends ultimately to introduce foreign intrigue, to eſtabliſh foreign influence, and to aggrandize foreign power in India.—53. It would be equally unjuſt and impolitic, to extend any facility to the trade of the Britiſh merchants in India, by ſacrificing or hazarding the Company's rights and privileges, by injuring its commercial intereſts, by admitting an indiſcriminate and unreſtrained commercial intercourſe between England and India, or by departing from any of the fundamental principles of policy which now govern the Britiſh eſtabliſhments in India.—54. It may be urged, that if a conſiderable proportion of the goods now exported from India to the continent of Europe by foreigners,

‡ The Americans obtain Indian goods ſo much cheaper, by a direct intercourſe with India, than they could through the circuitous route of Europe, that they will probably continue to deal largely, even on their own capital, with India. It is now the ordinary practice of the Americans, under the laſt treaty of commerce, to ſhip cargoes in India for America, to touch at ſome port in America, and without trans-ſhipping or unloading the goods in America, to proceed directly to Europe, and to diſpoſe of their Indian cargoes in an European port. This practice is, unqueſtionably, contrary to the treaty of commerce with America.

were to be imported into England by the Britiſh merchants in India, under rates of freight more advantageous than thoſe now paid by the Company, the demand for the Company's goods would be reduced, and the value of the Company's goods would be impaired.—55. It has already been obſerved, that the public ſales of Eaſt Indian goods in England, muſt neceſſarily be affected by the aggregate quantity of thoſe goods ſold in the continental markets of Europe; and that the effect on the ſales in England would probably be leſs prejudicial, and could not be more ſo, if a larger proportion of the goods provided in India for the European markets, ſhould be imported into England, and ſold, in the firſt inſtance, at the Company's ſales.—56. The long eſtabliſhment of the Company's factories in India, the ſkill of its ſervants regularly educated for the conduct of thoſe factories, the habitual confidence of the manufacturers in the good faith and integrity of the Company, have ſecured to the Company ſo decided a ſuperiority in the proviſion of the moſt valuable articles of piece goods and raw ſilk; that no private merchant, by any practicable reduction of freight, can be enabled to rival the Company in thoſe important articles of its inveſtment.—57. In the firſt purchaſe of ſugar and other gruff goods, the trade of the private Britiſh merchant has more nearly reached that of the Company; nor will the Company ever be able to trade advantageouſly in theſe articles, unleſs the Government in India ſhall reſort to ſhips built in India, for the conveyance of ſuch goods. The valuable branches of your inveſtment will, it is ſuppoſed, be always conveyed with more advantage in your regular ſhips.—58. If the Britiſh merchants ſhould be permitted to employ ſhips built in India under the plan of October, 1798, the Company's gruff goods may alſo be conveyed to England in ſhips of a ſimilar deſcription, at rates of freight equally advantageous with thoſe paid by the private merchants *. The Company will therefore derive a conſiderable benefit in this branch of trade, from encouraging the trade of the private Britiſh merchant in India. At preſent, neither the Company nor the private Britiſh merchant can rival foreigners in the markets of Europe, in the leſs valuable articles of Indian produce and manufactures.—59. It is now evident, that the extra tonnage engaged in England by the Company for the ſervice of India, can never be rendered a practicable channel, through which the Britiſh private trade of India can contend with foreign adventure. This obſervation neceſſarily applies with more force to the regular ſhips of the Company; although experience has proved thoſe ſhips to be admirably calculated for the conveyance of the Company's valuable inveſtment.—60. The plan contained in the advertiſement of the 5th of October, 1798, affords to the Britiſh merchants every neceſſary facility for the conduct of the private trade from India to England, while the important principles of the trade and government of India are preſerved from hazard, and ſufficient precautions are provided againſt all the dangers juſtly apprehended from an unreſtricted commercial intercourſe between England and India.—61. The eſſential object of preventing the reſort to India of perſons unlicenſed by the Company is not affected; the powers of the Government in India over unlicenſed perſons remain in full vigour and efficiency; no goods or paſſengers can be received in the private ſhips, either in India or England, without the ſanction of the Company or of its Government; the voyage to England, and the return to India, are required to be performed under the inſtructions and control of the ſame authority; and as the proprietors of ſhips, the commanders and officers, the ſeamen (moſtly natives of India), and all the perſons concerned in the immediate conduct of the trade, are ſubject to the authority of the Britiſh Government in India, it is always in the power of the Company and of its Government to prevent the perverſion of an intercourſe thus regulated between India and England, to any ſiniſter purpoſes endangering the rights and privileges of the Company, or the intereſts of the Britiſh empire.—62. Omitting the difference in the rate of freight, theſe conſiderations alone are ſufficient to recommend the employment of ſhips built in India, in the private trade between India and Great Britain: over private ſhips furniſhed from England, the Company and their Government in India could not exerciſe an equally efficient control.—63. It is remarkable, that the principle which has hitherto regulated the commercial intercourſe between India and England, has actually occaſioned the very evils which it was intended to avert.—64. The operation of this erroneous principle has forced the trade between India and Europe from a channel in which it could have been controlled and regulated without difficulty, into the hands of foreign nations, where it cannot, without conſiderable difficulty, be ſubjected to any degree of control, regulation, or reſtraint. The ſame miſtaken policy has filled the ports of India with the ſhips of foreign nations; has enabled thoſe nations to rival the Company, both in Europe and in India, in many articles of its export and import trade; has invited from Europe and America, adventurers of every deſcription; and, by the number and activity of theſe foreign agents, has menaced the foundations of your commercial and political intereſts throughout every part of Aſia, and even within your own dominions.—65. If the extenſion of additional indulgences to the Britiſh merchants neceſſarily involved the admiſſion of numerous Britiſh adventurers into India, the wiſdom of your Honourable Court could not fail to remark, that your Government can always with leſs difficulty control the operations of Britiſh than thoſe of foreign agents; while the danger to be apprehended

* The probable ſaving to the Company in the preſent ſeaſon, by the conveyance of their gruff goods in ſhips built in India, may amount to 20,000*l.*

from the views and deſigns of foreigners of every deſcription, muſt ever be greater than any which can probably ariſe from an increaſed reſort of Britiſh ſubjects, under ſuch limitations and reſtraints as your wiſdom may frame, and the vigilance of your Governments in India may be enabled to enforce.—66. But it does not appear probable, that any increaſe of the private Britiſh trade of India would neceſſarily produce a proportional augmentation in the number of Britiſh agents reſorting to your dominions: the Britiſh merchants now reſident in India being equal to the conduct of much more extenſive concerns, and likely to be employed by perſons engaged in commercial concerns at home, who might eaſily conduct their operations with India through thoſe Britiſh ſubjects actually eſtabliſhed within your dominions.—67. On the other hand, foreigners generally deal directly with the natives, or with foreign houſes of agency. The number of theſe houſes (in conſequence of the war) is now inconſiderable; the increaſe of foreign adventures will, therefore, be a neceſſary conſequence of any conſiderable increaſe of the trade in foreign hands. Foreign ſhips, alſo, being neceſſarily exempt from the control of the Britiſh Government in Europe, offer to every emiſſary of the enemy, and to every dangerous political adventurer, an eaſy entrance into India. In proportion to the increaſed reſort of foreign ſhips to our ports in India, foreign intrigue will find a more ready channel of admiſſion. It is a well-known fact, that thoſe to whom your permiſſion and licenſe to viſit India have been refuſed, uſually reſort to foreign ſhips, and thus evade your authority. The ſame channel is alſo always open to afford refuge, and the means of eſcape, to every public defaulter and delinquent, from the authority of your Government in India.—68. It is impoſſible to check the reſort of the ſhips of foreign nations to India by any other regulation, than by rendering the trade unprofitable to foreign adventure: this effect cannot be accompliſhed, otherwiſe than by enabling the Britiſh merchants in India to underſell foreigners in the markets of Europe. A ſyſtem which, under due regulation, ſhall afford to the Britiſh merchants in India the greateſt practicable facility of conveying their trade to England, inſtead of endangering the ſtability of the trade, and power of the Company and of the nation in India, will therefore conſtitute the moſt ſolid baſis of ſecurity for the preſervation of both.—69. The preceding obſervations may, I truſt, ſatisfy your Honourable Court, that the principles of the plan of the 5th of October, 1798, combine the requiſite indulgence to the private trade, with the indiſpenſable precautions neceſſary for ſecuring your intereſts in India.—70. It is not my duty to enter into any detailed diſcuſſion of the objections urged by the ſhipbuilders in England, againſt the admiſſion of ſhips built in India, to a participation in the trade from India to the port of London. It may not, however, be uſeleſs, to add ſome remarks on this part of the ſubject.—71. Experience having proved, that tonnage cannot be furniſhed from England on terms which would enable the Britiſh merchants in India to rival foreigners in the trade between India and Europe, the excluſion of ſhips built in India from the port of London, would not increaſe the number of Britiſh ſhips hitherto engaged in the Indian trade, in any proportion which could materially benefit the ſhip-builders in England. This meaſure, therefore, without any proportional benefit to the ſhip-builders in England, would perpetuate and aggravate the evils now experienced, from the reſtraints impoſed on the private trade between India and England; on the other hand, by admitting ſhips built in India to partake of the trade to England, the ſhip-builders, and other artiſts, manufacturers, and traders in England, will reap all the benefits ariſing from the large ſums expended in the repair of the numerous ſhips, annually reſorting to England from the ports of India. Other intereſts, connected with the building of ſhips in England, will alſo derive the profit reſulting from the great demand for the articles neceſſary in the conſtruction and outfit of the ſhips built in the ports of India; the fact being eſtabliſhed, that many of thoſe articles muſt neceſſarily be brought from England.—72. On their return to India, theſe ſhips, from the moderation of their rates of freight, will afford a moſt advantageous mode of conveyance for ſuch of the manufactures of the Britiſh empire in Europe as may be demanded in India; conſequently, the facilities granted to the private trade, and to the ſhips built in India, will ſerve to encourage the exportation of Britiſh manufactures to Aſia, to whatever extent the demand may be enlarged.—73. I have thus carefully reviſed the plan contained in the advertiſement of October, 1798, for the encouragement of the trade of the Britiſh merchants reſident in India with England: I have compared that plan with the arrangement adopted under the orders of your Honourable Court, of the 25th of May, 1798: I have conſidered the probable effects of any future attempt to provide for the conveyance of the private trade of India, to the port of London, either in the Company's regular ſhips, or in extra ſhips hired in England; and I have adverted to the comparative practical operation of the ſyſtems adopted by this Government, in the years 1798-9 and 1799-1800, as it appears on the accounts of the exports and imports of the port of Calcutta in each of thoſe years. I have alſo ſubmitted to your examination, a combined view of the motives which induced me to revert to the plan of October, 1798, for the preſent ſeaſon; and to form an anxious expectation, that my conduct in this proceeding may meet with your approbation and countenance, and may become the foundation of an improved and durable ſyſtem of intercourſe between India and England, under the ſanction of your authority.—74. The rapid growth of the foreign trade, during the laſt ſeaſon, urgently demanded the immediate

interference of your Government on the ſpot. The number of foreign ſhips actually in the port of Calcutta; the alacrity, enterpriſe, and ſkill of the foreign agents, now aſſiduouſly employed in providing cargoes, and the neceſſary inaction and languor of the Britiſh private trade, embarraſſed by the reſtraints of the exiſting law, created a ſerious apprehenſion in my mind, that any further delay in the deciſion of this momentous queſtion, might occaſion evils, of which the remedy might hereafter become conſiderably difficult, if not abſolutely impracticable. The unreſtrained progreſs of the foreign trade in the preſent ſeaſon, added to its great increaſe during the laſt, might have eſtabliſhed its predominance over the private trade of Britiſh ſubjects, to an extent which no future regulation might have proved ſufficient to limit or reſtrain. The difficulty of diverting this lucrative commerce from the channel into which it had been forced, would naturally be aggravated, in proportion to the length of time during which the trade ſhould continue to flow in that courſe.—75. Under theſe ſerious impreſſions, and convinced that a prompt deciſion was demanded, with a degree of exigency equal to the importance of the queſtion at iſſue, I directed the accompanying notice to be publiſhed at Fort William, on the 19th inſtant; and I ordered the Governments of Fort St. George and Bombay to publiſh correſpondent advertiſements at thoſe preſidencies, with ſuch modifications as local circumſtances may render indiſpenſably neceſſary.—76. It will reſt with your Honourable Court to determine whether this plan ſhall be rendered permanent. A temporary reſtraint is now applied to the progreſs of the foreign trade in India during the preſent ſeaſon; and a temporary encouragement is granted, for the ſame period of time, to that of Britiſh ſubjects reſident within your dominions. Ample time is thus afforded for the deliberate formation of your final judgment; the reſult of which I ſhall await with a reſpectful, but confident hope, that your wiſdom may approve and perpetuate the policy which dictated my orders of the 5th of October, 1798, and of the 19th of September, 1800; and that your liberality may confirm to all the intereſts affected by this important meaſure, the laſting enjoyment of thoſe commercial and political advantages, which it has been my conſtant endeavour, under your countenance and favour, to cultivate, to improve, and to extend.

I have the honour to be,
Honourable Sirs, &c.
WELLESLEY.

Second Report of the Special Committee, appointed to take into Conſideration the Letters from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas.

Your Committee have conſidered, with due attention, the two letters, on which the Court were pleaſed, by their reference of the 24th inſtant, to require the opinion of your Committee, namely;—One from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas to the Chairman, dated the 21ſt March, 1801; and another from Marquis Wellesley, Governor General of Bengal, to the Court of Directors, dated the 30th September, 1800;—both on the important queſtion of enlarging the trade of Britiſh ſubjects between India and this country.—The firſt of theſe letters is an anſwer to the Report of your Committee, dated the 27th of January laſt, which the Court ſubmitted to the conſideration of Mr. Dundas.—In that Report, your Committee endeavoured to take a comprehenſive view of the nature, the grounds, the conſequences of the enlargement which has been contended for, of the extent to which it might be ſafe and expedient to carry it, and of the limits which, not merely the rights of the Company, but with more commanding energy, the intereſts of the empire, require to be preſcribed to it.—Upon a ſubject ſo momentous, your Committee could not but attend, with ſolicitude, to the opinion of ſo high an authority as Mr. Dundas; and it is, in the firſt place, with ſincere ſatisfaction, that they ſee from him, a declaration ſo well becoming his candour, that the diſcuſſion which has been maintained between him and the Court of Directors, on the ſubject in queſtion, has not been a controverſy about the reſpective powers of the department of control and of the Company, but rather an argumentative inquiry into the meaſures, which the preſent ſituation and claims of the private trade between India and Europe rendered it proper for the Court to adopt. As he intended to argue, not leſs for the intereſt of the Company than of the nation, in which your Committee truſt the Court have imitated him, by viewing the public good equally with that of their conſtituents, ſo he explicitly affirms, that this is a ſubject over which the Commiſſioners for the Affairs of India have no control; and it is, therefore, his concluſion, that if the Court of Directors are not convinced, by the reaſonings oppoſed by him and others to the opinion they have formed, it remains only that they immediately act upon that opinion. This inſtance of correct regard to the rights of the Company, your Committee hope, may hereafter be inſtructive to thoſe who, diſſatisfied with the exerciſe of the Company's commercial powers, might naturally be diſpoſed to preſume upon their uncertainty or inefficiency.—Your Committee alſo cannot but teſtify the pleaſure they receive from finding all the great principles aſſerted in their reſolutions of the 27th of January laſt, as the fitteſt for the government and preſervation of Britiſh India, ſtrenuouſly profeſſed by Mr. Dundas; particularly that the adminiſtration of our Indian empire, and the intercourſe between it and this country, ſhould be maintained by the great national organ, the Eaſt India Company; that the colonization of Europeans in Britiſh India, and all meaſures leading to it, ſhould be prevented; that the transfer of capital from Great

Britain to the East, in the manner capital has been ſent to our American colonies, in order to raiſe produce there, would be the introduction of one of the firſt principles of the colonial ſyſtem; and that the *bonâ fide* trade of foreigners with our Indian ſettlements, ſhould, under due regulations, be permitted.—On the views exhibited in the ſame Report, of the actual ſtate of the trade of foreigners and Britiſh reſidents in India, and of the conduct of the Company in reſpect to the latter, Mr. Dundas only pauſes in giving any opinion, becauſe he has not before him the documents and materials on which thoſe views were founded.—In a word, none of the principles or facts, advanced in the Report of your Committee of the 27th January, are controverted by Mr. Dundas. He differs from your Committee only in a ſingle point, reſpecting the application of thoſe principles, in a point of practice; but that, to be ſure, a point of very great moment; whether the ſyſtematic eſtabliſhment of any claſs of private ſhips, in the commerce and navigation between Great Britain and India, would trench upon thoſe principles, would tend to introduce European colonization in India, and finally endanger the ſyſtem by which that country is now held to this? Being ſtill an advocate for the ſtated admiſſion of Indian ſhips into that commerce and navigation, he is of courſe perſuaded, that none of the conſequences now mentioned, and before more fully ſtated, would follow from it.—Your Committee have given, in their former Report, their reaſons at large, for very ſtrongly apprehending that ſuch conſequences would enſue. Thoſe reaſons have not been particularly examined, and they remain unrefuted; nor has any other matter come under the notice of your Committee, which at all affects the concluſion they, after mature deliberation, deduced from them.—Hence your Committee are unable to alter the opinion they have already delivered to the Court. In this momentous caſe, they conceive that the probability only of great danger is a ſufficient objection to the propoſed innovations; and that, in order to render thoſe innovations admiſſible, it ought to be ſatisfactorily ſhewn, that no ſuch danger is at all probable.—Mr. Dundas has referred to the letter of the Governor General of the 30th September laſt, as ably detailing and demonſtrating the grounds of thoſe opinions, which he has ſtated to the Court on the ſubject of the Indian trade. Your Committee have thus had an additional motive for peruſing with care, a document which the order of Court, as well as the authority from which it comes, pointed out to their particular attention; and this attention they have beſtowed upon it. Its profeſſed deſign is, firſt, to give a view of the urgent conſiderations which have determined the Governor General to revert, in the way of temporary arrangement, to his plan of October, 1798, "for the encouragement of the private trade between India and London," rather than to follow the Court's order on that ſubject, of May, 1798; and ſecondly, to ſtate the reaſons which induce him to hope, that the Court will ſpeedily confirm his proceedings, by a "*permanent ſyſtem of regulation*, founded on ſimilar principles."—The Court's order of the 5th May, 1798, which the Governor General treats as a ſyſtem, and under that notion of it, conſiders "its principles, objects, policy, and practical operation," was merely incidental and occaſional, ariſing from a particular fact which came before the Court.—The Bengal Government had, in the year 1797, allowed two country ſhips to come to London, laden *on account of the owners*. The Court were of opinion, that if the privilege of ſending home private ſhips with cargoes were at all conceded, it ought to have a general operation; that thoſe who poſſeſs ſhips ſhould not be entitled to load them entirely with their own goods, to the excluſion of other exporters, who had merchandiſe but not ſhips: they therefore directed, that when the Bengal Government ſhould grant permiſſion to export goods on country veſſels, thoſe veſſels ſhould be hired by the Company, and freight on them given to all qualified perſons applying for it.—This was merely a temporary proviſo, looking to one object, the equal participation among all the merchants, in oppoſition to a monopoly by a few of greater capitals, who were ſhip-owners, of whatever privilege of private exportation, beyond the ſtatute tonnage, might, at any time, be conceded. It muſt be well underſtood, that the Court, in giving that temporary order upon a ſingle point, did not mean it as any deciſion on the whole of this great ſubject of enlarging the private trade, but looked forward to a general diſcuſſion and adjuſtment of that ſubject, which the agitations of it, then commenced, were rendering unavoidable.—Before this order of the Court reached Bengal, the Governor General, on the 5th October, 1798, complying with the requeſt of the merchants, permitted them generally to ſend home private ſhips and cargoes, as had been done in 1797; the ſhips being hired to the Company, and relet to the owners. In the following year, having received the Court's order, he, in obedience to it, obſerved the mode of freighting therein preſcribed; but againſt this mode repreſentations were made by the merchants there; and the reaſons urged by them, which the Governor General fully adopts, with other conſiderations, which, he ſtates, appeared to him to enforce a recurrence to his plan of 1798.—Into this firſt part of the ſubject, however, either as it may reſpect the merchants, or as it relates to the temporary meaſure of the Governor General, your Committee do not think themſelves, at this time, particularly called to enter. Their immediate concern is with the other and more important part of his letter, which is ſtrenuouſly to recommend and to urge "the permanent eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtematic intercourſe between the ports of India and that of London, regulated by prin-

ciples ſimilar to thoſe adopted by the Bengal Government in October, 1798;" that is, not only that the mode of hiring and reletting to the owners, private ſhips for private cargoes, ſhall be eſtabliſhed, inſtead of the one enjoined by the Company; but that the permiſſion to ſend home ſuch ſhips and cargoes, which had been formerly given occaſionally, at the diſcretion of the Company or their Governments, and was always ſubject to any limitation they might preſcribe, ſhall no longer reſt on this footing, but be rendered permanent, or, in other words, became a right, and this without any propoſed limitation whatever, as to the extent of the trade.---The Court will ſee at once, that this is the main queſtion diſcuſſed through the whole of your Committee's Report of the 27th January laſt: a queſtion upon which your Committee and the Court have come to a reſolution, conſiderably differing from the concluſion which the Governor General deduces from his reaſoning, and differing, alſo, though far leſs, from the opinion of Mr. Dundas, between whoſe views and thoſe of the Governor General there appear to be ſome very material diſcordancies.---The Governor General argues, in ſupport of his propoſal, from the inconveniences of the reſtraints, limitations, and uncertainties, under which the private merchants have hitherto been placed; from the increaſe of the trade of Calcutta; from the great advantages which would reſult to Britiſh India and the ſovereign ſtate, by encouraging the produce, ſhipping, and exportation of the former, and making the latter the grand mart for all the exports of our Eaſtern territories. He next repreſents the trade of foreign nations with our Eaſtern poſſeſſions, as alarmingly increaſing; thoſe nations as becoming very formidable commercial rivals to us; the peace and ſecurity of our Indian empire as likely to be affected by the intrigues of numerous foreigners reſorting thither; and the practicability of reducing foreigners to an inability of doing much in the trade of India, by giving the utmoſt facility and encouragement to our own merchants.---All theſe topics have been repeatedly brought before the Court, either through the medium of the proceedings of the Governments abroad, or of the advocates at home for the free merchants; and they are conſidered at large in the former Report of your Committee; who, after a deliberate review of the letter from the Governor General, are unable to diſcover in it any branch of the ſubject to which they have not already adverted. Some of the Governor General's arguments are accompanied by new circumſtances which demand attention, and all of them are ſtrongly ſtated; but the objections to the propoſed enlargements which he has alſo noticed, are not, in the opinion of your Committee, ſufficiently weighed, nor duly followed into their conſequences. Such being the general matter and ſcope of the Governor General's letter, and your Committee having, in their former Report, already mentioned, likewiſe entered fully into the conſideration of thoſe objections to which they have now alluded, it cannot be neceſſary, did the limited time of the Committee permit, to go into a minute diſcuſſion of the various reaſonings which the Governor General has employed, ſince that would unavoidably lead your Committee over the ſame ground they have already trodden; and therefore, without intending the ſmalleſt failure of reſpect towards the noble writer of the letter, or any eluſion of his arguments, they will confine themſelves to a few of thoſe points brought forward by him, which either mark the more material differences between his opinions and thoſe entertained by your Committee, or contain ſuch new circumſtances as require obſervation.

I. The opinion of the Governor General appears to differ from the opinion of your Committee, in reſpect to the nature of that trade from Britiſh India, which it is now in queſtion to encourage; and alſo concerning its proper extent.---Your Committee have held, that beſides allowing for the returns of exported Britiſh manufactures, according to the Act of 1793, a privilege now hardly claimed, the legitimate and the only conſiderable object, in enlarging the private trade, ought to be the remittance of the fortunes of Britiſh reſidents. Mr. Dundas has gone upon the ſame principle in his letter of April, 1800. This was the main object of the Act of 1793; and in the eleventh reſolution, ſubmitted by your Committee on the 27th of January laſt, which has been approved by the Court, it is formally ſtated, that, "if it became a practice to add to the native ſtock of India, capital belonging to reſidents in Great Britain, and tranſplanted for the purpoſe of forcing the productions of that country beyond the ability of its own means, this would be the introduction of one of the firſt principles of the colonial or Weſt Indian ſyſtem, which it is ſaid, in the firſt reſolution, would ultimately hazard the loſs of our poſſeſſions."---Mr. Dundas, in his letter of the 21ſt ultimo, fully accedes to this doctrine. The eleventh reſolution, and alſo the firſt, are among thoſe, of which he ſays, "that his opinions entirely accord with the general principles contained in them." The Governor General, on the other hand, in the forty-ninth paragraph of the letter now under conſideration, diſtinctly aſſerts, "that if the capital of the merchants in India, and the remittance of the fortunes of individuals, ſhould not ſupply funds ſufficient for the conduct of the whole private export trade from India to Europe, no dangerous conſequence could reſult from applying to this branch of commerce, capital drawn directly from the Britiſh empire in Europe."—His Lordſhip goes on, in the following paragraphs, to ſtate what beneficial conſequences would reſult to British India from ſuch an increaſe of its active capital, as would augment its produce and manufactures; and certainly where it is argued, that there could be no dangerous conſequence on

the one ſide, and that there would be great benefits on the other, the admiſſion of this ſpecies of trade muſt be underſtood to be clear; nor can it be denied, that it ſeems naturally to flow from the doctrines frequently held by the advocates for enlargement. In another part, alſo, of the letter, the Governor General argues "for the extenſion of the utmoſt practicable facility to the Britiſh merchants in India for export to London;" and to ſhew that it is not probable any increaſe of private Britiſh trade in India would neceſſarily produce a proportionate augmentation in the number of Britiſh agents reſorting thither, he obſerves, that Britiſh merchants there would be "*likely to be employed by perſons engaged in commercial concerns at home, who might eaſily conduct their operations with India*, through the Britiſh ſubjects eſtabliſhed there:" which expreſſion, if it has not reference to the proviſion of 1793, in favour of Britiſh exporting manufacturers, who have hardly ever uſed their privilege, will imply, that other reſidents in Britain might become parties in the Indian trade.—Now here is a grand, and even an eſſential difference in judgment and principle, between the Governor General on the one ſide, and the Court and Mr. Dundas on the other. It muſt be uſeleſs to debate about ſubordinate details, if this great point be not ſettled.—This, therefore, is the firſt queſtion: whether we may authorize the tranſfer of Britiſh capital, for the purpoſe of raiſing produce in our Eaſtern poſſeſſions? This is, in the apprehenſion of the Court and of Mr. Dundas, it is ſtill in the apprehenſion of your Committee alſo, one of the uſual leading principles of our colonial ſyſtem. It would, in the opinion of your Committee, tend to introduce a colonial ſyſtem into India; the conſequences of it cannot fail to be important: it ought not, therefore, to be precipitately acquieſced in; but before it is acted upon or admitted, both the Company and the nation ought ſolemnly to try and determine it, with a deliberate view of all the bearings, and probable effects of it. What the effects of it, combined with the other meaſures of the ſame ſyſtem, would be, your Committee have in their former Report endeavoured to inveſtigate at large.

II. The ſyſtematic eſtabliſhment of any claſs of private ſhips in the trade and navigation between India and Britain, which, in reſpect to Indian ſhips, the plan of the Governor General involves, is another great principle, in which his opinion is at variance with that of the Court. Upon a leſs extenſive ſcale of enlargement than that for which the Governor General pleads, the Court have ſeen inſuperable obſtacles to the admiſſion of this article, as has been at length explained by your Committee in their former Report.—Of the reaſons therein ſtated againſt it, your Committee will, at preſent, refer to one only,—the high improbability of excluding, for any length of time, Britiſh ſhips and owners, and merchants reſident in Britain, from the privilege at firſt conceded only to Indian ſhips and reſidents in India. If this excluſion would be difficult, as your Committee have maintained, on the more limited plan of enlargement, which they conceived to be in queſtion, they muſt be of opinion, that if ſo great an innovation as is now propoſed in our ſyſtem of Indian policy (a change certainly not within the ſcope of the Act of 1793) were admitted, that excluſion would be impoſſible; and indeed it would be uſeleſs to contend for it, becauſe if merchants reſident in Britain might embark, according to their diſcretion, in Indian adventures, through Indian ſhips, to the indefinite multiplication of ſuch ſhips (whether ultimately the nation might, on the whole, be benefited or not, by ſuch a new ſtate of things, and all its concomitants), they might then as well be permitted to employ Engliſh ſhips at once; for it is not the country of the ſhips, but the enlargement of the channels of communication, with the other conſiderations, which would follow a ſyſtematic eſtabliſhment of any claſs of ſhips, that conſtitutes the eſſence of the objection to ſuch an eſtabliſhment.

III. On the ſubject of the trade and intercourſe of foreigners with our Indian poſſeſſions, your Committee are concerned to find, that the ſentiments they entertain do not, in all things, correſpond with thoſe of the Governor General. It is to this head that the circumſtances, new to them, in his letter, chiefly belong; for he has ſhewn a very large increaſe to have taken place in the year 1799-1800, in the imports of foreigners, eſpecially the Americans and Portugueſe, into Bengal, and in their exports from thence. This is, undoubtedly, a matter which well merits attention; but your Committee are by no means convinced, that it affords any certain concluſion in favour of the argument which it is brought to ſupport, namely, that the tranſfer of Britiſh capital to India, and the employment of private Indian ſhips thence to England, ſhould be ſyſtematically permitted. It will be proper to enter a little into this matter. The merchants in India, and their advocates here, have, for ſeveral paſt years, inſiſted, in terms very alarming, on the increaſe of the trade of foreigners. They repreſented it as vaſt and as progreſſive. Your Committee have, in their former Report, from the moſt recent authentic ſtatements of the external commerce of Bengal, ſhewn, that from the year 1795-6 to the year 1798-9 incluſive, the exports of foreigners from Bengal uniformly decreaſed, and that their imports there almoſt uniformly decreaſed alſo. From the ſame accounts it likewiſe appeared, that the amount of the trade to America, which was regarded as the moſt formidable rival, varied from leſs to more, and again from more to leſs: and your Committee were warranted in obſerving further, that the foreign export trade of Bengal did not, in the year 1798, exceed in value what it had been thirty years before. The natural inferences from theſe facts were, that the amount of the

foreign trade was not ſuch as to occaſion any alarm, that it was not increaſing, and that it fluctuated from year to year; whence, alſo, it was fair to ſuppoſe that it was ſtill, in ſome meaſure, a trade of contingencies, ariſing in part, no doubt, from the belligerent ſtate of Europe. So far, therefore, the argument from the increaſe of foreign trade was invalid. But in the year 1799-1800, there appears to have been a real and conſiderable increaſe in the trade of America and Portugal. According to the Governor General's ſtatement, their trade in that year, and the average of it for three preceding years, will ſtand thus:

	Imports.	Exports.
Average of the Years 1796-7, 1797-8, and 1798-9,	17,82,327	27,37,604
Average of the Years 1799-1800,	81,81,005	71,30,372
Exceſs in 1799-1800,	63,98,678	43,92,768

As, however, there was a progreſſive decline in the foreign trade in the years 1796-7, 1797-8, and 1798-9, it may be proper alſo to compare the ſtate of that trade in the years 1795-6 and 1799-1800. In the Reports of Externa lCommerce it appears thus:

	Imports. 1795-6.	Imports. 1799-1800.
Hamburgh	6,57,431	72,333
Copenhagen	7,70,136	10,16,474
Liſbon	10,24,943	46,56,391
America	8,43,118	35,24,644
R[s].	32,95,628	92,69,842

	Exports. 1795-6.	Exports. 1799-1800.
Hamburgh	17,37,342	61,582
Copenhagen	8,13,832	9,56,145
Liſbon	21,81,371	33,44,435
America	19,49,319	37,85,937
R[s].	66,81,864	81,48,099

This view, with ſome lights thrown on the ſubject by the Reports of External Commerce, affords ſeveral uſeful obſervations.—*Firſt.* The foreign exports of 1799-1800 exceed thoſe of 1795-6 in nearly fifteen lacks of rupees. This is the total increaſe of the trade, compared with its ſtate five years preceding.—*Second.* The foreign exports of 1795-6 nearly doubled the foreign imports; conſequently Bengal paid ſo much more than it received, and the greater part of the difference was probably Britiſh property, ſent out of that country by clandeſtine channels. In 1799-1800, the imports exceeded the exports in about eleven lacks; and this was perhaps the firſt year in which the balance of foreign trade was thus really in favour of Bengal, or the imports even equal to the exports ſince our acquiſition of the country.—*Third.* The exceſs of imports in 1799-1800, compared with 1795-6, is about ſixty lacks of rupees; and it appears that a very large proportion of this ſum, probably about three fourths, was brought into the country in ſpecie, the moſt advantageous kind of import.—*Fourth.* It is to be collected from the Reports of External Commerce, that the increaſed trade of the Portugueſe in 1799-1800, ariſes from the increaſed demand for India goods in the Brazils, Spain, and Spaniſh America; and the ſubjects of the United States appear to augment their trade, partly from the increaſing conſumption of Indian commodities by the large population of that portion of the American continent, and partly from their ſupplying ſome of the Weſt India iſlands, and the Spaniſh ſettlements in South America, with thoſe commodities. This, therefore, may be preſumed to be a *bonâ fide* trade; and in our preſent circumſtances, or whilſt war continues, it is not likely that, if we immediately checked this trade, our importations to London would reach thoſe diſtant places of conſumption. The conveyance from India direct would have ſo many advantages, as probably to incite a new activity in the clandeſtine trade from our ſettlements.—*Fifth.* It has appeared, from what your Committee has ſtated in their preceding and preſent Reports, that the trade of foreigners with India has been liable to great fluctuations in the courſe of this war; and on the whole, therefore, of the view and expoſition here given, your Committee ſubmit, whether the increaſe in the foreign trade in one year be of ſuch a nature and amount as to urge to any inſtant meaſure of extraordinary magnitude.—But your Committee ſee great reaſon to doubt whether, if even the meaſure now propoſed were adopted, the *bonâ fide* commerce of foreigners with India would thereby be greatly diminiſhed. The advantages with which neutral nations at preſent carry on that commerce, clearly ariſe, in part, from their neutral character. In the expenſe of ſhipping, navigating, and inſurance, they ſail cheaper; and needing no convoys, they perform their voyages more expeditiouſly. To this is to be added, that the import duties on Indian goods in Portugal, Denmark, and Hamburgh, and as your Committee apprehend, in America alſo, are more favourable than they are in London. Whilſt theſe circumſtances continue, it ſeems in vain to expect that the home conſumption of thoſe countries can be ſupplied through the medium of London. For what, if by new enlargements an amount as great as foreigners now carry from India to their own ports were added to the private exports from India to London? It is continually ſaid that the exportable produce of India may be indefinitely increaſed; is it not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, therefore, that the bullion of the Americans and Portugueſe would ſtill find the returns they needed of the commodities of that quarter? But this juncture, when, from the

extraordinary turn of the war, it has been even feared that all the ports of the continent might be ſhut againſt the ſhips of this country, ſeems particularly unpropitious to attempts to attract hither any large portion of the Indian trade carried on by neutral nations. As it is the war which has given the chief advantage to foreigners in that trade, ſo the return of peace will afford the beſt opportunity for rectifying whatever may ſtill require regulation.—Although your Committee cannot allow the preſent ſtate of the foreign trade to be of preponderating importance in the vaſt queſtion now under conſideration, yet they are forward to obſerve, that, beſides requiring general attention to its progreſs and variations, ſeveral things in it call for the interpoſition, at a ſeaſonable moment, both of the Government and of the Company. The circuitous trade of the Americans with foreign Europe is a violation of the treaty of commerce, little merited by the great privileges given them in that quarter; the Indian duties alſo, on exports and imports, ſeem to require new modifications in favour of the London trade; and if theſe things were duly regulated, and the London import duties on Indian goods brought nearly to the level of the moderate impoſts at foreign ports, it appears probable, that with the advantages of peace, the trade of foreigners would be limited to what could be carried on with their own capital; and this, it has been agreed, they ſhould be permitted to enjoy.—But your Committee have before obſerved, and cannot avoid repeating, that if all practical meliorations were effected in favour of Britiſh traders in India, and even permiſſion given them to ſend their own ſhips to England, it does not appear that, after all, theſe conceſſions would infallibly ſecure to this country the trade of thoſe Britiſh reſidents. The principle relied on for obtaining that ſecurity, is to make it the intereſt of the merchants to conſign their goods hither; but ſuppoſe that, after every thing practicable is done by the Company and the Government for this end, it ſhould ſtill prove, at times, their intereſt to addreſs their goods to foreign ports? Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid of the ſuperior advantage of ſending commodities to the largeſt market, and to one's native country, conjunctures may ariſe, eſpecially in the deranged ſtate into which Europe is now brought, when this may not be the moſt profitable courſe. What, then, would preſerve to the Company and the ſtate the expected benefit of all the ſacrifices they ſhould have made? Your Committee are at a loſs to give a ſatisfactory ſolution to this intereſting inquiry. They believe the commercial hiſtory of the American colonies, now independent, will ſhew that no privileges conceded by the mother-country to the trade of thoſe colonies, were ſufficient to prevent them from often following their own intereſt, when it led them to forbidden ports. The Governor General has ſtated, in the letter now before your Committee, that "it never can be practicable, if it "were juſtifiable or politic, by any reſtrictions "or penalties on the trade of the Britiſh ſub-"jects, to prevent the increaſing produce and "manufactures of India from being conveyed "to the markets in Europe, where a demand "for ſuch articles ſhall exiſt." The object of any reſtrictions that now exiſt, is not to prevent the exportation of Indian produce to foreign Europe, but to prevent Britiſh reſidents from carrying on that trade for their own account. From the laſt Report, however, for the year 1799-1800, of the external commerce of Bengal (in which are ſeveral paſſages that call for obſervation), it would appear that ſuch reſtrictions are little regarded; for repeated mention is made of the trade of *Anglo-Danes*, or *Britiſh ſubjects*, from Bengal to Copenhagen and Hamburgh. The ſubject is mentioned openly and familiarly, it would almoſt ſeem induſtriouſly, in order to bear upon the queſtion of the required enlargements in the trade to London; for it is ſaid in one place, "that "in 1798-9, when Britiſh merchants in Cal-"cutta were permitted to load their own ſhips, "or to make their own arrangements for the "freight to London, there was not a ſingle "bag of ſugar or bale of cloth ſhipped by "them to any foreign port; whereas, if ſuch "permiſſion had not been granted, the ſhip-"ments in *Anglo-Daniſh* veſſels would have "continued; as merchants in every part of "the world will run many riſks ſooner than "allow their ſhips to rot in harbour, if em-"ployment can be obtained for them." Though it belonged to the office of the reporter to bring the foreign trade, of whatever deſcription, into notice, yet, as in the paſſage now quoted (whence, by the way, it would ſeem that to become poſſeſſed of ſhips, may be uſed as an apology for carrying on the clandeſtine trade), and in other ſimilar paſſages, breaches of the law are brought under the eye of Government and of the Court, in a manner that ſeems to imply no expectation of exciting ſurpriſe or animadverſion; and as a paſſive acquieſcence under publicities of this kind may yet further encourage diſregard of the exiſting laws, which cannot but be inexpedient in any government; your Committee ſubmit whether this matter, and indeed the whole ſtate of the clandeſtine trade, does not require ſome attention on the part of the Court.—In the former Report of your Committee, the amount of the clandeſtine trade of Bengal is ſtated to have been, on an average of ſome preceding years, about twenty-five lacks of rupees per annum. This, as the ſtatements exhibited in that Report may ſhew, is to be underſtood as the annual amount of Britiſh fortunes ſent home from Bengal by foreign channels, or, in other words, the ſupply which the remittance of thoſe fortunes gave to the clandeſtine trade.—But from the laſt Report of External Commerce, and from other circumſtances, it now appears probable, that of the remaining thirty-one lacks per annum, which your Committee ſtated as the really neutral trade of Bengal, a par may

have been carried on with capital furniſhed by Britiſh reſidents there, or by merchants in London. In as far as this adds to the argument drawn from the amount of the clandeſtine trade, it ſubtracts from that which has been urged from the increaſe of the real trade of foreigners.—In one other point which belongs to this head, your Committee feel themſelves unable to adopt the ſentiments of the Governor General; it is the apprehenſion he ſeems to entertain of foreign intrigue and foreign influence, in conſequence of the preſent reſort of the ſhips and adventurers of foreign nations to India. That this is a matter which, in all times, and under all circumſtances, ſhould engage the vigilant attention of the Company's governments, is a very clear propoſition. To remit watchfulneſs would be to invite danger, and to maintain it is the only way to keep danger at a diſtance. But your Committee are at a loſs to conceive how, in the preſent ſtate and circumſtances of the Britiſh nation, and of foreign nations in India, there can be ſo much room for the intrigues of their agents, or ſo much to be apprehended from them as in former periods, when they poſſeſſed reſpectable national ſettlements and governments in India, when they had national repreſentatives, who were owned by the princes of the country, and maintained a political intercourſe with them. Now, excepting the ſpots ſtill occupied by the ſmall ſtates of Portugal and Denmark, the foreign nations of Europe do not poſſeſs a foot of land on the continent of Hindoſtan. Our dominion, on the other hand, is conſolidated and extended: and foreigners, in general, are obliged to reſort for their commodities to our ſettlements, and to have their wants ſupplied through the medium of our ſubjects. Without national ſettlements or repreſentation, your Committee cannot apprehend that, if due circumſpection be obſerved on our part, political danger is to be feared from them; eſpecially from ſuch nations as the Americans, Danes, and Portugueſe, whoſe domeſtic circumſtances do not favour ſchemes of obtaining political power in the Eaſt. The French alone ſeem at preſent to be, in this reſpect, formidable to us; and if they again obtain footing in that country, it will remain for us to employ thoſe precautions which the caſe ſhall require. —The reſort of foreign military adventurers to India is, unqueſtionably, a matter of very ſerious conſideration; and the Company and the nation are highly obliged to Marquis Welleſley for the energy with which he has applied himſelf to the correction of that evil: but as foreign flags always have had, and muſt have, acceſs to India, ſo it does not appear that it can be more eaſy now for adventurers of that deſcription to introduce themſelves into Hindoſtan, than it was when the French and Dutch poſſeſſed there large eſtabliſhments, forts, and military of their own.

IV. In the laſt place, your Committee muſt believe, that there is a very material difference between the views of the Governor General and thoſe of your Committee, reſpecting the conſequences which would follow from the propoſed ſyſtem of enlargements.---This is an eſſential part of the ſubject, on which your Committee have already given their ſentiments at large. Unqueſtionably, the Governor General does not feel thoſe apprehenſions they entertain; if he did, his principles, yet more than the ſtake he has in the welfare of the empire, would withhold him from ſupporting the projected innovations.---He deſires to promote the proſperity of the provinces over which he preſides, and is impreſſed by what appears to be immediately ſuited to this end; but from the various important events which have occurred in the ſhort period of his government, and the application of his mind to other ſtudies, he, though acquainted with the general principles of commercial policy, for which the Court alſo maintain a liberal regard, has not, perhaps, been able to contemplate the effects of the propoſed changes in a commercial country like this, with the lights which the poſition, mercantile experience, and habits of the members of the Court of Directors reflect upon it.---Your Committee have not a doubt, that the effects of the privileges which are required would be very great upon the exiſting ſyſtem of Indian intercourſe and connexion, and gradually change the character of that intercourſe. If the required privileges are given to one claſs of ſhips, and one claſs of Britiſh ſubjects, it will be, in the opinion of your Committee, even impoſſible to withhold them long from other claſſes: or if theſe are denied a formal participation, they will ſoon infuſe themſelves into the firſt maſs; the keen ſpirit of commercial enterpriſe will every way ſeek to enlarge its liberty, and become impatient under remaining reſtraints; in which view it is not unimportant to remark, that "to avoid the forms of office at the India "Houſe" (the buſineſs of which it is impoſſible to tranſact without forms), is already aſſigned publicly by the Reporter of Bengal Commerce, as one cauſe of ſome late illicit practices. Many things would conſpire to antiquate the preſent eſtabliſhment; and the genius, in a word, of the commerce thus carried on, muſt progreſſively tend, more and more, towards an unreſtrained and a colonial ſyſtem. If it were now propoſed to erect another commercial Company, the propoſal would probably ſtartle every body: but in fact the privilege which is in queſtion would eſtabliſh an intereſt of a more formidable nature, and containing a ſtronger principle of growth, than could be involved in the ſtrict conſtitution of an incorporated ſociety. The gradual increaſe in numbers, influence, and connexions of thoſe who ſhould embark in the trade of India under the new privileges, has been adverted to in the former Report of your Committee. Moderate as is, in truth, the whole capital yet engaged in the private trade of Britiſh India, we ſee that thoſe concerned in it, who a few years ago had hardly

any oſtenſibility, are now able to make conſiderable movements both in India and in England. It is obvious that the ſtock of the Eaſt India Company, being open to all purchaſers, may in time be largely poſſeſſed by perſons of this deſcription; and that the very complexion and character of the Company, from whom commercial laws for India emanate, may at length be changed. It is not enough, therefore, in treating of this ſubject, to make a due reſervation for the principles of the preſent Indian ſyſtem, and for the rights of the Company; the great point of all is, ſedulouſly to examine how the meaſures profeſſed to be adopted, with proper regard to thoſe principles and rights, will operate: nor is it enough to ſay, that the Company may prevent the perverſion of the propoſed privileges, or reſtrain them if they are found inconvenient. It is not after arming the preſent ſpirit of innovation with new powers, that we could expect to be ſucceſsful againſt its progreſs. After men had embarked largely in the new ſyſtem, and ſet capitals, ſhips, and adventures in motion, then would not be the beſt time to tell them to ſtop. They would plead the intereſts they had engaged, and engaged under the ſanction of authority. It would be diſputed by one part of the Company, whether thoſe things which another part might call inconveniences, were ſo or not; and, in ſhort, this kind of reaſoning puts all to hazard in making the experiment.—In concluding this momentous ſubject, your Committee are induced to offer a few words on the ſituation in which they find themſelves placed, with reſpect to it, as Directors of the Company: and in expreſſing their own ſentiments, they may venture to aſſume that they deſcribe thoſe of the Court at large.---No part of the duty of a Director is more trying than that which calls him to reſiſt private and perſonal intereſts. Theſe are always active and urgent, and apt to combine cenſure with diſappointment. In ſupport of ſuch intereſts, thoſe to whom they appertain, perhaps many in number, and united together, act immediately in their own perſons; whilſt the public intereſt is managed by repreſentation; and the eager aſſaults of numerous individuals muſt be chiefly oppoſed by an internal principle. Prejudices have always exiſted againſt the Company, partly from its power or management, and partly, of late years eſpecially, from doctrines of commercial policy, imperfectly underſtood, or unſuitably applied. The Directors have been held to maintain a narrow jealouſy of the Company's monopoly, and in that ſpirit to have oppoſed the liberal extenſions which the public intereſts required; but they are not conſcious of deſerving this imputation. They feel, indeed, that it is incumbent on them not to ſurrender the rights of their conſtituents, without being convinced that the ſurrender ought to be made; but they have examined the preſent queſtion, and have been very much guided in the determination of it by conſiderations of national policy. Such conſiderations muſt evidently enter now into all great meaſures reſpecting the export commerce of Britiſh India. It is painful to the Directors to pauſe upon any ſchemes that ſeem to have the proſperity of that country for their object; they ſincerely wiſh it to be flouriſhing and happy, but alſo to be ſafe. The Britiſh reſidents in it, not only thoſe who are actually concerned in its manufactures and commerce, but the ſervants of the Company employed as public functionaries, all deſire to ſee its induſtry promoted. It is natural they ſhould become intereſted in the ſcene immediately before them; it is alſo laudable: and as the conduct of the Court of Directors, in the preſent caſe, greatly reſults from conſiderations leſs within the ſphere of the obſervation of their ſervants, it is not impoſſible that, charged as it will be by others with narrow, timid views, it may appear to them to wear too much of that complexion.—Conſcious as thoſe ſervants are of loyal and affectionate attachment to the mother-country, an attachment which the Directors are aſſured is warmly felt, they may think the fears of diſtant evils viſionary, and partake of that ſentiment which perſons out of the ſervice manifeſt for what they may conceive to be a more expanded and magnanimous policy. If this way of thinking ſhould ſo far infuſe itſelf, as to leſſen the regard due to the preſent ſyſtem of Indian government, of which the Court of Directors is the ſupreme executive head, it would be every way unhappy. No material change in that ſyſtem, if ſpeculation could be carried forward to one, would place the European inhabitants of Britiſh India on ſo deſirable a footing as they live at preſent under a government of various parts, which operate as checks upon each other. All, indeed, who argue upon public principles, are for the continuance of the preſent Indian ſyſtem; the Court of Directors, however, forms an integral and even eſſential part of that ſyſtem: if their adminiſtration is diſcredited, the ſyſtem itſelf is affected; and though they muſt be far, either perſonally or collectively, from pretending to be exempt from errors; yet the conſideration juſt mentioned may entitle them to be ſolicitous, that their conduct ſhould not be ſubjected to unneceſſary cenſure, and thence the authority of the Court expoſed to derogation; and therefore, although all juſt freedom of communication is to be encouraged in their ſervants and governments abroad, it muſt be extremely inexpedient to have differences of opinion between them and the Court made unneceſſarily oſtenſible, either in India or in England. Oppoſition to the Court, in both countries, muſt thus be ſtrengthened. In public diſcuſſions which ariſe at home, perhaps the great weight of the Indian adminiſtration may be forced into the ſcale of thoſe with whom the Court has to contend; and the delegated and ſuperior authorities, which ought to appear as much as poſſible one power, be placed

in opposition to each other; which will manifestly tend to weaken the credit of the latter, and thence the system of which it is a constituent part. Your committee hope to be forgiven, if these observations shall appear to be any digression from the question under consideration: they seemed to be connected with that question, of which your committee will only further say, that, in their opinion, it involves in it ultimalety, the permanence or the gradual supercession of the present system of Indian policy.

East-India House, 2d April, 1801.

HUGH INGLIS,
D. SCOTT,
STEPHEN LUSHINGTON,
JOHN ROBERTS,
JACOB BOSANQUET,
ABRAM ROBARTS,
EDWARD PARRY,
CHARLES GRANT,
FRANCIS BARING.

Letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas to the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and Court of Directors of the East-India Company, on the Indian Debt.

Clarges Street, 30th June, 1801.

Gentlemen,

In the explanation of the affairs of the East-India Company, which I have lately stated to the House of Commons, I gave it as my opinion, that within a very few years after the return of peace, the Indian debt might be reduced within proper limits, by a due combination of the revenues and commerce of the East-India Company; that before the expiration of their charter, the sum necessary for the guarantee of their capital will be accumulated; that the additional dividend may be allowed to the proprietors, as provided for by the act renewing their charter; and that a due attention will, at the same time, be paid to the claims of the public for participation, according to the terms of the agreement at the time the charter of the company was renewed; and the more clearly to elucidate my ideas, I exhibited them in the form of an account, founded on the data pointed out, and stating the conclusions resulting from those data.

Although it was my intention, as usual, to publish the detailed explanations I have been accustomed to state to the committee of the House of Commons, on the day generally appropriated for what is called the India Budget, I have been induced to give this separate statement, because it has been suggested to me, that a publication of this nature, not complicated with minute details, but embracing a general view of the prospect of your affairs, during the continuance of the present charter, may lead to a more speedy and accurate consideration of this important subject.

It is scarcely necessary for me to explain, why there is a peculiar propriety in my addressing the following sheets to you. Independent of the respect and attention I owe to the directors and proprietors of the East-India Company, and of the deep interest I must, at all times, take in their concerns, it is obvious, that if my plans are fit to be adopted, or are likely to be attended with the wished-for success, the exertions for that purpose must originate with the East-India Company, and those exertions must be continued with a steady and unremitting attention.

The account to which I have just referred is No. 1. in the Appendix. The result of the account depends only on its arithmetical accuracy, if the data on which it proceeds are not liable to some fundamental error; it is therefore my first wish, to direct your attention to an examination of the leading features of the plan.

They are, 1st. An arrangement abroad, so that a full million from the surplus of the revenues shall, at the commencement, be applicable to the purchase of investments.

2d. The the investments from India and China shall amount, at prime-cost, to four millions annually, in equal proportions.

3d. That during the first four years from this time, the company shall avail themselves of the power they already have, under the act, for augmenting their capital stock to the extent of two millions, at the rate of half a million annually, which it is supposed will realizs one million sterling.

4th. That the additional money so raised, shall be applied, exclusively, to the liquidation of the present Indian debt at interest, either by increasing remittances in Bullion, or export to India to that amount, or by defraying additional bills drawn from India for the same purpose.

5th. That the extinction of this debt, now calculated to amount to fourteen millions sterling, shall be carried on at the rate of one million annually, till the part of it called the decennial loan shall become payable, which is expected to take place on or about the year 1807-8; and that the sum then payable on account of Indian debt, which is stated at three millions and a half, shall be discharged in that year: on which suppositions the debts at interest abroad will then be reduced to four millions and a half.

I shall be under the necessity of troubling you with some explanation on each of these points.

The first requisite is, "an arrangement "abroad, so that a full million from the sur- "plus of the revenues shall, at the commence- "ment, be applicable to the purchase of in- "vestments."

The necessity of this requisite being accomplished will appear from the account I have already referred to, in which, in the second year, credit is taken for the supplying four millions, prime-cost of investment, with a charge on that account on the treasury at home of only three millions.—This, of course, proceeds on the supposition of the remaining one million being, in that year, supplied from the revenues in India. In the subsequent years, the charge at home for

investment is supposed gradually to be decreased below three millions, in proportion as the applicable surplus of revenue in India is increased by savings of the interest of debt discharged; and the progress of this latter operation is pointed out in the two accounts, No. II. and III. in the Appendix. I am well aware of the difficulty which occurs in the outset of this whole operation, from the present burthened state of your finances in India, and the very large amount of the revenues, which are absorbed in the discharge of interest at so high a rate; but this very circumstance is so decisive as to the success of the measure, when once set in motion, that no difficulty is so great that it ought not to be surmounted.

The estimates of the revenues and charges, which I stated to the House of Commons, were drawn up from those transmitted by your governments in India; but in order that I might proceed with as much certainty as possible on this important article of the plan, in addition to the exertions of the accountant of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, I requested the assistance of your very accurate and able officer, Mr. Wright, in order that they might jointly examine and correct the estimates transmitted from abroad, so as to enable me to form the best opinion possible, to what amount you might rely on a surplus in India, as available to the purposes of investment.

The estimate, No. IV. in the Appendix, will exhibit the result of the investigation. It is prepared with great care, and certainly abundant caution; but it is the safest side on which to err: and it would be imprudent, in a matter of so much importance, to build on any surplus, that does not appear to be clearly warranted.

The amount is taken at £800,000, which is deficient for the object in view to the amount of £200,000: but, in truth, this deficiency ought not to be stated at so small a sum as £200,000; for when you consider that part of the commercial charges defrayed in India, amounting to about £180,000, have not been usually included in the estimates, and likewise consider, that other unforeseen circumstances may occur, I do not think that, if you mean to ensure the actual receipt of the sum required, you can safely desist from your exertions, till you have secured in India, for commercial purposes, a sum of not less than £1,200,000.

There are several circumstances which lead me to be confident in my hopes, that a sum to that amount will, without any real difficulty, be obtained in India, for the purpose of realizing the prospects which are detailed in the account before you.

In the first place, I can have no doubt, that if you send out positive instructions to your governments abroad, stating the importance of the object in view, considerable additions will be made to the savings pointed out in the corrected estimate of Mr. Wright. This can only be effectually done on the spot: but it will be done, if your servants abroad are impressed with a full conviction, that the object you have in view is so far paramount to every other in the present moment, as to claim their first attention. In this observation I point chiefly at the army extraordinaries, which, from the pressure of the war, and the expensive contests in which you have been engaged, have necessarily amounted to a very large sum, and cannot fail to admit of great reductions, of the details of which at home we cannot be competent judges, but which a vigilant, economical, and firm government on the spot, cannot fail to discover and to enforce.

In the second place, it is not impossible that some of those expenses which are, with great propriety, intended to be of a permanent nature, may, without risk, be postponed, till it is finally ascertained that they can be defrayed, without interfering with the sum requisite for investment, according to the plan detailed in the subjoined accounts, No. I, II, and III. In this observation I particularly allude to your military establishments, as last revised. In the the orders you sent out some months ago, considerable reductions were made in your military expenditure, and I observe in the corrected estimate, No. IV, that the saving in consequence is computed at £270,000. These reductions were ordered upon a very accurate examination, and to the best of my judgment, it would not be proper, in a future permanent arrangement, to make them to a greater extent: but when so great an object is at stake, I should be clearly of opinion, for considering how far any parts of the proposed establishment might be postponed. In the notandum subjoined to the corrected estimate, No. IV, Mr. Wright observes, that if the addition to the artillery could be postponed, it would save £54,000; but I consider the addition ordered to your artillery establishment to be of such deep importance to the security of your extended Indian Empire, I do not think the saving suggested ought to be adopted. But I think differently with regard to the other notandum; and when so great a saving can be made as £153,000, by keeping the native regiments at 1400 privates, in place of 1600 or 1800, I cannot doubt, in advising you to make that reduction. In truth, there is no risk; for in the case of emergency, the native troops could be recruited with the utmost expedition, to the ultimate proposed establishment, or indeed to any amount.

In these observations you will observe, that I have confined myself solely to the consideration of military retrenchments. I have done so, because I am convinced that any attempt to make any considerable reduction in your civil establishments, would be praductive of all the inconveniences attending inadequate allowances to your civil servants. Such a system would lead to all the fatal consequences resulting from the exaction of private unwarranted allowances, which it has been the great object of the present system of Indian administration to annihilate. At the same time, this is no reason why even your civil expenses may not merit your attention, to the effect of instructing your government to refrain from any expenditure of a con-

tingent nature, which would lead to any considerable expense, and respecting which there is no immediate urgency, why it should be executed at the present rather than at any future moment. Although, at this distance, I cannot take it upon me to specify all the particular items of expenditure, on which retrenchments may be made, I cannot permit myself to entertain any unreasonable diffidence on the subject, when I look to the state of your expenses of India at a former period. I do not carry that reference to an early period, because I am aware that, within these very few years, a large permanent expense was most properly incurred, by the arrangement which took place for rendering the condition of your military servants more comfortable, in a variety of respects. I refer, however, to the charges of all kinds, as they stood in the year 1797-8, and the amount of them was £7,650,654, a sum far inferior to that contained in the estimate now exhibited by your auditor, amounting to £8,851,260. It is true, that since that period, great additions have been made to your territorial possessions, and very considerable additions to your military expenditure are created, in consequence of the very beneficial alliances you have formed with the native powers in India. These considerations, however, do not operate against the propability of what I am endeavouring to establish; for as to addition of territories, it cannot escape observation, that the events which produced those additions have, at the same time, tended to increase the security of our own possessions, by narrowing their frontier, and annihilating your most powerful and inveterate enemy, and wherever you are obliged to increase your military establishments in consequence of alliances, you have received a subsidy, fully adequate to the expense of those subsidiary engagements.

It is proper here to remind you, that in the observations I have made, to establish the probability of the requisite aid to be derived from a surplus revenue in India, I have taken no credit for the expectations I am entitled to entertain, from the increasing prosperity, cultivation, and consequent population, of our Indian territories. Our revenues, for some years, have been in a state of progressive increase, and the same cause must continue to operate in producing the same effects. I shall not indulge myself, at present, in disquisitions of that nature, as it would lead me far beyond the bounds I have prescribed to myself in this address. I state the circumstance, without meaning to draw any other conclusion, than what must occur to every body, viz. that the happy change which recent events have produced on our affairs in India, must strengthen and invigorate every hope and expectation, founded on their present state. Every system of beneficial finance, commerce, and economical administration, can now be adopted and pursued, with more steadiness and certainty of success, than it could be under circumstances of precarious security and unremitting anxiety.

Having now stated to you a saving upon your estimates, to an amount produciug near a million surplus in India, and having likewise stated the prospect of a larger surplus, both from the probability of further retrenchments, and from the almost certainty of a progressive increasing revenue, I might safely leave this part of the propositson, upon what I have already observed: but to remove all ambiguity on the subject, I think it proper to remind you, that in the end of the year 1803, or the beginning of the year 1804, the debt due to the consolidated creditors of the late Nabob of Arcot will be liquidated, so as to set free a sum of not less than 621,000 pagodas, amounting, in pounds sterling, to the sum of £248,400. This sum will, of course, be applicable to the discharge of such further debts of the late and present Nabob, as are not included in the former arrangement. The East-India Company itself is a creditor to a large amount, and, according to the arrangement suggested by Marquis Wellesley, in his letter to the Nabob of 24th of April 1799, there can be no doubt, that at least one half of the sum so set free, will be appropriated to the extinction of the debt due to the company, and will, of course, to that amount, add to the surplus of the revenues applicable to investment. But this is not all; for according to the letter I have wrote to you this day, on the the subject of the private unconsolidated debts of the late and present Nabob, there seems no doubt that the whole of the 621,000 pagodas, already referred to, will be at your disposal, for the purposes of investment. My letter, with its enclosures, points out to you the obvious mode in which this is to be accomplished; and the effect of the transaction, if agreed to by you, will be to give an immediate commercial resource, to the amount of the whole 621,000 pagodas, paying to the creditors their debts at home, by such distant instalments, as can never prove any inconvenience to your treasury at home, or tend, in any degree, to disturb the substantial benefits to be derived from the measure, which I am now endeavouring, with great earnestness, to impress upon your attention. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the effect of the plan will be put into your pockets, the difference between the amount of interest payable to you by the Nabob, and the four per cent. payable by you at home to the creditors, according to the agreement you may make with them in consequence of their proposals; and the only effect it will have upon the whole result of the account is, a diminution on the balances at home, from the period when the instalments agreed upon with the creditors shall become payable; and the agregate of these payments will, *pro tanto*, create a diminution of the balance stated to accrue at the expiration of the charter.

As I consider this last head to be of the utmost importance to the whole success of the proposition in question, and as so many misapprehensions have appeared, and so many misrepresentations have been hold out, respecting it, I have thought it my duty to state my ideas upon it, at greater length than I at first intended;

and upon the whole, I trust I may, with confidence, rest assured in the conviction, that one million sterling will be attainable from the surplus revenues of India, to co-operate with the other commercial resources of the company, in producing the beneficial results, stated to proceed from those resources of revenue and commerce, judiciously combined together; and it only remains to remark, that if, after every exertion, and contrary to every rational probability, there should be any deficiency, the inconvenience arising from it to the general object in view, will be obviated by your ordering your government abroad, for the short period that may be necessary, to pay as much of the interest of the debt in India, by bills on the court of directors, as may be required to secure the object of a million surplus in India, applicable to the purposes of investment. The only consequence of doing so would be, to a very small amount, to diminish the progressive accruing balance of your cash at home; but your prospect of abundant affluence, in that respect, seems to be so unequivocal, as to admit of no discouragement, in the prosecution of every expedient calculated to ensure the success of this very salutary measure.

The second requisite is, "that the invest-" ments from India and China shall amount, at " prime-cost, to four millions annually, in equal " proportions."

This does not require any minute explanation, beyond what appears on the face of the accounts in the appendix. The difficulty of finding a sufficient sum for the prime-cost of such an investment, will chiefly occur in the first year of the operation, when it is requisite, by exports, by bills from India, and by bullion, to find an aid to your India concerns, to the amount of five millions sterling. The difficulty does not consist in any inadequacy of resources at home to make those exertions, but in the means of sending so large a sum; and particularly in the means of finding bullion to so great an amount as two millions, to which amount it must be found, if the full five millions, requisite for the first year, cannot be got through the medium of the other resources to which I have referred. The importance of the object is so great, no exertions ought to be omitted that can surmount the difficulty; and there is scarcely any expense that ought not to be incurred, rather than endanger a failure of administering the requisite aid to your necessities in India. It would be improper in me, for obvious reasons, to detail what may have occurred to me on the subject. It is, indeed, unnecessary, for I know you will find most able advice on the subject from some of your own number. You will, of course, feel it to be your duty, to represent the importance of it, in the most forcible manner, to his Majesty's ministers, who, upon an examination of the particulars I have stated, and fully weighing the very brilliant effects it will produce on the commerce and revenues of the kingdom, cannot fail to be impressed with a full conviction of its being their duty, to contribute every aid in their power to set this operation in motion on its first outset, which is, in truth, the period when the chief difficulty will occur.

I now proceed to observe on the suggestion contained in the two next requisites I have before stated, and I trust I shall have little difficulty in obtaining your concurrence in the two propositions to which I refer: 1st. That it is your duty and your interest now to make use of the power you possess, under the act of parliament, 37 Geo. III. cap. 31, of augmenting your capital stock, by two millions sterling; and, 2dly, That the money so raised, should be invariably applied to the extinction of your debt in India.

The wisdom of this policy is indisputable, both on commercial and political principles. I need not observe to you, who have been sharers with me in the conduct of those transactions which have taken place for some years past, that the principle of our Indian administration has been, so to combine the operations of finance and commerce, as that they may be mutually subservient to each other, by the revenues of India administering to the wants of Leadenhall-street, and on the other hand, the treasury of Leadenhall-street administering to the necessities of India, when the surplus of the revenues of India has become, either partially or totally, inadequate to the demands created by the enormous expenses of an extensive and complicated war, joined to the desire of remitting a large and valuable investment from India to Europe.

I have had occasion, more than once, to observe, that although I could, without apprehension, acquiesce in the extension of the company's credit in India, to an amount unknown before, for the purposes of war and investment; still that operation must have its bounds, and the debt must not be permitted to become so unwieldy, as not to be reduceable to its proper scale, within a moderate period after the return of peace. It is impossible, perhaps, with perfect accuracy, to decide the precise point at which the borrowing for the combined purposes of war and commerce ought to cease; but I believe I do not take a very unsafe criterion, when I contend, that the use of the company's credit abroad, for the purpose of commerce, ought to cease, when individuals find it for their advantage not to lend at a moderate interest, and the public cannot, of course, be accommodated, but at a very extravagant rate of interest. I considered the state of the company's credit in India to have arrived at that point, when I saw the debt growing to a rate of interest at ten or twelve per cent., in place of six or eight, and in addition to that, the creditor stipulating for himself a continuance of that loan, for a defined length of time, and at a high rate of interest, not less than ten per cent.

When, therefore, I saw the amount of the debt last year rise to above ten millions, bearing interest, and likely still further to increase, unless put a stop to, I thought it my duty to state to you, the propriety of restoring to India, from your treasury at home, a part of that balance, which has found its way into your treasury in

England, in consequence of the unprecedented use of your credit in India. It could not be done abruptly; and this led me to state, last year, to the house of commons, that I was ready to meet the Indian debt, even at the large amount of fourteen millions.

From what I have above stated, it will not be understood, that I mean to pledge myself to an opinion, that in any case it is proper for the East-India company to burthen their revenues in India by the contraction of debt for the purpose of investment. That commerce is the only proper medium by which the excrescent revenues of India can be conveyed to Britain, admits of no doubt; but it is, by no means, so clear, that creating a commercial capital, by borrowing at high interest in India, is an expedient measure. It is, however, unnecessary to follow that disquisition further at present, because the estimate you have produced this year, is a proof of your acquiescence in the plan of providing the prime-cost for your investment, without creating, at present, any further burthen on the revenues of India.

From what I have already stated, there can be no doubt of my hearty approbation to that measure, so far as it goes; but when it is of such infinite importance to all your future commercial prospects, to recover, as speedily as possible, the great commercial resource you have derived from the surplus revenues of India, from the time of the acquisition of the Dewannee, it surely cannot admit of a doubt, that having so obvious and easy a resource in your hands as that in question, you ought, without delay, to use it for that purpose.

I could expatiate much at large on this proposition, with all its bearings on the commercial prosperity of the East-India company; but when I consider to whom this letter is addressed, it would be unnecessary waste of your time to enlarge further on this topic.

The advantages of adopting the suggestion I have taken the liberty of submitting to you, are not less conspicuous in a political, than they are in a commercial view. Your debts in England are already reduced below their level, with a great balance of assets in your favour: judge then, to what a pitch of security your territories in India would be raised, if your revenues were disencumbered, within a short period, of the burthens which lay upon them. If before this is done, you were to be engaged in new struggles for the maintenance of that pre-eminence which you have progressively attained, you would be obliged to engage in them with your whole surplus revenues, absorbed in the payment of an extravagant rate of interest, and you could not trust to the measure of a further extension of your credit, already stretched to an unprecedented amount; whereas, by extinguishing your Indian debt, you would, in a few years, have the command of a clear surplus of two millions, applicable to the purposes, either of commerce or defence, as might be expedient at the moment; and you would, at the same time, be in possession of your credit entire, which experience has proved may, without danger of being overstretched, be carried to the amount of fourteen millions sterling. In such circumstances, you would be in a situation to bid defiance to the assault of every enemy; for you would be enabled, on the resources of India alone, to maintain a war, beyond any term of years that the most gloomy imagination may choose to figure to itself.

With such a statement before you, I am positive, from my long knowledge of you, I would do you much injustice, if I was to entertain any such diffidence, as to think it necessary to dwell longer on the elucidation of the propositions which I have thus briefly endeavoured to enforce.

The last of the data I have stated above, and which follows as a result of the others, is, "That "the extinction of the debt shall be carried on "at the rate of one million annually, till the "part of it termed the decennial loan shall be-"come payable, which is expected to take place "on or about the year 1807-8. The sum then "payable is stated at £3,500,000, when the "debts at interest abroad will be reduced to "£4,500,000."

Upon examining the progressive operation of the account, No. I, you will perceive, that from the balance accruing at home, there would be the means of extinguishing the debt at an earlier period than that I have alluded to, and in this respect, the plan is open to such alterations and modifications as circumstances may suggest. I have preferred this mode of stating it, as appearing to me the most likely to suit the means of transfering home the debt, in the manner most convenient for the arrangements of government in India, and for the accommodation of the company's treasury at home. The only part fixed at present, and which cannot be altered without the consent of the creditors interested, is, that the decennial loan, amounting to about £3,500,000, cannot be paid off sooner than the year 1807-8, consistently with the conditions under which it was borrowed.

In like manner, when I mention the debt in India being reduced to £4,500,000, I do not state that as a circumstance essential to the principle of the plan itself. By the appropriation clauses in the act 1793 (Appendix, No. V.) which I subjoin, to prevent the trouble of reference, you will perceive, that at the renewal of the charter, the idea was to reduce the debt in India to two millions. That idea was suggested and adopted, upon the ground that a certain proportion of the debt might, with utility, be left in India, on transferable government securities, at an interest of about six per cent. resembling India bonds or exchequer bills in this country, and that such a measure would be not only convenient for the circulation of the country, but, in as far as those securities might find their way into the hands of the natives, it would tend to connect their interests more closely with the credit and stability of the British government in India. If those ideas are well-founded, it occurred to me that, in the present extended state of your empire and pecuniary relations at your

different settlements, a sum of £4,500,000 was more proportionate to the objects in view, than the sum of two millions, pointed out in the act 1793.

Indeed I may here in general observe, that in the frame of the account I have presented, I have been guided solely by the principle of elucidating what the progressive balance would be upon the data assumed; but I do not mean to anticipate what may be the most eligible mode of its appropriation, if the measure shall be found to produce the results I have stated. Some think, that no debt at all should be left in India: others are of opinion (and in which there is much sound policy) that when your affairs are brought into a situation to enable you to do so, it would be wise, after the example of other Indian powers, to have always a dépôt of treasure in your coffers in India, to the amount of three or four millions sterling, to meet any sudden emergency, and to save you the necessity of having immediate recourse to large loans, in the event of your being compelled to hostilities, by the restless ambition and jealousy of your enemies, either native or European.

But I desist from pursuing, in detail, these or other speculations of a similar nature. They are foreign to the object of this address, and must be reserved for the wisdom of others, at a future moment, to decide upon. I am of opinion, that if our Indian concerns proceed successfully on the principles and to the results I have detailed, a new arrangement between the public and the East-India company will be proper, with a view to the interest of both parties. It is obvious, that some arrangement must be necessary, in consequence of the contingent appropriations pointed out in the 111th clause of the act 1793; for if the balance should accumulate in any one year, to so large an amount as to exceed what can be used in that year, for the purposes which the act directs, it could not be allowed to remain as a dead fund; but it would, in my judgment, be wise to apply to parliament, for the power of carrying such surplus as cannot be appropriated to the purposes specified in the act, to an earlier commencement of the accumulation for the guarantee fund, subject to the condition of being at any time applicable to the reduction of the Indian debt, within the limit intended, as rapidly as the means of remitting to India for that purpose can be found. It is obvious, that under the circumstances I have supposed, such an enabling power to the directors of the East-India company would be equally beneficial to the public and to the proprietors of India Stock.

Having thus explained, as far as appears necessary, the principles of the plan I have presented for your consideration, it still remains, that I should take notice of the objections which have been stated, or may occur against the probable success of it.

In the explanations I have already given, I have had an opportunity of obviating some of those difficulties; and it does not appear to be necessary, in addressing you, to enter upon any justification of the accuracy of the account, so far as concerns the annual expenditure of each year. That is a subject familiar to you by daily observation, and I make no doubt you will concur with me in thinking, that in the different items of charge, I have made ample allowance for every article of expenditure.

Neither does it occur to me, that an objection can be made to any of the items of receipt in each year, unless (as indeed has been stated) it shall be supposed, that the sales may not remain at the amount I have estimated. I have taken them at the amount they now are; and I confess, if proper attention be paid to your trade, and no means omitted to ensure and encourage, permanently and on a solid foundation, the commercial intercourse between India and Great-Britain, I can see no reasonable ground of doubt, that the sales, on the return of peace, will continue at an amount not below their present level. Many circumstances, both in the internal state of Great-Britain and Ireland, and many considerations arising from a view of the probable state of the commerce of the world, lead me to believe, that at a general peace, any apprehensions on this head will prove unfounded. It is, however, my earnest wish, on the present occasion, to wave every circumstance which may be supposed of doubtful speculation, and therefore, since I heard the observation made, I have prepared an account similar to the other, proceeding on an amount of sales, so much reduced as to leave no room for doubt. Instead of taking the sales throughout at £7,400,000, as in the account, No. 1, I take them from the supposed return of peace at only £5,550,000. But then, if you suppose a reduced amount of sales, you must, at the same time, suppose a proportionable reduction of the sum necessary to be provided for prime-cost of the goods, which, in that respect, and in the amount of commercial charges of every description, adds facility to the execution of the plan; and although it takes something from the rapidity of success, does not take from its ultimate certainty or importance. The results of those data are pointed out in the account subjoined, No. VI.

It may, probably, be observed, that the account, No. 1, proceeds on the supposition of a continuance of peace, during the whole term of your charter, a period of not less than thirteen years. The observation is just, in point of fact; but I am not apprehensive of having the merits of my proposition tried on other data, and the utility of carrying it into execution will still remain indisputable. No one, however anxious in his disposition, however unfavourably inclined he may be to contemplate future prospects, will conceive me sanguine, in supposing that, if fortunately the war should be terminated in the present year, by an honourable and adequate peace, after a contest so long and so exhausting to all the belligerent powers with whom we are engaged, there may be a cessation from hostilities for the short period of seven years; and if that takes place, it gives time for the extinction of the Indian debt, which is the great and primary object of my suggestions: and if, at the end of

that period, there should be a renewal of hostilities, that should continue even for the whole period of the charter, it would not annihilate, and very little impair, the result of the calculations I have submitted to your attention. Even if there are five years war in Europe, experience teaches (and indeed the nature of a continental war in India is such) that you estimate largely, if you suppose, that out of five years of general war, more than three of it operates to the effect of increasing the military expenditure in India. While it does so operate, it of course leads to the consequence of your not being warranted to trust to the full amount of the calculated supply from the revenues of India; but when the war ceases in India itself (notwithstanding its continuance in Europe), the resource from the territorial revenues revives. It is true, that while the war continues in Europe, although it may have ceased in India, the expenses of commerce are greatly swelled by the increase of freight, and other circumstances, and therefore they must, in that case, be estimated at the war amount.

These propositions will be best understood, by puttting them into figures, as I have done the others; and I have therefore prepared two accounts, No. VII, and VIII. of the Appendix, one upon the supposition of an investment of four millions of prime cost, and seven millions four hundred thousand of sales; the other, on the supposition of three millions of prime cost, and five millions five hundred and fifty thousand of sales; and upon the examination of these accounts, you will perceive how little ground there is, for your being discouraged from eagerly adopting the proposition I am enforcing, even in the worst view of the result that the most timid imagination can suggest.

I will not trespass longer on your patience. After the most mature consideration I can give the subject in all its bearings and relations, I have a deep-rooted conviction, that your Indian debt is the only formidable enemy your Indian prosperity has to encounter. Subdue it, and you have subdued every thing that ought rationally to be dreaded. If I can inspire your minds with the same enthusiasm on this subject with which my own is animated, I shall rest in confidence, that you will not disregard my parting advice; but, by adopting the means which are in your hands, speedily overcome your Indian debt, and thereby exalt your own characters, by consulting the best interests of your constituents, and the general prosperity of your country. By such an operation, you will practically establish the expediency of the system under which we have been acting together for these seventeen years past, and you will prove to the legislature and to the public, the wisdom of leaving in the hands of the East-India company, the share they hold in the executive administration of our Indian empire.

I have only further to add, that I should not have troubled you with this address, if I had not felt myself warranted to assure you, that in this and every other measure, calculated to promote the good of the public, and the real interests of the East-India company, you will meet with the most cordial co-operation of the board over which I lately presided, and at which I have been succeeded by a person, whose amiable manners, and respectable talents, will ensure your confidence and respect, in proportion as they become habitually known to you.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

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APPENDIX, No. I.—Estimate, shewing what may be the Situation of the Cash Concerns of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY, in England, at the Conclusion of their Charter, calculated on the following Principles, *viz.* Supposing the prime Cost of the Investments from India and China, to amount, annually, to Four Millions, and the Sales to yield £7,400,000; that after the first Year, the Surplus from the territorial, &c. Revenues, shall amount to One Million, and gradually increase, by the Interest on the Debt (to be extinguished), &c. till it amounts to Two Millions, the Prime-Cost of the Investment being paid from the Surplus Revenue, and from the Proceeds of the Sales; reckoning on an Addition to the Capital Stock at £500,000, or One Million Sterling, annually, for Four Years; the Charges in the First Year taken on a War, and in the following on a Peace Establishment; reckoning, likewise, on the Liquidation of the Indian Debt, at Interest, taken at Fourteen Millions, so that, by the Year 1808-9, it shall be reduced to £4,500,000; and finally, shewing the Proceeds, without noticing what may be the Amount for the Participation of the Public.

RECEIPTS.	1801-2	1802-3.	1803-4.	1804-5.	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.	1808-9.	1809-10.	1810-11	1811-12.	1812-13.	1813-14.
Balance of Cash..... £	930,590	1,339,816	2,126,042	3,759,768	5,540,994	6,422,220	7,403,446	5,984,672	8,265,898	10,747,124	13,228,350	15,709,576	18,190,802
Sales of Goods.....	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000
Profit on Private Trade	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000
Interest on Annuities...	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226
Loyalty Loan.....	308,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Capital.....	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Receipts... £	9,794,816	9,896,042	10,682,268	12,315,994	13,097,220	13,978,446	14,959,672	13,540,898	15,822,124	18,303,350	20,784,576	23,265,802	25,747,028
PAYMENTS.													
Customs..... £	240,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000
Freight.....	1,500,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Charges on Goods.....	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000
Cost of Investments, the part paid in England.....	4,000,000	3,000,000	2,900,000	2,700,000	2,600,000	2,500,000	2,400,000	2,200,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
Dividends.....	705,000	810,000	862,500	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,600	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000
Charges Extra.....	390,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000
Freight Extra	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Payment of Indian Debt	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	3,500,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Officers on Furlough ...	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000
Captains of Ships, &c.	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Debt to the Bank.....	—	800,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Payments..... £	8,455,000	7,770,000	6,922,500	6,775,000	6,675,000	6,575,000	8,975,000	5,275,000	5,075,000	5,075,000	5,075,000	5,075,000	5,075,000
Balance remaining	1,339,816	2,126,042	3,759,768	5,540,994	6,422,220	7,403,446	5,984,672	8,265,898	10,747,124	13,228,350	15,709,576	18,190,802	20,672,028
Total...£	9,794,816	9,896,042	10,682,268	12,315,994	13,097,220	13,978,446	14,959,672	13,540,898	15,822,124	18,303,350	20,784,576	23,265,802	25,747,028

N. B. The above Estimate is framed on the Supposition of Peace after the first Year. The Calculations are made without Reference to the Rates of Exchange, or the Price of Bullion. Some Variation may be expected as to the precise Year in which the Debt would be reduced to the intended Limit. It may take place partly in the Year 1807-8, and partly in 1808-9.

APPENDIX, No. II.

Estimate shewing the surplus that must be produced in India, in order to effect the purposes laid down in the general estimate.

	Surplus Revenue	Saving by Interest on debt	Total.
	£	£	£
1801-2 - -	1,000,000	—	—
1802-3 - -	1,012,500	87,500	1,100,000
1803-4 - -	1,125,000	175,000	1,300,000
1804-5 - -	1,137,500	262,500	1,400,000
1805-6 - -	1,150,000	350,000	1,500,000
1806-7 - -	1,162,500	437,500	1,600,000
1807-8 - -	1,275,000	525,000	1,800,000
1808-9 - -	1,125,000	875,000	2,000,000

N. B.—If the debt at interest is reduced to £4,500,000, and the rate of interest to six per cent. the interest then payable would be £270,000 in which case the saving would be £955,000.

The above is exclusive of the amount required for the commercial charges, not addded to the invoices.

APPENDIX, No. III.

Estimate, shewing the reduction of the debt in India, calculated at fourteen millions, bearing interest, by the annual application of one million.

	Principal.	Interest at 8½ per Cent.
	£.	£.
April 1801	14,000,000	1,225,000
Season.—1801-2 - - -	1,000,000	87,500
Do. 1802	13,000,000	1,137,500
Do.—1802-3 - - - -	1,000,000	87,500
Do. 1803	12,000,000	1,050,000
Do.—1803-4 - - - -	1,000,000	87,500
Do. 1804	11,000,000	962,500
Do.—1804-5 - - - -	1,000,000	87,500
Do. 1805	10,000,000	875,000
Do.—1805-6 - - - -	1,000,000	87,500
Do. 1806	9,000,000	787,500
Do.—1806-7 - - - -	1,000,000	87,500
Do. 1807	8,000,000	700,000
Do.—1807-8 Dec. L.	3,500,000	at 10 prCt. 350,000
1808	4,500,000	350,000

The interest calculated to remain payable on the debt reduced to £4,500,000, is £350,000, which may be reckoned at about £7. 15s. 6½d, per cent. The saving of interest by the reduction is £875,000; but if the remaining debt were to be at six per cent. the saving would be £955,000.

APPENDIX, No. IV.

Estimate of revenues and charges at each presidency in India, and total amount of net surplus to arise in the first year of peace, on the supposition of the revenues continuing to produce as estimated on the latest materials received from India, and of the charges being regulated according to the last instructions, and distinguishing by what amount, and on what grounds, the several charges are expected to be reduced below, or increased above, the estimate for 1800-1.

REVENUES.

BENGAL.

at 2s. the Current Rupee.

The estimates for 1800-1 makes the total revenues £6,339,200

In this the subsidy from Oude is taken at 96¼ lacs of Sicca Rupees; but Marquis Wellesley states the full subsidy at 115 lacs. The arrangements were not completed when the estimate mas made, the difference may therefore be added, being Sicca

Carr. ov. - 6,339,200

CHARGES.

BENGAL.

at 2s. the Current Rupee.

The charges in the estimate for 1800-1 are stated at - - - - - - - £4,422,000

In these are included the expense of military stores, at an amount far exceeding the average of former years; and it is presumed a reduction may in future take place of - - - - - - £20,000

Car. ov. - 20,000 4,422,000

REVENUES.

BENGAL.—*continued.*

Brought forward. -		6,339,200
Rupees 18½ lacs, or CR^s 1,46,000, at 2s. - - - -		214,600
		6,553,800
The Opium, in the estimate, is said to be taken as last year, but is, in fact, £34,000 more. The sale in 1799-1800 was extraordinarily productive; and although some addition in the quantity was expected in 1800-1, it seems prudent, for a continuance, not to take it at a higher sum than last year's sales. Deduct therefore - - - - - - - - - -	34,000	
As the other articles of the estimate do not seem liable to objection, the Bengal Revenue may be calculated at - - - - - -		£6,519,800

PORT ST. GEORGE.

at 8s. the Pagoda.

The revenues, by the estimate for 1800-1, are		£3,273,000
In this, the subsidy from the Nizam is Pagodas 46,000; but by the new treaty of October last, he commuted the old subsidy for his share of the territories ceded by, and conquered from Tippoo, in 1792 and 1799, the revenues of which, by Tippoo's accounts, are Pagodas 17,92,000. Those of 1792 are thought to be under-rated in these accounts, but on the other hand, the revenues of the countries conquered in 1799; are supposed to be much undervalued, and in fact the company's share, which was to the same amount, has produced double the estimate. The difference between the old subsidy and the revenues of the countries ceded by the Nizam, may therefore be added, being Pagodas 8,46,000, or -	338,000	
The Malabar revenues, not placed under Fort St. George, are not included in the estimate, and the Bombay accounts contain		
Car. ov. -	£3,611,000	£6,519,800

CHARGES.

BENGAL.—*continued.*

Brought forward. -	20,000	£4,422,000
Also the temporary expense of repairing the fortifications at Futty Ghur, in consequence of the treaty with the Vizier	30,000	
	50,000	
A further sum might be deducted, on account of the expense of building the new government house estimated at £34,800, which cannot be a permanent charge; but as the military expenses are rather below the probable amount, when the arrangements for Oude are completed, this may be set against it.		£4,372,000

FORT ST. GEORGE.

at 8*s.* the Pagoda.

The charges, by the estimate of 1800-1, are -		£3,723,000
On the most minute examination of the estimate of military charges, compared with the auditor general's statement, from which it is taken; after allowing for the increased establishment, and all contingencies, stated by the auditor general, the estimate appears subject to the following alterations:		
The total military charges, including the troops in Malabar and Canara, should be more than in the estimate, by pag^s.	3,44,887	
In the total are included the following extra expense of colonel Wellesley's detachment - -	5,66,409	
Arrears to bullock-owners, 1799	59,413	
Extra expense of a secret expedition - - -	2,00,000	
French prisoners - - - -	28,118	
Extra expense of troops at the Moluccas & Malacca, and supplies to those settlements - -	3,06,300	
Car. ov. -	11,60,240	£3,723,000 £4,372,000

REVENUES.

FORT ST. GEORGE.—*continued.*

Brought forward	3,611,000	6,512,800
the estimate of two months revenues only. The net revenue for ten months may be calculated at pagodas 3,00,000, or - -	120,000	
The total revenues may therefore be taken at - - - -		3,731,000

BOMBAY.

at 2*s*. 3*d*. the Rupee.

The revenues, by the estimate for 1800-1, are	£300,000	
But in this the revenue of Malabar is included for two months, at a much higher proportion than is warranted by the collections of the former year, when they were at the highest. I allow for this, and a small article of revenue, included for two years, deduct -	£10,000	
Some improvements are expected hereafter in the Surat revenue, in consequence of the late arrangement, for which allow - - - - -	6,000	
	4,000	296,000
Total Revenues - -		£10,546,800

CHARGES.

FORT ST. GEORGE.—*continued.*

Brought for.	1160,240	£3,723,000	£4,372,000
This, and the former article, it is supposed, will be discontinued, as charges to the company, on the return of peace.			
Pagodas	11,60,240		
The difference is	8,15,353		
which will probably be saved in future, being -		326,140	
The charges at Fort St. George will then be - - - -			3,396,860

BOMBAY.

at 2*s*. 3*d*. the Rupee.

The estimate for 1800-1 is - - - - - - -	£1,052,000	
This includes several items for two years' expense, and does not allow for retrenchments in some departments. The military charges and expense of stores appear over-rated: on the whole, it is thought a deduction may justly be made of - -	52,000	1,000,000

BENCOOLEN, PRINCE OF WALES' ISLAND, AND ST. HELENA.

The supplies, by the estimate of 1800-1, are - - - - - -	82,400
Total charges - - - -	8,851,260
Estimated net revenue -	1,695,540
	£10,546,800

Estimated net revenue brought down - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - £1,695,540

In the accounts of Madras, the expense of Ceylon is estimated at £70,000, which will not, in future, be chargeable to the company; but from this is to be deducted the revenues of the Dutch settlements, amounting to £24,000: the difference then is £46,000

The reduction of the military in India, by the court's late orders, is estimated to produce a saving of - 270,000 316,000

The net revenue may then be estimated at - - - - - - - - - - - - - - £2,011,540

From this the interest of the debts is to be defrayed, which cannot be computed at present at less than - 1,150,000

But it may be conjectured that part will be paid by bills on the court, under the orders lately sent to India for that purpose. The remaining estimated surplus is £861,540

But to allow for unforeseen contingencies, it may be better to take it at - - - £800,000

The surplus revenue, without reducing the military establishments more than by the orders lately sent out, may thus be estimated at £800,000. If the increase to the artillery directed by those orders, could be postponed, it would produce a saving of £54,000. If all the native infantry regiments in India were reduced to 1400 privates each, it would be a saving of £153,000 per annum.

Appendix, No. 5.—Extract of Act of 33 Geo. III. Cap. 52—Sections 107 to 123.

107. And be it further enacted, that for and during so long time as the said company shall be entitled to the whole, sole, and exclusive trade and traffic, in, to, and from the East-Indies, and other places within the limits of their charter, subject to the provisions, regulations, and limitations in this act contained, the clear profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, and revenues in India, after defraying the charges and expenses of collecting the same, shall be applied and disposed of, and for the uses and purposes hereinafter expressed, in the following order of preference, and to or for no other use or purpose, or in any other manner whatever, any act or acts of parliament now in force to the contrary notwithstanding, (that is to say), in the first place, in defraying all the charges and expenses of raising and maintaining the forces, as well European as native, military and marine, on the establishments in India, and of maintaining the forts and garrisons there, and providing warlike and naval stores: Secondly, in payment of the interest accruing on the debts owing, or which may be hereafter incurred by the said company in India: Thirdly, in defraying the civil and commercial establishments of the said company at their several settlements there: Fourthly, that there shall be issued to the respective commercial boards of the said company, at their several presidencies in India, in such proportions as the court of directors of the said company, with the approbation of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, shall, from time to time, direct, a sum of not less than one crore of current rupees in every year, to be applied in the provision of the company's investment of goods in India, and in remittances to China, for the provision of investment of goods there: And, Fifthly, that as often as any part of the said debts shall be redeemed or discharged in India, or transferred from thence to Great-Britain, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said court of directors, with the consent of the said board of commissioners, to increase the annual advancement to the said commercial boards, for the provision of investments in India and China, in the same extent to which the interest of the debts in India shall be reduced by such extinction and transfers respectively, if the trade of the said company from India, and their remittances to China, shall admit of or require such increase: and that after the appropriations aforesaid, or sums set apart sufficient to answer and make good the same, the surplus of the said revenues shall be applied to the liquidation of the debts of the said company in India, or to such other uses and purposes as the court of directors, with the approbation of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, shall, from time to time, direct; any act or acts of parliament to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

108. And whereas sundry debts, incurred in the defence and protection of the British possessions in India, bearing interest, are now due and owing by the said company there, amounting to seven crores of current rupees, or seven millions of pounds sterling, or thereabouts: And whereas it will be convenient and beneficial to the company's affairs, that the greater part of the said debts should be transferred or remitted to, and paid in Great-Britain; and it is therefore expedient, that proper encouragement should be given to the creditors of the said company in India, to transfer and remit the same accordingly: Be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for the several governments and presidencies in India, from time to time, to grant bills of exchange upon the court of directors of the said company, payable in Great-Britain, at such equitable rates of exchange as shall be, from time to time, directed or authorized by the said court of directors, with the approbation of the said board of commissioners for the affairs of India, for the purposes of transferring and remitting the said debts, in manner aforesaid incurred by the said company, and now due and owing by them in India, to Great-Britain, until the said debts in India shall be reduced to a sum not exceeding two crores of current rupees, or two millions of pounds sterling; and that the said court of directors shall be, and are, by force and virtue of this act, fully authorized and empowered to accept and discharge such bills of exchange accordingly, over and besides such other bills of exchange as the said company could or might lawfully accept and pay, if this act had not been made, and not otherwise, or in any other manner, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

109. Provided also, and be it further enacted, that if the creditors of the said company in India shall decline to accept of and receive such bills of exchange as aforesaid, in payment or discharge of their said respective debts, or shall not accept the same, to the amount of five hundred thousand pounds in any year, it shall and may be lawful for the governor general in council of Fort William in Bengal, or for the governors in council of the several presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, respectively by the order and authority of the said governor general in council, to raise a sufficient sum or sums, whereby to make up a remittance for such year, to the amount by which the total of bills of exchange, so accepted by the said creditors, shall fall short of the said sum of five hundred thousand pounds, by loans of and from any other persons willing to advance the same, upon the credit of bills of exchange to be drawn by them upon the said court of directors, at such equitable rates of exchange as shall be authorized and directed in the manner before-mentioned; and that the money so raised in India shall forthwith, upon payment thereof into the proper treasury there, be issued and applied towards the liquidation and discharge of the said debts of the said company in India, and to or for no other use or purpose whatever.

110. Provided also, and be it further enacted, that nothing in this act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to authorize any of the governments in India to grant bills of exchange for the purpose of transferring, or remitting the said debts from India to Great-Britain, to become due and payable within any one year, to be computed from the first day of January in the same year, exceeding in amount the sum of five hundred thousand pounds, unless by the special order and authority of the court of directors of the said company, for that purpose first had and obtained, any thing herein-contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

111. And be it further enacted, that during the continuance of the exclusive trade to the said company, the net proceeds of their sales of goods at home, within the duties and allowances arising by

private trade; and all other profits of the said company in Great-Britain, after providing for the payment of bills of exchange already accepted by the said company, as the same shall become due, and for the current payment of other debts, interest, and other outgoings, charges, and expenses of the said company (their bond debt always excepted) shall be applied and disposed of in the following manner; (that is to say) first, in payment of a dividend, after the rate of ten pounds *per centum per annum*, on the present or any future amount of the capital stock of the said company, the first half-year's payment thereof to commence and be made at Midsummer, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three: secondly, in payment of five hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, the same to be set apart on the first day of March and the first day of September, half-yearly, in equal portions, and applied in the discharge of bills of exchange drawn or to be drawn in India, for the transfer or remittance of the debts of the said company from thence to Great-Britain, for the diminution of such debts, until the same shall be reduced to two crores of current rupees, or two millions of pounds sterling: thirdly, in payment of a sum not exceeding five hundred thousand pounds in every year, into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, to be applied as Parliament shall direct, the same to be set apart for that purpose on the first day of July, and the first day of January in every year, by equal portions, and the first half-yearly payment thereof to be made or accounted due on the first day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three; and if the said funds shall prove insufficient in any year to satisfy such last-mentioned payments into his Majesty's exchequer, that then and in every such case the same shall be made good, except as in this act is otherwise specially provided; out of any surplus which may remain from the said net proceeds in any subsequent year, after the payment of the annual sum of five hundred thousand pounds into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, becoming due in each year respectively: and that until the said debts in India shall be reduced to the said amount of two crores of current rupees, or two millions of pounds sterling, the ultimate surplus which shall remain of the said net proceeds, after such payments thereout made as aforesaid, shall and may be, from time to time, set apart and applied in augmentation of the said fund or annual sum of five hundred thousand pounds a year, hereby appropriated for the reduction of the said debts in India, in and for the reduction thereof, by the discharge of any further bills of exchange to be drawn from thence, either for the transfer and remittance thereof to Great-Britain, or for loans of money to be borrowed on the credit of any bills of exchange which shall be granted by the order of the court of directors, to any greater amount than is herein-before limited or directed in that behalf; or otherwise it shall be lawful for the said court of directors to apply any part of the said ultimate surplus of the said net proceeds in the payment of any debts of the said company in Great-Britain (the said bond debt of one million five hundred thousand pounds only excepted) or to the purchase of any goods, wares, or other merchandize, to be disposed of in India or China, and to appropriate the produce thereof in and towards the more speedy diminution of the said debts in India; and that when and so soon as the said debts in India shall have been reduced to the amount herein-before limited in respect thereof, and the bond debt in Great-Britain to one million five hundred thousand pounds, the surplus of the said net proceeds, after providing for the current payments of interest, and other outgoings, charges, and expenses of the said company, and of a dividend after the said rate of ten pounds *per centum per annum*, on the said capital stock, and the said annual sum of five hundred thousand pounds to be paid into the exchequer, and after making good all former deficiencies in the said annual payments, otherwise than as is provided by this act, shall be applied and disposed of in manner following: (that is to say) one sixth part of the said surplus, computed and adjusted to the first day of March in every year, shall be reserved and retained by the said company for their own use, and applied in augmentation of the dividends on their said capital stock; and that the residue of the said surplus shall be set apart, and from time to time paid by the said company into the Bank of England, within the first week in April in each year, to be there placed to the account of the commissioners appointed by an act of the twenty-sixth year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act for vesting certain Sums in Commissioners, at the End of every Quarter of a Year, to be by them applied in the Reduction of the National Debt," until the monies so paid, together with the sums arising by the growing interest thereof, shall have amounted to twelve millions of pounds sterling, and that from and after such payments, together with the money so arising by the said growing interest, shall have amounted to the said sum of twelve millions of pounds sterling, the said surplus shall be, from time to time, paid into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, and be there placed to the account of the consolidated fund, as the property of the public in full right.

112. Provided also, and be it further enacted, that if the debts of the said company in India, after the same shall have been reduced to two crores of current rupees, or two millions of pounds sterling, shall be again increased beyond that amount, or if their bond debt in Great-Britain, after the same shall have been reduced to one million five hundred thousand pounds, shall be again increased beyond that sum, then and so often as either of those cases shall happen, the like appropriations as are herein-before directed or authorized to be made for the reduction of the said present debts shall again take place and be made for the reduction of the said new debts respectively, until the whole of the debts of the said company in India shall be again reduced to two crores of current rupees, and their bond debt in Great-Britain to one million five hundred thousand pounds, any thing in this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

113. And be it further enacted, that the governor and company of the Bank of England shall raise and keep an account with the said commissioners in their books, to be intituled, "The Account of the Guarantee Fund of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies;" and that as well all such monies as shall be so paid by the the said united company to the said governor and company by virtue of this act, as also the annual dividends or interest to arise therefrom, in manner by this act provided, shall be placed to the said account, and shall be severally and respectively, under the

order and direction of the said governor and company of the Bank of England, laid out and invested in the names of the said commissioners, in the purchase of capital stock in any of the redeemable public annuities transferrable at the Bank of England, the same to be transferred to the said commissioners, on account of the said guarantee fund, in the books of the said governor and company of the Bank of England; and that the dividends payable thereon shall, from time to time, be received by the said governor and company of the Bank of England, and be placed to the account of the said commissioners.

114. And be it further enacted, that when and after the monies paid by the said united company to the said governor and company of the bank, together with the monies received for dividends on the capital stock of annuities purchased therewith, and with the proceeds thereof, shall have amounted to twelve millions of pounds sterling, the dividends of the said capital stock of annuities shall, in preference to any other disposition thereof, be subject and liable to make good to the said united company, for and during all such time as they shall continue to trade with a joint stock, any deficiency or deficiencies in their own funds, applicable to the payment of the said dividend of ten pounds *per centum per annum* on the capital stock of the said united company, if any such deficiency shall happen in such payment or payments; and that when there shall be no such deficiency, or being such, after the same shall be made good out of the siad dividends, such dividends, or the surplus thereof, shall be deemed to be the property of the public, and shall be paid, when and as often as the same shall arise, by the said governor and company of the Bank of England, into the receipt of the exchequer, and be there carried to the account of the consolidated fund.

115. And be it further enacted, that the capital stock of annuities, wherein, or in the purchase whereof, the said sum of twelve millions of pounds sterling shall be invested, pursuant to the directions of this act, shall be deemed and considered as a guarantee fund, for the better securing to the said united company their said capital stock, or the value thereof, such value being always computed for that purpose, after the rate of two hundred pounds for every one hundred pounds of such capital stock; and that if, at the time of the right and title of the said united company to the said whole, sole, and exclusive trade (limited as aforesaid) becoming determined, their own funds and assets, real and personal, shall be insufficient to pay and satisfy all their just debts, and to make good to the said company their said capital stock, or the value thereof, computing the same after the said rate of two hundred pounds for every one hundred pounds of the said stock, that then the said capital stock of annuities, or guarantee fund, shall be deemed and considered, as far as the same shall or may extend for that purpose, to be in the first place, and before any other application thereof, subject and liable to make good to the said company and their creditors, the deficiency so arising in their own funds and effects for the purpose aforesaid; and that the said capital stock of annuities, or the surplus thereof, after making good such deficiency (if any such there shall be) shall remain and continue as a guarantee fund, for the better securing the capital stock of the said united company, or the value thereof, rating the same as aforesaid, after such determination of their whole, sole, and exclusive trade, for so long time as they shall continue to trade with a joint stock, and subject thereto; and after making good all such deficiencies, that the said capital stock of annuities, or so much thereof as shall then remain, shall be and be deemed the property of the public.

116. And be it further enacted, that from and after any money shall be paid by the said united company to the said governor and company of the Bank of England, by virtue of this act, an account shall be made to the last day of January in every year, by the governor and company of the Bank of England, of all sums which shall have been paid to them by the said united company, or carried into their books on account of the said commissioners, under or by virtue of this act, and also of all sums of capital stock of annuities, which, in pursuance hereof, shall have been purchased in the names of the said commissioners, with the interest accruing thereupon, and of the application of the same, respectively; which account the said governor and company of the Bank of England are hereby required to lay before both Houses of Parliament, on or before the fifteenth day of February immediately following, if Parliament shall be then sitting, and if Parliament shall not then be sitting, then within fourteen days after the commencement of the then next session of Parliament.

117. And be it further enacted, that the security or securities given, or hereafter to be given, by the cashier or cashiers of the governor and company of the bank of England, for the due performance of their trust, in pursuance of a clause for that purpose contained in the said act of the twenty-sixth year of His Majesty's reign, shall extend, and be deemed in law to extend to their due performance of the trust by this act reposed in the said cashier or cashiers, respectively.

118. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that such reasonable allowances shall be made to the said governor and company of the bank of England and their cashier or cashiers, in respect of their services, labour, and expenses, in the performance of the trusts hereby reposed in them, as the commissioners of His Majesty's treasury, or the high treasurer for the time being, shall in that behalf direct the same to be paid or retained out of the annual dividends or proceeds of the capital stock of annuities to be purchased under the authority of this act; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

119. And be it further enacted, that the said united company and their successors shall, and they are hereby directed and required to pay into the receipt of His Majesty's exchequer, and into the bank of England, the several and respective sums of money by this act directed to be paid by them, at or within the times, and in the manner and form aforesaid, and according to the true intent and meaning of this act; and if the said united company or their successors shall make failure in any payment hereby appointed to be made by them into the said receipt of the exchequer, or into the bank of England, according to the tenor and true meaning hereof, that then and in any such case the money whereof such failure in payment shall be made, shall and may be recovered from the said united company and their successors to His Majesty's use, by action of debt, or upon the case, bill, suit, or information, in

any of His Majesty's courts of record at Westminster, wherein no essoign, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed, or any more than one imparlance; in which action, bill, suit, or information, it shall be lawful to declare, that the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies are indebted to His Majesty in the monies which they shall have made default in payment, according to the form of this act, and have not paid the same; which declaration shall be sufficient, and in or upon such action, bill, plaint, or information, there shall be further recovered for His Majesty's use, against the said company and their successors, damages after the rate of fifteen pounds *per centum per annum*, for the respective monies so unpaid contrary to this act, together with full costs of suit; and the said united company and their successors, and all their stock and funds, and all other their real and personal property and estate, lands and tenements, whatever and wherever, shall be and are hereby made subject and liable to the payment of the said monies and damages, with the full costs of suit.

120. And be it further enacted, that the said united company and their successors shall, upon payment of the several sums by this act directed to be made into the receipt of His Majest's exchequer, and into the bank of England respectively, be fully exonerated, acquitted, and discharged, as against His Majesty, his heirs, and successors, from all writs, actions, suits, damages, and proceedings, for or on account of the respective sums which shall be so paid by the said company; and in order that no difficulty or dispute may arise in respect thereof, a certificate shall be made, without fee or reward, for the ascertaining the amount of every distinct sum by the said company paid into the receipt of the exchequer, and into the bank of England respectively, by virtue of this act at the time of the payment thereof, specifying the amount of the sum or sums so paid, and the day of payment of the same; which certificate in respect of monies paid into the receipt of the exchequer shall be signed by the auditor of the receipt of the exchequer, the clerk of the pells, and one of the tellers, or in their absence, by their respective deputies attending at the said receipt; and for monies paid into the bank of England, such certificate shall be signed by one of the chief cashiers of the said bank of England, severally and respectively, at the time of payment of such money; and the several certificates, so signed, shall be delivered to the said company, or their chief treasurer or cashier, and shall be good and sufficient evidence in law, as against His Majesty, his heirs, and successors, for the payment of the sum or sums therein expressed and specified.

121. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that if the making payment of any sum or sums into the receipt of the exchequer, or into the bank of England, respectively, at or within the time or times appointed by this act for that purpose, will be attended with material inconvenience or embarrassment to the affairs of the said company, then and in every such case the court of directors of the said company shall and are hereby required to represent the same, and the circumstances thereof, to the high treasurer or commissioners of the treasury for the time being, who shall forthwith examine into and consider of such representation; and thereupon it shall and may be lawful for the said high treasurer or commissioners of the treasury, if he or they shall see cause, to postpone or suspend the payment of the sum or sums, so accruing or accrued due as aforesaid, for such reasonable time, and upon such terms and conditions, as to him or them shall appear reasonable and expedient; and that the payment of the said sum or sums shall accordingly be postponed or suspended, and no penalty or damages shall be incurred or incurrable in the mean time, by reason of the non-payment thereof, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding; provided always, that there be laid before both Houses of parliament, within fourteen days after the making such order, if parliament shall be then sitting, or otherwise within the first fourteen sitting days of the then next session of parliament, a copy of the said order, and of the representation of the said court of directors, whereon the same shall have been granted.

122. Provided also, and be it further enacted, that if it shall happen that, by any extraordinary expenses incurred in time of war, or preparations for war, or from circumstances incidental to war, the aforesaid net proceeds shall fall short (after payment or provision made for the said dividend of ten pounds *per centum*, and the said five hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, for the reduction of the said debt in India) of making payment to the exchequer of the said five hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, for the use of the public, then and so often as the same shall happen, the deficiency or deficiencies in the said last-mentioned payments shall not be made good out of the surplus of any future year or years, to impede the accumulation of the said guarantee fund, not exceeding twelve millions of pounds, payable into the exchequer; but that the amount of all deficiencies so happening and occasioned, shall be deemed as a debt to be made good to the public upon the determination of the exclusive trade of the said company, in the event only of their general assets, consisting of monies in their treasuries, securities for money, ships, goods, wares, and merchandize, and other their live and dead stock, producing or amounting in value to more than sufficient for the payment of all the just debts of the said company, and of making good to the said company the value of their capital stock, rated at two hundred pounds for every one hundred pounds of such stock; but that after payment or provision made for the said debts and capital stock as aforesaid, the surplus or excess of the said general assets shall be applied in the making good the amount of the said deficiencies, as far as the same will extend, in preference to any other application thereof; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

123. Provided also, and be it further enacted, that the appropriation made by this act of the clear profits of the said territorial acquisitions and revenues in India shall not extend, or be construed to extend, to prejudice or affect the rights of the public, or of the said United Company, respecting the said territorial acquisitions and revenues, beyond the further term by this act granted to the said United Company, under the limitations thereof, in the sole and exclusive trade to the East-Indies and parts aforesaid.

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APPENDIX, No. VI.—Estimate, shewing what may be the Situation of the Cash Concerns of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY, in England, at the Conclusion of their Charter, calculated on the following Principles, *viz.* Supposing after the first Year the Prime-Cost of the Investments from India and China to amount annually to Three Millions, and the Sale to yield £5,550,000; that the Surplus from the Territorial, &c. Revenues, shall amount to One Million, and gradually increase, by the Interest on the Debt (to be extinguished), &c. till it amounts to Two Millions, the Prime-Cost of the Investment being paid from the Surplus Revenue, and from the Proceeds of the Sales, reckoning on an Addition to the Capital Stock at £500,000, or One Million Sterling annually, for Four Years; the Charges in the first Year taken on a War, and in the following on a Peace Establishment; reckoning, likewise, on the Liquidation of the Indian Debt at Interest, taken at Fourteen Millions, so that by the Year 1808-9 it shall be reduced to £4,500,000; and finally, shewing the Proceeds, without noticing what may be the Amount for the Participation of the Public.

RECEIPTS.	1801-2.	1802-3.	1803-4.	1804-5.	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.	1808-9.	1809-10.	1810-11.	1811-12.	1812-13.	1813-14.
Balance of Cash ..... £.	930,590	1,339,816	1,663,542	2,834,768	4,153,494	4,572,220	5,090,946	3,209,672	5,028,398	7,047,124	9,065,850	11,084,576	13,103,302
Sales of Goods	7,400,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000
Profit on Private Trade	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000
Interest on Annuities...	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226
Loyalty Loan	308,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Capital	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Receipts..... £	9,794,816	8,046,042	8,369,768	9,540,994	9,859,720	10,278,446	10,797,172	8,915,898	10,734,624	12,753,350	14,772,076	16,790,802	18,809,528
PAYMENTS.													
Customs ..... £	240,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000
Freight	1,500,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000
Charges on Goods	370,000	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500
Cost of Investments, the Part paid in England	4,000,000	2,000,000	1,900,000	1,700,000	1,600,000	1,500,000	1,400,000	1,200,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Dividends	705,000	810,000	862,500	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000
Charges Extra.....	390,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000
Freight Extra.....	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Payment of Indian Debt	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	3,500,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Officers on Furlough ...	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000
Captains of Ships, &c...	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Debt to the Bank	—	800,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Payments ..... £	8,455,000	6,382,500	5,535,000	5,387,500	5,287,500	5,187,500	7,587,500	3,887,500	3,687,500	3,687,500	3,687,500	3,687,500	3,687,500
Balance remaining.....	1,339,816	1,663,542	2,834,768	4,153,494	4,572,220	5,090,946	3,209,672	5,028,398	7,047,124	9,065,850	11,084,576	13,103,302	15,122,028
Total..... £	9,794,816	8,046,042	8,369,768	9,540,994	9,859,720	10,278,446	10,797,172	8,915,898	10,734,624	12,753,350	14,772,076	16,790,802	18,809,528

N. B. The above Estimate is framed on the Supposition of Peace after the first Year. The Calculations are made without Reference to the Rates of Exchange or the Price of Bullion. Some Variation may be expected as to the precise Year in which the Debt would be reduced to the intended Limits. It may take Place partly in the Year 1807-8, and partly in 1808-9.

APPENDIX, No. VII.—Estimate, shewing what may be the Situation of the Cash Concerns of the EAST-INDIA COMPANY, in England, at the Conclusion of their Charter, calculated on the following Principles, *viz.* Supposing the Prime-Cost of the Investments from India and China to amount, annually, to Four Millions, and the Sales to yield £7,400,000; that after the First Year, the Surplus from the Territorial, &c. Revenues shall amount to One Million, and gradually increase, by the Interest on the Debt (to be extinguished), &c. till it amounts to Two Millions; the Prime-Cost of the Investment being paid from the Surplus Revenue, and from the Proceeds of the Sales; reckoning on an Addition to the Capital Stock at £500,000 or One Million Sterling annually, for Four Years; the Home Charges in the First Year being taken on a War Establishment, in the Seven following on a Peace Establishment, and in the Five last again on a War Establishment; reckoning, likewise, on the Liquidation of the Indian Debt at Interest taken at Fourteen Millions, so that, by the Year 1808-9, it shall be reduced to £4,500,000; and finally, shewing the Proceeds, without noticing what may be the Amount for the Participation of the Public.

N. B. *The Figures in small Type exhibit what might be the further Effect of an Indian War, by absorbing a great Part of the Surplus Revenues of the Years* 1809-10, 1810-11, *and* 1811-12.

RECEIPTS.	WAR.	PEACE.							WAR.				
	1801-2.	1802-3.	1803-4.	1804-5.	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.	1808-9.	1809-10.	1810-11.	1811-12.	1812-13.	1813-14.
Balance of Cash ..... £	930,590	1,339,816	2,126,042	3,759,768	5,540,994	6,422,220	7,403,446	5,984,672	8,265,898	10,217,124 9,217,124	12,168,350 9,168,350	14,119,576 10,119,576	16,070,802 12,070,802
Sales of Goods.....	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000	7,400,000
Profit on Private Trade ..	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000
Interest on Annuities....	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226
Loyalty Loan	308,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Capital	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Receipts ..... £	9,794,816	9,896,042	10,682,268	12,315,994	13,097,220	13,978,446	14,959,672	13,540,898	15,822,124	17,773,350 16,773,350	19,724,576 16,724,576	21,675,802 17,675,802	23,627,028 19,627,028
PAYMENTS.													
Customs ..... £	240,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000	180,000
Freight	1,500,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,500,000
Charges on Goods	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000	370,000
Cost of Investments, the part paid in England	4,000,000	3,000,000	2,900,000	2,700,000	2,600,000	2,500,000	2,400,000	2,200,000	2,000,000 3,000,000	2,000,000 4,000,000	2,000,000 3,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
Dividends.....	705,000	810,000	862,500	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000
Charges Extra.....	390,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	390,000	390,000	390,000	390,000	390,000
Freight Extra	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Payment of Indian Debt..	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	3,500,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Officers on Furlough	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000
Captains of Ships, &c....	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Debt to the Bank	—	800,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Payments ..... £	8,455,000	7,770,000	6,922,500	6,775,000	6,675,000	6,575,000	8,975,000	5,275,000	5,605,000 6,605,000	5,605,000 7,605,000	5,605,000 6,605,000	5,605,000	5,605,000
Balance remaining.....	1,339,816	2,126,042	3,759,768	5,540,994	6,422,220	7,403,446	5,984,672	8,265,898	10,217,124 9,217,124	12,168,350 9,168,350	14,119,576 10,119,576	16,070,802 12,070,802	18,022,028 14,022,028
Total..... £	9,794,816	9,896,042	10,682,268	12,315,994	13,097,220	13,978,446	14,959,672	13,540,898	15,822,124	17,773,350 16,773,350	19,724,576 16,724,576	21,675,802 17,675,802	23,627,028 19,627,028

N. B. The Calculations are made without Reference to Rates of Exchange or the Price of Bullion.—Some Variation may be expected as to the precise Year in which the Debt would be reduced to the intended Limit. It may take Place partly in the Year 1807-8, and partly in 1808-9.

and the Sales to yield £5,550,000; that the Surplus from the territorial, &c. Revenues, shall amount to One Million, and gradually increase, by the Interest on the Debt

									9,217,124	9,168,350	10,119,576	12,070,802	
Total..... £	9,794,816	9,896,042	10,682,268	12,315,994	13,097,220	13,978,446	14,959,672	13,540,898	15,822,124	17,773,350 16,773,350	19,724,576 16,724,576	21,675,802 17,675,802	23,627,028 19,627,028

N. B. The Calculations are made without Reference to Rates of Exchange or the Price of Bullion.—Some Variation may be expected as to the precise Year in which the Debt would be reduced to the intended Limit. It may take Place partly in the Year 1807-8, and partly in 1808-9.

and the Sales to yield £5,550,000; that the Surplus from the territorial, &c. Revenues, shall amount to One Million, and gradually increase, by the Interest on the Debt (to be extinguished), &c. till it amounts to Two Millions, the Prime-Cost of the Investment being paid from the Surplus Revenue, and from the Proceeds of the Sales, reckoning on an Addition to the capital Stock at £5,000,000, or One Million Sterling annually, for Four Years; the Home Charges in the first Year taken on a War Establishment, in the Seven following on a Peace Establishment, and in the Five last again on a War Establishment; reckoning, likewise, on the Liquidation of the Indian Debt at Interest, taken at Fourteen Millions, so that, by the Year 1808-9, it shall be reduced to £4,500,000; and finally, shewing the Proceeds, without noticing what may be the Amount for the Participation of the Public.

N. B. *The Figures in small Type exhibit what might be the further Effect of an Indian War, by absorbing a great Part of the Surplus Revenues of the Years* 1809-10, 1810-11, *and* 1811-12.

	War.	Peace.							War.				
RECEIPTS.	1801-2.	1802-3.	1803-4.	1804-5.	1805-6.	1806-7.	1807-8.	1808-9.	1809-10.	1810-11.	1811-12.	1812-13.	1813-14.
Balance of Cash..... £	930,590	1,339,816	1,663,542	2,834,768	41,53,494	4,572,220	5,090,946	3,209,672	5,028,398	6,642,124 5,642,124	8,255,850 5,255,850	9,869,576 5,869,576	11,483,302 7,483,302
Sales of Goods.....	7,400,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000	5,550,000
Profit on Private Trade ...	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000	120,000
Interest on Annuities	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226	36,226
Loyalty Loan	308,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Capital	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Receipts.. £	9,794,816	8,046,042	8,369,768	9,540,994	9,859,720	10,278,446	10,797,172	8,915,898	10,734,624	12,348,350 11,348,350	13,962,076 10,962,076	15,575,802 11,575,802	17,189,528 13,189,528
PAYMENTS.													
Customs..... £	240,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000
Freight	1,500,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	1,125,000	1,125,000	1,125,000	1,125,000	1,125,000
Charges on Goods	370,000	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500	277,500
Cost of Investments, the part paid in England	4,000,000	2,000,000	1,900,000	1,700,000	1,600,000	1,500,000	1,400,000	1,200,000	1,000,000 2,000,000	1,000,000 3,000,000	1,000,000 2,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Dividends	705,000	810,000	862,500	916,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000	915,000
Charges extra	390,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	360,000	390,000	390,000	390,000	390,000	390,000
Freight Extra	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100 000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Payment of Indian Debt	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	3,500,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Officers on Furlough	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000
Captains of Ships, &c..	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Debt to the Bank	—	800,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Payments ..... £	8,455,000	6,382,500	5,535,000	5,387,500	5,287,500	5,187,500	7,587,500	3,887,500	4,092,500 5,092,500	4,092,500 6,092,500	4,092,500 5,092,500	4,092,500	4,092,500
Balance remaining	1,339,816	1,663,542	2,834,768	4,163,494	4,572,220	5,090,946	3,209,672	5,028,398	6,642,124 5,642,124	8,255,850 5,255,850	9,869,576 5,869,576	11,483,302 7,483,302	13,097,028 9,097,028
Total.. £	9,794,816	8,046,042	8,369,768	9,540,994	9,859,720	10,278,446	10,797,172	8,915,898	10,734,624	12,348,350 11,348,350	13,962,076 10,962,076	15,575,802 11,575,802	17,189,528 13,189,528

N. B. The Calculations are made without Reference to Rates of Exchange or the Price of Bullion.—Some Variation may be expected as to the precise Year in which the Debt would be reduced to the intended Limit. It may take Place partly in the Year 1807-8, and partly in 1808-9.

Third Report of the Special Committee of the Eaſt India Directors.

Introduction.—In the beginning of the month of November, the Special Committee of the Court of Directors had made conſiderable progreſs in preparing a Report, under an apprehenſion that ſome meaſure might have been adopted injurious to the Company; but which they kept in ſuſpenſe until the motion of Sir William Pulteney, in the Houſe of Commons, had been decided. The manner in which that motion terminated, induced them to believe that the conteſt was over, and that the Company's paramount rights would be maintained. The diſpoſition recommended by the Miniſter, to aſſiſt the private trade in a reaſonable manner, without prejudice to the Company, has been manifeſted by the Committee; and inſtructions, drawn up on the moſt conciliatory principles, containing conceſſions of great importance to the private trade, have long ſince been tranſmitted to the Board of Commiſſioners; from whom, after a long delay, they received an anſwer, communicated in an official letter, which has been laid before the Court.—The annual election for Directors approaches, when their members muſt be changed; whilſt the activity of private traders, and the exertions of private intereſt, are ever on the watch to promote their own end. When many publications appear on one ſide, and no arguments are uſed on the other, the minds of men muſt naturally become biaſſed: and when once opinions are formed, even truth finds a difficulty to penetrate. For theſe reaſons your Committee think it their duty to ſubmit to the Court the Report (with ſome variations) to which they have alluded, that they may not be accuſed of having been inattentive to the intereſt of the Company on this important ſubject.

After an attentive peruſal of the papers, ſubmitted by Mr. Dundas to the Court of Directors, reſpecting the trade with India, and his letter to the ſhip-builders, which is connected with the ſame ſubject, every perſon who reads them muſt be ſatisfied that his ſyſtem for the future management of the commercial concerns of that quarter of the globe, amounts merely to this—that a ſecond monopoly in favour of Indian capital and Indian ſhips ſhall be ingrafted upon the Company's excluſive charter; or, in other words, he propoſes, that the trade of the Company with India (with the exception only of piece goods) ſhall be opened to the capital and the ſhips of this deſcription, whilſt it ſhall remain cloſe to thoſe of the mother-country.—In their former Report, your Committee endeavoured, but without ſucceſs, to explain the dangerous conſequences that are likely to follow from ſuch a ſyſtem; ſince which time, Mr. Scott, your late Chairman, and the only advocate for this ſyſtem, has retired from his ſituation, which induced your Committee to fear that their endeavours to avoid the ſtorm by conciliatory means, would not ſucceed; they therefore concur in opinion with the Court, that further attempts ſhould be made, and that not only the truth, but the whole truth, ſhould be ſubmitted to the conſideration of his Majeſty's miniſters, the proprietors, and the public. In performing this arduous but indiſpenſable taſk, your Committee dare not yield to their own feelings and diſpoſition, either as they may regard men or meaſures;—what would be decorous, prudent, and deſirable on almoſt every other occaſion, would be culpable, and even criminal, at preſent. It is a ſacred duty impoſed on the Court of Directors, and by them devolved on your Committee, to defend the exiſtence of the Company, and the rights of the public, againſt private intereſt; and it is a duty from which your Committee will not ſhrink.—In the former Report your Committee entered very fully into the ſubjects of conteſt, with a view to meet ſuch arguments as in their opinion could be urged: and for the purpoſe of introducing reſolutions, to be tranſmitted to India, for the regulation of the Government there, relative to the private trade of individuals, and to Indian-built ſhips.—It is not intended to recapitulate what was then advanced, except in a ſlight degree, and when the cauſe of the Company, with the facts introduced to ſupport that cauſe, may render ſuch repetition unavoidable: the object of the Committee at preſent will be, to endeavour to give the ſubject a different form, and to refer to their former Report for elucidations, which they cannot improve, as the beſt means to accompliſh that comparative conciſeneſs they will endeavour to aim at on the preſent occaſion. One general principle appears to be almoſt univerſally admitted, namely, "The neceſſity of maintaining *unimpaired* the *excluſive* commerce of India in the hands of the *Company*."—With ſuch an admiſſion by the late and preſent miniſters, and flowing from almoſt every pen (Indian merchants and agents excepted), your Committee cannot underſtand why another word becomes neceſſary; for the object of the Indian agent is avowedly to deſtroy, and not to maintain, the excluſive commerce of the Company. The truth is, the parties themſelves have manifeſted, in a courſe of years, ignorance of their own wants, or rather of the means of making their own fortunes. They have conceived that reſtrictions on the Company muſt prove beneficial to themſelves; for this reaſon they prevailed to have 3000 tons allotted for certain purpoſes, which are diſtinctly deſcribed by Mr. Dundas, in his letter dated the 16th of February, 1793, when he mentions, "what he "calls the *regulated monopoly* to be for the "purpoſe of enſuring to the merchants and manufacturers the certain and ample means of "exporting to India, to the full extent of "the demand of that country for the *manufactures* of this, and likewiſe a certainty "that, in ſo far as the produce of India affords "*raw materials* for the manufacturers of "Great Britain or Ireland, that produce ſhall

"be brought home at a rate as reaſonable as "the circumſtances of the two countries will "admit of."---Not a ſyllable appeared on that occaſion about the *ſurplus* produce of India, nor about Indian-built *ſhips*. And in his letter dated the 22d of March, 1793, he mentions the opinion of Mr. Pitt as well as himſelf, "that all "perſons reſident in India ſhall be allowed to "ſend, *in the Company's ſhips*, ſuch goods as "they pleaſe (limited afterwards to 3000 tons), "paying freight for the ſame, not exceeding "15*l.* per ton, or ſuch further ſum as, with "the freight paid on the goods exported to "India, ſhall amount in the whole to 20*l.* per "ton, to and from India, in *time of peace*."--- And in another letter, dated the 23d of March, 1793, he ſays, "I have uniformly diſcounte-"nanced every ſuggeſtion which tended to ſet "aſide the preſent valuable capital employed "in the ſhipping ſervice of the Eaſt India "Company."---Mr. Dundas was then told that he was miſtaken, for his regulations would not anſwer the purpoſe repreſented to him. The parties (ſome of whom appear at preſent) perſiſted in their demand, and declined the offer of the Company to provide 6400 tons, and which was reduced by Mr. Dundas himſelf to 3000 tons. They are equally in an error at preſent; for if their requeſt ſhall be granted, there will ſtill be ſomething remain, upon which they will want to try an experiment: for we are warranted to call it an experiment, under a clear unequivocal conviction, that it will be impoſſible for the Legiſlature, by any regulation whatever, to bring to the river Thames, in time of peace, the ſame quantity (in bulk and value) of the produce and manufacture of India, which has been brought here in time of war.---In addition to this circumſtance, the objects of purſuit have ſhifted in ſuch a manner, that it is impoſſible for the Committee to underſtand the whole of the views of the parties; and, however difficult it may prove, they have no better mode to purſue, than to clear away the old ground, which in ſome degree is diſtinct, for the purpoſe of bringing forward, in a general point of view, the propoſition which the Company contend againſt for the preſent---namely, "to allow the ſurplus in In-"dia to be ſent home by *Britiſh merchants* "*reſident there, in ſhips built in that country.*"--- During the negotiation for the renewal of the charter in 1793, and for ſeveral years after that event, the Company never heard of any other expectation on the part of Government, or of the public, than what may be compriſed under four heads.----1ſt. To realize the tribute or ſurplus of the revenue of India in Europe. 2d. To remit the fortunes of individuals acquired in India to Europe. 3d. To enable private individuals to export Britiſh manufactures and produce to India. 4th. To furniſh the means of remittance in return for Britiſh manufactures and produce exported by individuals.---Under theſe heads every expectation was compriſed; and it was underſtood by the Company, as it was admitted by Mr. Dundas, to leave the reſt of the trade to foreigners, from an opinion that it could only be returns for a very few articles of their manufacture, and of ſilver ſent from Europe and from America.---There is not a ſyllable to be found in the voluminous papers which appeared on the renewal of the charter, tending to encourage the trade of *Britiſh merchants reſident in India*, further than as it was connected with the four points before mentioned; nor is there an expreſſion which can apply, in the moſt circuitous indirect manner, to *Indian-built ſhips*: and particular ſtreſs has been laid on every occaſion by Mr. Dundas, againſt permitting *Britiſh* capital to be employed; on which ſubject your Committee will have ſome remarks to make. Under ſuch circumſtances, it muſt aſtoniſh every impartial perſon to hear the Indian agents accuſe the Court of Directors with having wilfully obſtructed the operations of the act of 1793; whilſt your Committee aſſert, that the preſent pretenſions of the Indian agents were never mentioned at that period, in the memorial they preſented, nor by Mr. Dundas, nor by any other perſon; and which is confirmed by the act itſelf.---If it be intended to deprive the Company of the rights they enjoy, it is neceſſary to prove that thoſe rights have been miſmanaged or abuſed. It is not ſufficient to urge, that perſons, however elevated their rank may be, have changed their opinion, or that they have objects in view different from thoſe entertained when the compact was made. The compact was between the Company and the public, and not with miniſters as individuals, whoſe opinions are always liable to change. The Company have complied, and are in the conſtant courſe of complying, with every expectation that exiſted in the year 1793; in which caſe, the aſſumption of any part of the privileges granted to the Company without their conſent, would be a violation of the public faith.---The Company are willing to undergo the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny on every point or condition expected from them in the year 1793; for which purpoſe they will make ſome ſhort obſervations on thoſe before mentioned.

1ſt. To realize the tribute of India in Europe.---It is true, that, in the year 1793, there was a ſurplus or tribute in India of 1,159,000*l.* per annum, to be brought home through the medium of commerce; but that ſum has been exhauſted either in eſtabliſhments under the authority of the Board of Commiſſioners, or in political expenſes, neither of which were incurred by, or belong to, the commerce of the Company.

2d. To remit the fortunes of individuals.---Individuals have not complained of the want of means to remit their fortunes to Europe ſince the year 1793. It is the Company who complain that *Britiſh merchants reſiding in India* are competitors for thoſe funds, and who intercept

a conſiderable portion, which would otherwiſe flow into their treaſuries, to enable the Company to purchaſe their own inveſtment.

3d. To encourage the export of Britiſh manufactures and produce.---The readineſs which the Company have manifeſted, and the facilities they have offered, on every occaſion, for ſo deſirable a purpoſe, have never been denied. If any doubts ſhall ariſe on the ſubject, the Company are, and always will be, anxious to remove them.

4th. To furniſh the means of returns for manufactures, &c.---This article is completely anſwered in reply to the ſecond. The Company do not wiſh to annex any limit as to the extent; whatever may be the amount, they are ready to receive it at their treaſury in India, and to pay for it in Europe, at a rate of exchange very beneficial to the parties who may be in want of ſuch a remittance.---The objects of the private traders in the year 1792-3 were, in reality---1ſt. To obtain an act of oblivion in regard to the illicit trade in which they had been concerned prior to that period, and to which no objection was made. 2dly. To participate in the trade to and from India, under the *pretence* of encouraging the export of *Britiſh manufactures*.---A very long memorial was produced by the private traders, in which they introduced calculations of a very flattering deſcription. To theſe ſuggeſtions Mr. Dundas acceded, and the Company yielded, by appropriating 3000 tons annually for the ſervice; and the following is the reſult of a plan, which has ſhared the fate of many other projects of a ſimilar deſcription, and juſtified the oppoſition made to it by the Court of Directors at the time.---In 1793-4, 919 tons were occupied, of which 822 tons were ſhipped by one houſe (Meſſrs. David Scott and Co.);

1794-5 .	40 tons	1798-9	374 tons
1795-6 .	31	1799-1800	195
1796-7 .	252	1800-1	150
1797-8 .	none	1801-2	27 applied for, but not ſhipped.

The greater part of what was occupied in the firſt year, was by the ſame houſe, who may have diſcovered ſoon after what was no ſecret before---namely, that the privilege granted by the Company to their captains and officers, was amply ſufficient to enable individuals to export Britiſh manufactures to India, and very probably even at a lower rate of freight than 5*l.* per ton.---It thus appears that the Company are obliged, by the act of 1793, to provide annually 3000 tons for the exportation of Britiſh manufactures, and which for nine years amount to . . . . . tons 27,000
There have been applied for only 1,988

Remain . tons 25,012

The Company have therefore been expoſed to unneceſſary inconvenience, by providing 25,000 tons for the accommodation of the ſhippers of 2000, and which is a complete refutation of the projects formed by the private traders in 1792-3. But, in order to ſhew that the clamour in favour of *Britiſh manufactures* at that time was a cover to other views, the following particulars of the goods ſhipped by one of the moſt conſiderable houſes of agency (Meſſrs. David Scott and Co.) in 1793-4, may be uſeful:

Beer .	tons 116	Iron . .	tons 250
Cochineal . .	10	Lead . . .	174
Carriages . .	80	Lines and Twines	1
Cordage . .	24	Mahogany .	25
Cabinet Ware .	16	Marble . .	12
Canvaſs . . .	20	Oil and Paint	9
Floor Cloths .	2	Plated Ware .	2
Glaſs Ware .	39	Pictures . .	1
Hardware . .	15	Saffron . .	3
Horſe-hair . .	1	Tin	1
Ironmongery .	16	Woollens . .	1
Lamps . . .	3		480
Tons	342		342
			Tons 822

We thus perceive 424 tons of metals, but of the great ſtaple article of *Britiſh manufacture, woollens*, one ton, and no more;---the remaining articles formed, more or leſs, the private inveſtment of the captains, and which they have always exported. That the public may underſtand more diſtinctly the comparative exertions of the Company, the following eſtimate of the export of *Britiſh woollens* for 1801-2, may be uſeful:

Bombay .	tons 335	value £.94,100
Madras . . .	230	120,100
Calcutta . . .	212	94,350
China . . .	2,750	1,101,970
	3,527	£.1,410,520

In addition to which, it muſt be obſerved, that the Company never expect to derive a profit on the export of woollens; they are well ſatisfied if they can be conſumed with a ſmall loſs: for this reaſon, if the Company's rights and privileges ſhall be diſturbed, private traders will never follow this branch, and diſtreſs, as well as diſappointment, muſt fall on the moſt valuable branch of Britiſh manufacture.---Theſe were the prominent features of the negotiation for the renewal of the charter in 1793, and which concluded by granting the 3000 tons of ſhipping for the uſe of individuals, notwithſtanding the repreſentations made to Mr. Dundas by the Directors that he was miſtaken. He now acknowledges that the meaſure has proved nugatory, which is the only conſolation the Company can expect to receive for the ſacrifices they have made, and the expenſe they have been at.

Having thus cleared away (as we preſume) the old ground, by which we mean to have proved that the Company have fulfilled every expectation that was raiſed, as well as every condition which was ſtipulated, previous to the renewal of the charter, we ſhall now proceed to conſider the new pretenſion, as

project, which is brought forward, namely, "to allow the surplus produce of India to be "brought home by *British merchants resident "there, in ships built in that country.*"---Whatever opinions may be entertained on this subject, or whatever regulations may be made, they cannot in justice affect the existing charter of the Company. In the year 1793 they were not heard of, but may have formed parts of the numerous, various, and even discordant interests which were melted into one mass, for the purpose of giving greater power, energy, and effect to the administration of the political and commercial affairs of the Company, and of the British empire in India. Those merchants remained quiet, and their ships were unnoticed for some time after the renewal of the charter, and it would be injustice in the extreme to disturb the Company's rights upon such pretences :---nay, what is, if possible, worse, it would establish a precedent in favour of a set of men who are certainly entitled to no such preference.----Before your Committee proceed with the further details which attach to the subject, they must recall to the recollection of the Court the manner in which a plan has been pursued, that developes itself by degrees.---Until Mr. Scott appeared as a candidate for the Direction in 1788, the public were satisfied with the state of the trade between India and Europe, and the manner in which it was carried on; gradual, but regular improvements were made, and making, that whilst every endeavour was used for the benefit of the commerce of Britain and India, chimerical attempts were avoided, and the growing prosperity of both rested on the most solid basis; by which means the commercial arrangements and advantages were subservient, and highly useful to the preservation and security of the British empire in India. The first alarm commenced in the year 1787, in a letter from David Scott, Esq. to the Court of Directors; and which was mentioned by Mr. Dundas in the House of Commons in terms of the highest encomiums and applause. This letter contained a proposal from Mr. Scott, in which he says, "For many years they have not sent out above "one quarter of their tonnage in goods; so "that, in place of their ships loading with "British manufactures, they have gone chiefly "*in ballast.*"---To occupy this tonnage (confined to India) he offers to engage as follows: "First year to occupy 6000 tons, to ship 500,000*l.* value in goods, and to pay freight 150,000*l.*; second year to occupy 7000 tons, to ship 550,000*l.* value in goods, and to pay freight 35,000*l.*; third year to occupy 8000 tons, to ship 600,000*l.* value in goods, and to pay freight 40,000*l.*; fourth year to occupy 9000 tons, to ship 650,000*l.* value in goods, and to pay freight 45,000*l.*; fifth year to occupy 10,000 tons, to ship 700,000*l.* value in goods, and to pay freight 50,000*l.*—He agrees, at the same time, that the privilege granted to the Captains and officers of the Company's ships should remain without alteration.---To such a proposal, one single fact was opposed by the Court of Directors, namely, that at the time Mr. Scott made the proposal, returns were received of the draft of water of each ship, as the only means to enable the Court to ascertain whether the ships were not too full to perform the voyage from Europe to many parts in India with security; and on several occasions ships were not suffered to proceed until some part of the cargo was taken out, in consequence of the ships being overloaded. Such a decisive proof of the want of any basis on which a project of so much importance could rest, gave the Company a short respite until the years 1792-93, when it appeared in another form, and to which, in consequence of the decided support of Mr. Dundas at the time, the Company were compelled to submit—namely, "to "increase the exports of British manufactures "and produce, and to bring home the fortunes "of individuals."---Some years after that we heard of bringing to Europe "the surplus "produce of India." Still, however, the public remained under a delusion: they had heard so much about *British manufactures and surplus produce*, that they never perceived, nor ever could believe that other objects were in view; at last, however, the mask fell off, and the truth appeared to be a trade in "Indian-"built ships." But although the parties have acknowledged this to be their primary object, yet their friends in this country are aware that British ships cannot be sacrificed for so flimsy a pretence. They have therefore persisted in their clamour about "the surplus produce of "India," and attempt to prove that "Indian-"built ships" are the necessary and *only* means of bringing that surplus produce to Europe. For these reasons, although it becomes indispensable to enter fully into the question about surplus produce and private trade, yet your Committee are able to prove that the ships are the real object, by the admission of one of the first British merchants in Calcutta (Mr. Fairlie); and amongst the owners of those ships will be found the name of a British merchant resident in London, whose house (Messrs. David Scott, junior, and Co.) has taken a very active part on the present occasion. In which case it will distinctly appear, that the privileges contended for have not, nor cannot be, confined to British merchants residing in India, but that some British merchants, aided by *British capitals*, and residing in London, have, and will participate. Under such circumstances, the Court feel themselves compelled to become the advocates of the public, as well as for the Company; and if they cannot succeed to preserve their own rights, it is their duty to endeavour to introduce British and Irish subjects, ships, and seamen, to an equal chance of sharing with the Indian agents in the temporary spoil which will result from the destruction of the Company's exclusive trade.

In their last Report, the Committee have ana-

lyzed the nature and extent of the private trade, and, in a great degree, the foundation upon which it reſts. They have alſo diſcuſſed, at ſome length, the nature and extent of the trade between India and foreign Europe, and America; the reſult of which proves, that the principles upon which the Indian agents raiſe their arguments, are without foundation. They are compelled to aſſert that the *funds* with which they trade are *Indian*, in order to avoid the obſtacle which their too zealous friends have created on a former occaſion by their decided unequivocal objections againſt *Britiſh capitals* being employed; whilſt your Committee truſt they ſhall prove that the larger part of the capital employed in this trade is *Britiſh*, and not *Indian*.---One great and ineſtimable advantage to ariſe from the government of the empire in India being adminiſtered through the medium of an excluſive Company under the control of a ſuperior Board, is, the means which are thereby created to unite, for one common cauſe, and for the benefit of the whole, every power and every reſource, commercial as well as political. During the adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings, the combination of thoſe powers, and the beneficial conſequences which reſulted to the empire at home and abroad, were boundleſs; but the name of an Indian agent at that time was ſcarcely known. Under Marquis Cornwallis their number and influence had increaſed; the commercial funds, as a reſource to Government, were proportionably diminiſhed, and the Company was obliged to ſend ſilver to India. At this moment they are far more numerous: the diſtreſs of the Company abroad is great; and increaſes in proportion as they are deprived of thoſe reſources, which proved of ſuch infinite uſe to our governments in India on former occaſions, which are now abſorbed by individuals, and applied to the purpoſes of their private trade. Still, however, they are not content; they ſtrive to become paramount, to render the Eaſt India Company ſubſervient to their private intereſt, and at the ſame time to exclude every other Britiſh ſubject.---At this period of a long and expenſive war, when the current reſources of the Company are exhauſted, they are naturally diſpoſed to look to every aid for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the political operations of Government with vigour and effect; they are particularly anxious to look to thoſe means which have proved ſo uſeful on former occaſions, and have therefore opened their treaſuries to receive every rupee that can be remitted from India to Europe, in order to aſſiſt the public ſervice. In this arduous ſituation, and for purpoſes ſo laudable, and even indiſpenſable for the ſafety of the empire in India, and for the exiſtence of the Company at home, they are ſtopped ſhort by a new deſcription of men, who intercept theſe funds in their way from the individuals to the public treaſury, in order to employ the ſame for the purpoſes of their *private trade*. Your Committee muſt confeſs that it is beyond the reach of their underſtanding to comprehend how a few perſons (for the number is very few) can poſſeſs the influence or the means to obtain ſuch ſacrifices: the uſual and current reſources of the Company are abſorbed by the war; but inſtead of receiving aſſiſtance to enable them to bring every commercial aid, and the fortunes of individuals, into the treaſury, for political purpoſes, they are called on to yield, and to ſanction to private traders, the benefit of thoſe reſources in India for the uſe of their private commerce, and to call upon their conſtituents in Europe for the enormous additional ſum of 4,000,000*l.* ſterling.---The Indian agents, in every repreſentation, have been diſpoſed to exaggerate very much the amount of remittances to Europe for the fortunes of individuals. They advert to what was the real ſtate of the caſe ſoon after the acquiſition of the Dewannee; and combining the large ſums which were brought home annually through the medium of clandeſtine trade about that period, they found their arguments upon facts that do not exiſt at preſent. Whatever may be the amount of Indian or Britiſh capitals employed in the trade between India and foreign Europe and America, it muſt be very trifling, from the nature of the caſe, and from the uſual courſe of commerce:---there is no occaſion at preſent to conceal fortunes, and to convey them to Europe in a clandeſtine manner, more particularly when the rate or price of exchange on London is ſo very high. And we are perſuaded that, when we diſcuſs the foreign trade, we ſhall make it appear that the foreign means or capitals are nearly ſufficient for the purpoſes of their own trade; conſequently the fortunes of individuals (whatever may be their amount), which do not come home through the medium of the Company, are remitted through the private trade of Britiſh merchants reſiding in India, who thereby abſorb a reſource which would be of great utility to the Company, and is very much wanted for the political intereſts of the empire. On a queſtion which, in its progreſs, produces ſuch very important and ſerious conſequences, mere opinions, drawn from inferences and ſpeculative calculations, ought not to be admitted. We think the rights of the Company ought not to be infringed without correct, diſtinct proofs ſhall appear, to ſupport the whole of the unfounded allegations of the Indian agents; and we aſſert, without the fear of contradiction by proof, that the Britiſh capitals, employed at preſent in the trade between India and foreign Europe and America, are very trifling indeed.

From materials which are unqueſtionable, your Committee have been able to aſcertain that the whole of the trade carried on from the river Hooghly to foreign Europe, America, and the Thames, is nearly as follows:

The Company's inveſtment	£.1,131,000
The private trade to London	783,000
To foreign Europe and America, only	765,000
On an average of five years, and valuing the Sicca rupee as uſual, 2s. 6d.	£.2,679,000

Theſe facts are extracted from official documents: they were not compiled with a view to the preſent queſtion; and the author has intimated, on ſome occaſions, opinions which, if viewed abſtractedly, may be conſidered as favourable to the ſide of the Indian agents. Whatever inference, therefore, can be diſtinctly and correctly drawn from thoſe documents, muſt be allowed by the opponents of the Company to be fair and impartial. It was for this purpoſe that your Committee proceeded to the further inveſtigation of the exports by foreigners, and which amounted to £.765,000

They find by the ſame documents, that foreigners imported, on an average of five years 542,000

Remains to be accounted for . . £.223,000

The Committee having thus accounted for 2,456,000*l.* out of 2,679,000*l.* being the whole of the exports, they conſidered the remaining ſum of 223,000*l.* as too trifling to merit further explanation or attention, it being *impoſſible* for *Britiſh Indian capitals* to be embarked in the trade between India and foreign Europe and America, to a larger amount.---They find, however, that advantage has been taken of this conceſſion, which renders it neceſſary for your Committee to explain themſelves. However trifling the ſum may be, it was never meant to inſinuate that Britiſh Indian capitals were employed at all; only, that a ſum remained, for which they could not account. It does not appear, however, in *proof* that any part of the ſum has been furniſhed by Britiſh ſubjects to foreigners, to enable them to carry on their trade; and ſince their laſt Report, your Committee have diſcovered ſome information on the records of the Governments of Bombay and Madras, which tends very much to explain this part of the ſubject.---The number of ſhips from foreign Europe and America, which arrived at Bombay and Madras in a period of four years, was as follows:

1795-6 arrived	20	Ships 56
1796-7	13	
1797-8	10	
1798-9	13	
The total departures to foreign Europe and America in the above period were	16	
Remain, and ſuppoſed to have failed coaſtward	40	

The American ſhips are uſually (but not always) very ſmall in point of ſize:---the following are mentioned in the laſt Reports:

The Recovery . . .	250 tons.
The Winthorp . . .	107
The Waſhington . .	165
The Hannah . . .	140

And although there are no documents to aſcertain the future deſtination, nor the value of their cargoes, yet thoſe forty ſhips muſt have brought funds of ſome deſcription from Europe or America, otherwiſe they would not have gone to Bombay or Madras previous to their ultimate deſtination, and which muſt have been in a great meaſure to diſpoſe of the inveſtments imported by them from Europe and America.—We have, therefore, part of the cargoes of ten ſhips arriving annually from Europe and America, which muſt be placed in reduction of the ſum unaccounted for; and when it is conſidered that foreign ſhips poſſeſs much greater means to carry on a clandeſtine trade, it is poſſible that the whole of the ſum of 223,000*l.* is *bonâ fide* foreign capital; at leaſt it ought to be conſidered as ſuch, until the Indian agents ſhall prove the contrary.---Your Committee are inclined to entertain this opinion ſtill more, in conſequence of the facilities granted to Britiſh traders and capitals by the act of 1793; as it does not occur to them what advantage reſidents in London can derive from the trade between India and foreign Europe and America, which they cannot equally obtain by a direct trade to and from India to the river Thames. The clandeſtine traders, who exiſted before the act of 1793, were either reſidents in India, or perſons who had acquired fortunes there, and were bringing home thoſe fortunes in a ſecret manner through the medium of foreign commerce.

Although more powerful or concluſive arguments relative to the private trade of individuals, cannot be urged than what will appear in the Firſt Report, yet this part of the ſubject is of ſo much importance, and of courſe neceſſary to be underſtood, in conſequence of miſrepreſentations, that ſome further obſervations become neceſſary.—To bring the whole of the trade of India to the river Thames, are captivating words; but which will require more commercial ſkill and capital than the Indian agents poſſeſs, to accompliſh, as well as the exerciſe of a degree of political power, which Mr. Dundas has diſclaimed: in ſhort, it is in direct oppoſition to the wiſer and avowed plan of encouraging foreigners to trade to the river Hooghly. Both, however, cannot ſubſiſt together, for they are diametrically oppoſite. We muſt, therefore, take for granted in conſequence of the uniform ſyſtem which the Company have purſued hitherto, that the firſt is a plan of mere words; but that the laſt, on a ſcale of moderation and reaſonable reſtrictions, is the real plan or ſyſtem by which the Court of Directors ought to ſhape their conduct.—When we pauſe for a moment, and conſider in what manner the whole of the export trade from Bengal is divided, the preſent conteſt ſurpriſes us ſtill more.

	£.		£.
The Company ſend - -	1,131,000	To the Thames	1,914,000
Britiſh traders	783,000		
The whole of foreign Europe and America			765,000

If foreigners are admitted at all, they cannot receive a leſs proportion: it is unwiſe to attempt to reduce it. And in contemplating ſuch an immenſe fund of wealth and reſource for the mother-country, as well as for India, ſtrong apprehenſions naturally ariſe about the dangerous conſequences which muſt follow the fruitleſs efforts and purſuits of private avarice. It cannot be repeated too often, that it is impoſſible for the Indian agents to bring the foreign trade to the river Thames; and no man has been bold enough hitherto (although your Committee fully expect to hear ſuch language hereafter) as to aſſert that the whole of the trade between India and the reſt of the world ought to be carried on by private traders.—It is, moreover, proper to aſk whether India can forego thoſe wants which are ſupplied by foreigners? Again; Can Indian agents, or even the Company, ſupply thoſe wants without the aid of foreigners, which are almoſt indiſpenſable for the empire in India? Then why are theſe men encouraged to make attempts which are impracticable; or, if they were practicable, would produce ſuch deſtructive conſequences?—The pretence on which their plea reſts is, the ſuppoſition that Britiſh capitals are employed, and which, if they are to be credited, will be brought to the river Thames. This point has been explained in ſuch a manner as to ſatisfy the Court that they are incorrect in point of fact; that they cannot affect the foreign trade if they would; and that it would be highly injurious to India, the Company, and to the Britiſh empire, if they could. But it may be neceſſary to draw the attention of the Court to the ſtate of the trade which is now in the poſſeſſion of the Indian traders, as it can be proved that it already exceeds the extent of Indian capital; that it interferes with the Company, and intercepts, in a diſtinct manner, thoſe funds which the Company want for their own inveſtment, and for the political ſervices of the empire abroad.—Whatever is truly Indian capital muſt return to India; the remainder cannot be Indian, and muſt be either Britiſh capital, or the fortunes of individuals remitted through the medium of private trade to Europe.

The total amount exported from Bengal to London by private traders, was - - - -	£.783,000
The total amount imported by them into Bengal only - -	303,000
Remains on an average of five years	£.483,000

A Britiſh merchant *reſident in India* will never ſuffer his capital to remain dormant in Europe, the quickeſt poſſible return being the ſoul of trade. His capital, therefore, cannot exceed 303,000*l.*; the remainder belongs to others, and of courſe the reſidents in India carry on already a trade above twice the amount of their own *bonâ fide* Indian capital. The remaining 483,000*l.* conſiſts either of Britiſh capitals, or the fortunes of individuals remitted to Europe. Mr. Dundas may therefore diſcontinue his ſearch after Britiſh capitals in the hands of foreigners; and if he be ſerious in his objection to their being employed, and in which no doubt he is well founded, the remedy is very eaſy, by checking the trade of Indian merchants. Such a check will not operate to the prejudice either of India, the Company, or the public; becauſe ſuch a part of the 483,000*l.* which is not Britiſh capital, would be paid into the Company's treaſury in India, and inveſted in produce and manufacture to be exported to the river Thames. At the ſame time the money, when it enters into the Company's treaſury, forms a part of the general circulation of the empire, and thus contributes to the political as well as the commercial operations of the Supreme Government, which have been conſiderably embarraſſed by withdrawing annually ſo large a ſum as 483,000*l.* from the maſs of political circulation. The more this ſubject is conſidered and inveſtigated, the more it will appear that the charges and ſuſpicion thrown out by Indian agents againſt foreigners, recoil diſtinctly on themſelves. If any doubt ſhall ariſe in conſequence of the ſmallneſs of the ſum which remains for Indian capital, it muſt be remembered that very large advances are made in India to manufacturers, planters, &c. alſo for the coſt of their ſhips, amounting in the aggregate, perhaps, to more than the capitals of Britiſh merchants reſiding in India; the whole of their trade with Europe, or at leaſt what may exceed 303,000*l.* being carried on with borrowed money, which Mr. Dundas reprobates on every occaſion: for the merchant in India draws on the agent in London for the amount or value of the goods which he ſends to Europe; in which caſe he trades with a *Britiſh capital*, which is advanced for the purpoſe by Indian agents reſident in London. But the Indian agents and their friends, aware of the inferences which muſt be drawn from facts of ſo concluſive a nature, diſpute the accuracy of the accounts, offering their own unauthenticated papers in their room, and complain that the trade from Bombay and Madras is not noticed at all.—The trade to theſe places is comparatively ſmall, and the Company have no regular return. The fact is, that the Committee were deſirous, when it could be done, not to hazard conjecture, but to confine themſelves to regular official returns. What they contend for is, that theſe accounts ſhould ſtand till their inſufficiency be ſhewn; and that, in the mean time, the unauthenticated repreſentations of the perſons who are intereſted in depriving the Company of their trade, be not taken as a baſis upon which any argument whatever can be built.—Theſe facts are additional proofs of what was aſſerted in the Fifth Report, namely, that the trade is the means, and the ſhips are the true end, which will be further

confirmed hereafter.—If thoſe merchants were only traders, the part of a ſhip would ſuit their purpoſes as well or better than the whole. For inſtance, if the goods in which one deſcription of perſons trade are light or roomy, the owners of ſhips will find others who want to ſend to Europe heavy goods for the purpoſe of making an aſſorted cargo; all parties are accommodated in this manner, and each purſues the line which belongs to him. In London, Amſterdam, or the great commercial places in Europe, the inſtances are very rare of the ſhip and cargo belonging to the ſame perſon, or of the owner purchaſing a large part of the cargo, to be ſold afterwards at a loſs, for the purpoſe of employing the ſhip; and yet this appears to be at preſent the practice of the merchants in India. Such a trade cannot laſt, it is defective, and rotten in its principle; there can be no apprehenſion, therefore, to contend this point with the Indian agents: and the Company truſt that their adverſaries ſhall be compelled to prove that the trade they propoſe to carry on is in its nature likely to be permanent.—This, however, is impoſſible; for in a very ſhort time the natural progreſs of trade will produce its own level, and revert back to an almoſt general principle, namely, that the traders in goods, and the owners of ſhips, will become in India, as they are in other parts of the world, different perſons. In the interval, however, the parties concerned (to the excluſion of every other Britiſh ſubject, and Britiſh ſhips) may acquire immenſe fortunes, whilſt the Company's charter for the excluſive trade will be deſtroyed.—It is found by experience that private traders cannot fill their ſhips without a large quantity of ſugar for dead weight; whilſt it is alſo aſcertained from experience, that if ſugar is charged with the whole of the freight for the voyage, it frequently leaves a loſs, which loſs will probably be increaſed when the rate of freight and charges from the Weſt Indies are reduced to their former level in conſequence of peace. It may therefore become a queſtion for conſideration hereafter, how far the importation of ſugar from the Eaſt, which leaves a loſs to the importer, and the firſt coſt of which is paid for by the public in ſilver from hence, ſhall be encouraged to the prejudice of the Weſt India ſugar, the coſt of which is either ſpent by the proprietor in the mother-country, or paid for by the manufactures and ſtores exported from home; for ſilver is often received from the iſlands, but ſeldom ſent thither.—The balance of trade is, as it always muſt be in future, in favour of India; it is therefore highly important to probe the queſtion which relates to the cultivation and importation of ſuch an article as ſugar from the Eaſt, to the bottom. The value of every rupee inveſted in ſugar, and imported from the Eaſt, is an additional rupee to the balance of trade againſt the mother-country. Some able and well-intentioned perſons have made it a queſtion, whether ſugar may not be ſupplied from India to an almoſt indefinite amount; but they are not aware that the ſucceſs, or, in other words, the benefit of India in this inſtance would prove the deſtruction of the mother-country, which cannot exiſt under the immenſe drain of bullion that muſt follow. If the Eaſt was in the ſame predicament with the Weſt Indies, when the coſt of the ſugar was either ſpent in Great Britain or Ireland, or paid for in manufactures and ſtores, it would be conſiſtent with the ſoundeſt principles of political arithmetic to encourage the importation by every poſſible means. Theſe obſervations are offered, becauſe private traders can load very few ſhips without ſugar, and that any material increaſe of the importation of the *produce* of India by them, muſt be in ſugar. It is, therefore, neceſſary to aſcertain whether the general intereſts of the imperial empire, and the intereſts of a very numerous deſcription of perſons, Weſt India planters and merchants, ſhip-owners, Britiſh manufacturers, &c. &c. &c. will not ſuffer to a greater degree than the Eaſt India Company, without producing any additional benefit commenſurate to the evil, either to the empire of India or to the mother-country, if the requeſt of the Indian agents ſhall be complied with.—The article of cotton alſo requires ſome obſervation, as much ſtreſs is laid on it, in conſequence of it being a raw material. The laſt advices from India mention that there was not ſufficient to ſupply the demand for the manufactures of the country. The Company, however, have abandoned the importation, in conſequence of the loſs which has been ſuſtained; but they are ready to grant free permiſſion to the manufacturers in Lancaſhire and elſewhere, to ſend out ſhips, and to import for their own account, on the uſual regulations for private trade, provided the ſhips to be employed are Britiſh or Iriſh built.

In concluding their obſervations upon the private trade of India previous to the laſt returns from thence, your Committee are deſirous to exculpate themſelves from a ſuggeſtion which has been induſtriouſly circulated by their opponents, namely, that they had refuſed to avail themſelves of the opinion of thoſe reſpectable perſons who had filled the high ſtation of Governor General in India. That they refuſed to refer a queſtion, whether the excluſive trade ſhall remain in the hands of the Company, or be transferred to a few Indian traders? is true; but it would have been negligent in the extreme, indeed highly culpable, if the Directors had not peruſed with attention what has appeared from ſuch high authority on their records.—As the name of Sir John Macpherſon had been frequently mentioned, more than uſual attention was given to what he has recorded in his letters of the 9th of April, 1785, and 10th of January, 1786. His object (no doubt highly laudable) was to tranſfer the foreign trade to the river Thames, which he ſtates to have been

Eighteen ſhips from Bengal, ten ſhips from the Coaſt, with cargoes of about eight lacks each, or - - - - -		£.2,240,000
He makes the imports in bullion - -	£.240,000	
In goods - - -	260,000	
		500,000
Remains - - -		£.1,740,000

As there are no documents to which reference can be had to aſcertain this fact, it is preſumed that Sir John muſt have relied on the information of others. But as this ſum very far exceeds the amount of the whole of what is exported by foreigners and Britiſh private traders at preſent to foreign Europe and America as well as the river Thames; and as the exports from India are conſiderably increaſed, and not diminiſhed, it will follow that the information which Sir John Macpherſon received was erroneous.---Marquis Cornwallis has never diſcuſſed this queſtion with the ſame objects in view; but in his Lordſhip's letter of the 1ſt of November, 1788, many obſervations appear which apply generally to the ſubject, and corroborate the ſentiments entertained by the Court, of the danger which will reſult from too much encouragement being given to private traders. His Lordſhip obſerves on one occaſion, "The merchants would combine to "keep up the price, the more wealthy would "overbid and beat out the inferior dealers, "*and the Company would be always more in their* "*power, than they would be in the Company's.*" On another occaſion; "The abſence of every "degree of influence and reſtraint muſt, in "theory, be deſirable, but it is not likely to "be produced by this project; to give which "a probability of ſucceſs, a different ſtate of "ſociety, more vigour in the nation, a more "enlarged and efficacious ſyſtem of laws, "muſt be ſuppoſed; and it ſeems in effect to "provide for little more than *that the Company* "*ſhould transfer to a certain number of indivi-* "*duals here, the vaſt machine of their commerce* "*here, and become dependant on them.*"—When the private traders made a moſt ſcandalous attack on the character and conduct of Mr. Bebb in 1788-9, his Lordſhip, after a complete vindication of Mr. Bebb, adds, "He cannot con-"clude without remarking the indecorum "with which the regulations of Government "have been arraigned by the free merchants, "as well as the principle of regulating com-"mercial matters at all, as if the free mer-"chants conſidered themſelves authorized to "carry on their commercial concerns without "rule or regulation, and agreeable to their "own conceptions of a free trade."—A ſhort extract from the proceedings of Government and the Board of Trade, on the 14th of January, 1789, may be further uſeful on the preſent occaſion. Mr. Bebb writes, "Illegal impriſon-"ments, exactions, and coercions, of which "I have lately had proofs, and been able to "lay before you, have been exerciſed by *pri-* "*vate European traders.* Corruption has, I "have little doubt, had conſiderable influence, "at leaſt among the inferior ſervants of the "Aurungs, &c."—In a letter from Lord Cornwallis, dated the 7th of November, 1794, his Lordſhip ſays, "I am ſtrongly impreſſed with "a conviction that it will be of eſſential im-"portance to the intereſts of Britain, that "Europeans ſhould be diſcouraged and pre-"vented as much as poſſible from colonizing "and ſettling in our poſſeſſions in India."—If the Company cannot quote an opinion preciſely in point, from a character which every true friend of his country looks up to with reſpect and veneration, they can at leaſt produce his Lordſhip's ſentiments on the conduct of thoſe who have been uniform and inceſſant in their endeavours to wreſt from the Company the vaſt machine of her commerce, and to render the Company dependant on themſelves.—The determination of Marquis Cornwallis at that period, and the negotiation for the renewal of the charter in 1793, prevented (as it is preſumed) much further diſcuſſion of the ſubject under Lord Teignmouth. This is to be regretted the more, from the experience the Company have had of his Lordſhip's profound knowledge and zeal for the intereſts of the empire abroad, and thoſe of the Company at home. On one occaſion he obſerves, that the ſubject embraced many *extenſive* conſiderations, which would *be better diſcuſſed in Europe*; but concludes, that he gave his countenance to the plan, "ſo far as to declare his opinion that "it was practicable." On another, however, ſpeaking of ſhips, his Lordſhip remarks, that "if ſhips can be furniſhed at the rates pro-"poſed by the merchants, they can be fur-"niſhed at the ſame prices from the foreign "ſettlements on this river;" of which notice will be taken hereafter.—After this the Company heard for ſeveral years about the neceſſity of bringing the ſurplus produce of India to the river Thames; a propoſition they never underſtood, as they had conſtantly and uniformly offered to furniſh the means themſelves: till at laſt, under the adminiſtration of Marquis Welleſley, the truth appeared; and the object has been diſtinctly avowed to be no other than to introduce ſhips built in India, and to give them a preference over ſhips built in Great Britain or Ireland.—Whatever the Indian agents may inſinuate to the contrary, it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that the Directors have not read, with extreme attention, whatever has been produced by the Noble Marquis, relative to a meaſure which threatens the exiſtence of the empire abroad, and of the Company at home. But having read not only the opinions entertained by his Lordſhip, but alſo the documents on which thoſe opinions are founded, the Directors do not heſitate a moment to proteſt moſt ſolemnly againſt any ſuch authority or deciſion. What would be thought of a judge who pronounced judgment againſt

a corporate body, after hearing evidence on the ſide of the plaintiff only? And yet it is preciſely the caſe with regard to Marquis Welleſley: with numerous documents, and perſons who appear on the records on the preſent occaſion, there is no trace of a ſingle paper or perſon on behalf of the Company.—The obſervation of an anonymous writer appears but too true; "from ſmall beginnings, when capi-" tal and enterpriſe exiſt, the greateſt conſe-" quences flow. The Company have now a " rivalſhip to contend againſt, formed of their " own ſervants or their protégés."—When queſtions ariſe of this magnitude, and pregnant with ſuch extenſive and important conſequences, it would be criminal to bow to name or rank, however elevated, without full conſideration and a thorough conviction. The Committee, therefore, feel themſelves compelled to examine how far thoſe principles, which appear to have governed the conduct of Marquis Welleſley, are well founded; for the authority of his Lordſhip has proved the cloak to cover all the miſrepreſentations of the agents. In order, however, to avoid too wide a field for diſcuſſion, your Committee will confine themſelves as much as poſſible, and begin with obſervations which ariſe in conſequence of a letter written by his Lordſhip, and dated the 29th of November, 1799, of which the following is an extract: "In addition to the bullion " exported by the Court of Directors to India, " large quantities have been imported by indi-" viduals, and the Portugueſe have brought " to Calcutta, within a ſhort period of time, " a very conſiderable amount of ſilver. It is " an important *fact*, that the *exports* of Portu-" gal from Bengal, in the preſent year, will " be *nearly equal* to thoſe of the Company. " You will draw the natural concluſion from " this *fact*, and I leave it to your judgment " without comment."---Let us firſt examine the *fact*, and which is eaſily aſcertained.

The export from Bengal, of the Portugueſe, in the ſeaſon 1799, 1800, was no more than - - -	£.418,000
The export from Bengal to London was, by private trade, the ſame ſeaſon - - - - -	845,000
By the Company - - - -	944,733

Theſe *facts* require no comment.

The other parts of Marquis Welleſley's letter call for more explanation and detail.—It is admitted that the *bonâ fide* trade of foreigners ought to be encouraged; in which caſe, that branch of the foreign trade which is moſt beneficial for India, and the leaſt injurious to the Britiſh manufactures, merits a preference. The Noble Marquis, however, not only proſcribes the aid of foreigners generally, but the Portugueſe are brought forward in a prominent manner.—What is the *fact* on this occaſion?---The ſeaſon 1799, 1800, the Portugueſe imported bullion 574,000*l.*; and they exported the ſame ſeaſon goods 418,000*l.*—The reaſon why the exports fall ſhort of the imports is mentioned by Mr. Brown to ariſe from one ſhip being left behind for want of goods. It is at the ſame time remarkable that Marquis Welleſley ſhould have objected pointedly to that part of the foreign trade moſt beneficial to India, and which never can interfere with the export of the Britiſh manufactures from hence.—To render a compariſon more intelligible, it may be neceſſary to ſtate the amount of ſilver imported, and of goods exported from Calcutta in 1799, 1800, as follows:

	Silver imported.	Goods exp.
Portugueſe -	£.574,000	£.418,000
Americans -	357,000	472,000
Britiſh private trade	204,000	845,000

It thus appears that the private traders, who, in their own opinion, are capable of increaſing the commerce of the Eaſt to an indefinite extent, after drawing from thence 845,000*l.* for their private advantage, could make no greater exertions towards relieving the diſtreſſes of India, than by ſending thither 204,000*l.* in ſilver; leaving a large ſum to be drawn from means which interfere in the moſt pointed manner with the reſources of the Company, both political and commercial. On the other hand, we find Marquis Welleſley labouring under the greateſt difficulty for want of money, and looking to every part of the Company's extenſive territory and connexions, from the Cape of Good Hope to China, without ſucceſs, calling on the Court of Directors to take effectual meaſures to guard againſt the Portugueſe; and which follows ſo cloſe upon his plan to promote private trade, that his Lordſhip could not be aware that ſilver in return for produce, and not viſionary plans, was the only real relief for the diſtreſs which his Lordſhip's Government laboured under.

A few words more may be neceſſary about the Portugueſe trade, as a Proprietor, who has taken an active part about the affairs of the Company, inſinuated, in a General Court, that the ſilver imported by the Portugueſe was *probably* Britiſh capital. In conſequence of the immenſe increaſe of cotton imported from the Brazils of late years, the balance of trade is much againſt (Portugal) the mother-country, which poſſeſſes no direct means to pay for the ſame; it is very natural, that, in a warm climate like Brazil, with inhabitants that are rich and luxurious, they ſhould be diſpoſed to receive the manufactures of India in return for their own products. This is the true cauſe of the increaſed trade of the Portugueſe in India; and if Marquis Welleſley ſhall be inclined to ſhut the port of Calcutta againſt the importation of Portugueſe ſilver, under ſuch circumſtances, it will be a phenomenon in the commercial and political world.—When the exports from India exceed the amount imported from Europe, it furniſhes room for ſpeculation and conjecture; but when a foreign nation ſhall import more than the value of their exports, it is impoſſible that Britiſh capital ſhould be employed. At

all events, the Court of Directors rely more confidently on the ſilver imported by the Portugueſe, Americans, &c. to increaſe the trade, and promote the proſperity of India, than upon the viſionary projects of the private traders and their friends. It is further remarkable that Lord Welleſley appears to be ignorant of the general principle admitted by Mr. Dundas, in the encouragement to be given to the foreign trade, where he is aware that *ſome* foreign Europe manufacture may be introduced; but the Noble Marquis proſcribes a trade where the exports are almoſt wholly paid for in ſilver.—The returns, which are in poſſeſſion of the Court, ſince the laſt Report from your Committee, prove diſtinctly, that, whilſt the export of private traders from Bengal is increaſed, it has not contributed to leſſen the exports to foreign Europe and America.

Exported by private Traders.	To the River Thames.	To For. Europe and America.
1797-8 -	£.870,000 - -	£.485,000
1798-9 - -	520,000 - -	292,000
1799, 1800 - -	845,000 - -	1,017,500

See Note below.

The argument, therefore, of the Indian agents, or their friends, that, in proportion as their own exports to the river Thames increaſe, the exports to foreign Europe and America muſt diminiſh, has been proved by the returns of 1799, 1800, to be wholly without foundation. It is further proved that the increaſe of private export bears no proportion to the increaſe of foreign export; but it cannot be denied that they riſe on the decline of the trade of the Company, which proves beyond a doubt that the real rivalſhip is between the private trader and the Eaſt India Company. How far their exports will increaſe, if thoſe to foreign Europe and America diminiſh, or ſhall be annihilated, is a queſtion of a very different deſcription, and at all events cannot be decided in their favour until they ſend out more ſilver, and employ more Britiſh capital than they have been able to do hitherto.

Having thus aſcertained, as your Committee humbly preſume, by *facts*, that the arguments of Marquis Welleſley, thoſe of the Honourable Proprietor alluded to, and of the Indian agents, ſo far as they relate to the employ of Britiſh capitals in the foreign trade, and the probability of bringing the foreign trade to the river Thames, are without foundation, they will next proceed to the conſideration of the queſtion about "Indian-built ſhips."—After it had been fairly avowed, that the real object of conteſt was for "the Indian-built ſhips," care was taken to keep the commercial part of the queſtion out of ſight; and in conſequence of a temporary ſcarcity of timber for the conſtruction of large ſhips, the agents contrived to raiſe a clamour about the reſource which the foreſts of India could afford to the maritime ſtrength of Great Britain. The Directors had not entered into a ſerious conſideration of this point abſtractedly; they had viewed the queſtion of Indian ſhips generally, and entertaining a decided opinion, that it was found policy to look with a jealous eye on any other deſcription of naval or military ſtrength, or the ſeeds of any naval or military ſtrength to ariſe in India that was not Britiſh, they were not prepared to meet this part of the ſubject at an early period. A very little reflection, however, was neceſſary to ſatisfy the Directors that his Majeſty's miniſters ought to decide; and if they are diſpoſed to adopt the policy of placing any part of the naval reſources of this country beyond their reach, and at ſo great a diſtance from home, the Court of Directors are ready not only to ſacrifice their own judgment, but to uſe their beſt endeavours to carry into effect any plans which may be adopted by his Majeſty's miniſters for the public ſervice. The Court, in doing this, are fully aware that in the preſent ſtate of Europe we ought to be on our guard, to ſpeculate upon events, and to look for combinations far different from thoſe which have formerly occurred. France has long conſidered India as one of the chief ſources of the national proſperity of Great Britain; and therefore her exertions will be unabated to injure us in that quarter. Under ſuch circumſtances, the Directors cannot appreciate the wiſdom of eſtabliſhing marine arſenals, collecting ſtores, &c. &c. which, in conſequence of a *coup de main*, may be turned againſt ourſelves; although they repeat, that they are ready to ſacrifice their own judgment, and to exert every endeavour to carry ſuch plans as may be recommended by his Majeſty's miniſters for the public ſervice into effect.—If the Company conſent to build, or to the building of large ſhips for the public ſervice, every complaint about the want of large timber muſt fall to the ground. Your Committee muſt obſerve, however, that the opinions which the Indian agents entertain on this ſubject, do not agree with thoſe which have been delivered by the Commiſſioners, on the ſubject of ſhip timber, in their able and voluminous Reports, which have been ſo long before the public.--In the Eleventh Report, after obſerving upon the conſequences which follow from the ſeller being wholly at the mercy of the buyer, for want of competition, they ſay—"But though theſe meaſures "have, during the laſt thirty-four years, occa- "ſioned a conſiderable ſaving to the public, it "may be doubted whether they have a tend- "ency to provide a permanent ſupply for the "navy; for though well contrived for obtain- "ing great timber at a reaſonable price, as "long as the preſent ſtock ſhall laſt, it is in

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NOTE.—The advices received by the Georgina mention that the inveſtment from Bengal for the Company will be reduced to 294,000*l.*; the funds uſually applied for that purpoſe muſt therefore have been abſorbed by political expenſes, and to private traders, for rice and indigo, whilſt the fortunes of individuals are intercepted by the ſame perſons, inſtead of aiding the Company's inveſtment.

" part owing to them (the measures adopted " by the Commissioners of the Navy) that the " price of oak is not as high, when compared " with the price of corn, as it naturally should " be, in consequence of the lateness of the re- " turn. It is, in part, owing to them, there- " fore, that woodlands are diminished, and " tillage extended; they must, in some degree, " prove a discouragement to the planting of " oak, and they have an obvious tendency to " prevent more from being allowed to reach " the large size required for the navy, by mak- " ing it the interest of every person who has " any timber, to cut it, while it is of a size for " which there is a competition."—There is here much matter in a very short compass; but instead of listening to the wise suggestions of the Commissioners, by encouraging the growth and preservation of large timber, it is proposed to adopt means for lessening the demand hereafter, and thereby placing the land-owner still more in the power of the Commissioners of the Navy, who made no addition to their price from 1756 to 1792. It is thus that the question becomes extensive, and embraces the most important interests of the country. The land-owner, merchant, manufacturer, the British and Irish ships, and seamen, &c. &c. all must be sacrificed at the shrine of about fifty or a hundred Indian merchants and agents.

Having disposed of that part of the question which relates to large ships, by referring the decision altogether to his Majesty's ministers, your Committee will next proceed to the part which relates to commercial shipping.—Indian ships will have two competitions to encounter; the first, which they do not so readily acknowledge, but which is their real object, " *the ships* " *of the Company*," built and equipped in the best manner: the other, " foreign ships;" for unless they can sail at a cheaper rate of freight than foreign ships, indeed so much cheaper as to compensate for all the delay and expenses of a circuitous voyage, they can never pretend to bring the foreign trade of India to the river Thames.—As the ships in the employ of the Company are built for their service, it follows, that the test of the comparison depends on the building and outfit. The following were the rates of building in the river Thames, for a ship of eight hundred tons burden:

Season 1781	£.14 14 0	War
1782	14 14 0	
1783	13 0 0	Peace
1784	12 12 0	
1785	11 17 6	
1786	12 10 0	
1787	12 10 0	
1788	12 16 0	
1789	12 16 0	
1790	12 10 0	
1791	12 10 0	
1792	12 10 0	
1793	14 0 0	War
1794	15 0 0	
1795	16 13 0	
1796	17 6 6	
1797	16 16 0	
1798	17 10 0	
1799	15 15 0	
1800	19 10 0	
1801	21 15 6	

Your Committee have no means to enable them to furnish so correct a list of the rates of building in India; they will state, however, what the Company's ships, the Britannia and Sir Edward Hughes, cost.

						River Thames.			
Britannia	1779	£18	0	0					
Sir Edward Hughes	1785	21	14	0	as above	1785	£11	17	6
An Estimate	1793	16	7	0	—	1793	14	0	0
Do.	1797	16	10	0	—	1797	16	16	0

Although the Committee have not sufficient evidence to enable them to judge correctly, they are persuaded that building has been, and must be, on the whole, cheaper in the river Thames than in India, for ships of the best description; and as the materials for fitting those ships out in India must, in a great measure, be sent from Europe, there will be a much greater disproportion in the cost of the outfit than the rate of building, probably a difference of 40 or 50 per cent. in favour of Europe ships. But a much greater difference would arise, if those Europe ships were built and equipped by private merchants, free from the rigour of the Company's inspection and survey, and which rigour has been found, by long experience, to be indispensable for Indian voyages. There is also another heavy burden which attaches to ships built in India, and which is sufficient in itself to compensate for the difference in duration between those ships and ships built in Europe; we mean the Indian rate of interest for money, which is more than double the interest of money in Europe.—These circumstances, added to the low rate of freight at which the Court have lately hired ships for the Company's service, induce your Committee to entertain a decided opinion, that Indian ships cannot be navigated at so cheap a rate of freight as those of Great Britain.—If this comparison between Indian and British ships is so much to the disadvantage of the former, what will be their situation when compared with those of Sweden, Denmark, America, &c. &c.? Timber, iron, hemp, and other materials, are liable to heavy duties in Great Britain, whilst they are free from duties abroad, and exempted from the freight and charges of transporting most of the raw materials; at least, it is the case with all the materials for ship-building in Europe. Labour is also cheaper on the continent, whilst the rate of interest for money is rather lower than in

England. Thoſe ſhips muſt ſail, therefore, at a rate of freight, from 30 to 50 per cent. cheaper than the cheapeſt of the teak ſhips. But if the *pretence* of a cheap rate of freight is applied for the purpoſe of deſtroying ancient ſyſtems, and the Company's rights, why not extend the principle generally?—There can be no doubt but that the Company can obtain Swediſh, Daniſh, American, &c. &c. ſhips at a much lower rate of freight than thoſe of Great Britain or India. The Navigation Act can have no ſtronger claim on the public than the Company's charter; and if Britiſh ſhips and ſhip-building are to be abandoned, and the Company's charter is to be infringed for the benefit of a few, there is leſs reaſon to heſitate about the Navigation Act, as the conſequences would be infinitely more extenſive.—When the teak ſhips are repreſented as good and durable, the language is intelligible, and acknowledged by your Committee; but when it is attempted to compare them for "cheapneſs" with thoſe of Great Britain, and ſtill more with foreign ſhips, the Committee are aſtoniſhed. They cannot avoid recollecting the ſtrong ſolicitations which were made to the Court of Directors, when Britiſh ſhips were taken up, during the American war, to carry out naval and military ſtores, to ſuffer thoſe ſhips to be *ſold* in India. Under ſuch permiſſion, the freight was very low, as the owners conſidered the *ſale* of the ſhip in India as the certain means of realizing a little fortune; and theſe applications have been repeated, from time to time, to the preſent day. Such a ſale, however, would have been impoſſible, if teak ſhips could have ſailed at as cheap a rate as the Britiſh. If theſe facts required further proof, it will be found in the proceedings of the Marine Committee at Bengal, in 1793. They ſay, "The Americans "actually build ſhips with a view to diſpoſe "of them here, and *get a large profit*, becauſe "they can afford to ſell cheaper than we can "build." Again they ſay, "Ship-building "can never flouriſh, except by prohibiting the "ſale of foreign bottoms."—It therefore appears, that building is cheaper in Europe; that the outfit is alſo very much cheaper; that the intereſt of money, which is five per cent. at home, is twelve per cent. at preſent in India, on Government ſecurity.

The only remaining article of importance is, wages; and which brings this part of the queſtion to the preference due to Britiſh ſeamen or Laſcars.—As Britiſh merchants and ſhip-owners do not even expect ſo large a profit as ſeven per cent. which is the difference between the rate of intereſt in the two countries, it is ridiculous to aſſert, that reſidents in India can carry on a competition under ſuch obvious diſadvantage.—Your Committee truſt that they have done more than enough to reply to the aſſertion about the *cheapneſs* of teak ſhips, otherwiſe they have ample materials to extend their obſervations much further; but from what has been ſaid, it muſt appear evident to the Court, that if the intention is ſerious, to attempt to bring the foreign trade to the river Thames, ſuch an attempt would become impracticable, if teak ſhips are employed as the *means*. The beſt, and *only means*, conſiſtent with the combined and extenſive intereſts of land, commerce, manufacture, and navigation, at the ſame time that the public faith will thereby be preſerved inviolate, will be to employ *Britiſh* ſhips.—After drawing this concluſion, your Committee are aware that further explanation becomes neceſſary, in conſequence of ſome advantage which the teak ſhips have enjoyed during the war. That advantage does not ariſe from cheapneſs; but being the property of private perſons, they are free from thoſe reſtraints which naturally attach to the ſhips of the Company, who, from precaution, do not chooſe to ſuffer their ſhips to ſail without company and convoy. Whilſt the Company are preparing a fleet, it is for the intereſt of a teak ſhip to ſail before, and being ſingle, the voyage is performed in a much ſhorter time: and by arriving ſo much earlier at her port of deſtination, the cargo is ſold to great advantage, whilſt the market is foreſtalled before the Company's fleet can arrive. Great numbers ſuffer from this circumſtance, which is conceived to be an undue advantage: but if the intereſts of the Company, and of thoſe who trade in their regular ſhips, are not thought of equal importance with thoſe of the private traders, at leaſt no ſuperior powers can be attributed to the ſhips; for the ſame ſervice may be performed, and the ſame advantages obtained, whether the ſhips are built with teak or with oak.—This undue advantage is the more diſtreſſing, as the late advices from India ſtate, that the Company's exports cannot be ſold, becauſe the private traders have foreſtalled and deſtroyed the market by their previous importations from Europe.—The Company's inveſtment has been uſually provided from three ſources: Surplus revenue, which is now abſorbed by the ſtate; the fortunes of individuals to be remitted home; the ſale of the Europe exports in India.—As the private traders have intercepted the ſecond, and foreſtalled the third, it is but juſt, on behalf of the Company, to call on them to point out what ſtill remains.—There can be no doubt that, before any deciſive meaſure ſhall be taken, hoſtile to the intereſt of the Company, his Majeſty's miniſters, in whoſe moderation and juſtice your Committee have every reaſon to repoſe their confidence, will be thoroughly ſatisfied that the employ of the teak ſhips, if once admitted, will become permanent. It has already been proved that they cannot ſail ſo *cheap* as thoſe of Britain; and now that we are reſtored to the bleſſings of peace, there can be no fear of their foreſtalling markets, in competition with the Company's ſhips, when ſailing ſingly. The foreign ſhips only remain, therefore, for conſideration.—If, to a low rate of freight, are farther added the charges of the river Thames, the duties paid to Government,

and a ſecond freight inſurance and charges to the ultimate place of deſtination, it is impoſſible to conceive in what manner a conſiderable part of the trade from India to foreign Europe and America can be brought to the river Thames in time of peace either in Indian or Britiſh ſhips. The ſpeculative plans of projectors never reach the counting-houſe of the practical merchant, who attaches far more importance to the additional charge of a few ſhillings, which he muſt pay for the hire of a boat on the river Thames. If, however, it is admitted, for the ſake of argument, that the teak ſhips can perform the wonders attributed to them, it is impoſſible to make London the general dépôt, ſo long as the preſent, or any duties are levied. The Company muſt import and muſt ſell, even if a loſs ſhall enſue; but when a loſs ariſes to the private trader, if he is prudent, he will diſappear.---At the ſame time, your Committee muſt concur in the obſervation already quoted from ſo reſpectable an authority as Lord Teignmouth, that if teak ſhips are cheaper, or poſſeſs any ſuperior advantages, foreigners will build them as well as ourſelves. They have had the option either to build, to purchaſe, or to hire; and yet teak ſhips have very rarely been employed by foreigners. And we may further add, that if permiſſion ſhall once be granted to the Indian ſhips and their owners, what ſecurity can the public have, that theſe ſhips will be ſent to the port of London, and not employed by their owners in the trade they now reprobate? One of the reaſons for the conceſſions made in the year 1793 was, the clandeſtine and illegal trade prior to that period. If ſuperior advantage can be obtained from the foreign trade, is there any reaſon to expect thoſe whom acts of Parliament could not then bind, to be governed by any other principle than that of their own intereſt? Such was the caſe when ſhips were engaged in Bengal by perſons, whoſe names appear on the preſent occaſion, to go to Batavia, to carry the property of the enemy to Europe. But in order to illuſtrate this point more clearly, we ſhall ſoon have an opportunity to diſtinguiſh between the zeal and patriotiſm of Britiſh and Indian ſhip-owners, when it will appear, that the latter have availed themſelves, in a very extraordinary degree, of the neceſſities of the public, whilſt the Britiſh ſhip-owners have always manifeſted, on ſimilar occaſions, a moderation which entitles them to a better fate. The Indian agents, whoſe plans are directed to their own aggrandizement, are well aware that a competition with Britiſh induſtry and Britiſh ſhips muſt ſoon end to the diſadvantage of Indian bottoms, and drive them out of the trade. This apprehenſion, and not favour to the Eaſt India Company, makes them contend that the indulgence ſhall be confined to Indian ſhips.

In addition to numerous facts and circumſtances, which ſerve to develope the views and plans of the parties, there are others of a collateral deſcription, which are not only deep and extenſive, but in ſome reſpects unfathomable. When the conteſt in India was about the *means* to convey to Europe the ſurplus produce, Mr. William Fairlie, one of the firſt merchants in Calcutta, in a letter to the Board of Trade, dated the 26th of December, 1797, writes as follows:---"*It is true that the Company offer us* "*tonnage for our goods at this time*; but the "*great object* is, being permitted to ſend them "in our *own ſhips*, by which means we obtain "the profit of freight, and have an opportunity "of being otherwiſe ſerviceable to our friends." ---After this diſtinct avowal on the part of Mr. Fairlie, that Britiſh ſhips ſhould return empty to Europe, in order that he might employ his own, we truſt that it will be no longer contended that the ſhips are the *means*, and not the *end*. We have further to obſerve, that Mr. Fairlie was a partner in the houſe eſtabliſhed under the firm of David Scott and Co. and it is probable is, or was, a partner in the houſe of Meſſrs. David Scott, Jun. and Co. of which Mr. Lennox was the avowed manager and a partner. This circumſtance naturally calls for another obſervation on the following fact.--- The 1ſt of March, 1800, Meſſrs. Fairlie, Gilmore, and Co. offer to the Board of Trade in Bengal, four ſhips; and according to the regulations of that Board, they mention the names of the owners of thoſe four ſhips.

	Tons.	Owners.	
Mornington	742	William Fairlie,	of Calcutta.
Eliza Ann	480	Allan Gilmore,	
Aurora	555	J. H. Ferguſon,	
Exeter	503	William Lennox, of London.	
	2280		

We have thus two facts diſtinctly proved, which apply to almoſt every part of the queſtion, and deſtroy, in every inſtance, the ſpeculative reaſoning and viſionary projects of the Indian agents. We ſee diſtinctly Britiſh capital employed in India, and what is more important, who are the parties prepared to riſe up, and enjoy the excluſive trade to India on the ruins of the Company. We wiſh that we could, at the ſame time, penetrate the whole of the plans, and foreſee the extent of the miſchief; but that is impoſſible.

Having thus aſcertained that the ſhips are the *end*, and not the *means*, it may be neceſſary to ſhew the extent and importance of thoſe Indian-built ſhips, which dwindle into inſignificance, when compared with any maſs or deſcription of Britiſh ſhips they are attempting to rival or diſplace.---By a return from Calcutta, dated the 30th of December, 1799, it appears that the ſhips built and building, fit for the Engliſh trade, and ſailing from that port, were no more than twenty-ſix ſhips, burden 19,695 tons.--- There is no occaſion to mark the inſignificance of theſe ſhips by a compariſon with the total maſs of Britiſh ſhipping; it will be ſufficient to ſtate that the number employed by the Company conſiſts of one hundred and twenty-two ſhips, burden 106,048 tons.---The Company

advertiſed for offers from builders and owners, for a few ſhips they wanted in the month of July laſt, when no leſs than one hundred and ten ſhips, burden 69,250 tons, were offered, of which the Company could employ at that time no more than fourteen ſhips, burden 8700 tons. This exhibits a proof that neither timber, capital, enterpriſe, nor artificers, are ſo much wanted, as to render it neceſſary to look to India for teak ſhips, to ſupply the wants of the Company or of the public.—If there is any well-founded claim on Government at this time, it is the fair and juſt claim of Britiſh ſhips and ſeamen, to provide (and not to deprive them of) the means of employment, in return for the great and meritorious ſervices rendered during the war. Britiſh ſhips of four or five hundred tons and upwards, are fallen above thirty per cent. in value, in conſequence of peace. There are few ſervices, except that of the Eaſt India Company, in which they can be employed; nor is there a chance for their being ſold, unleſs there ſhall be a demand for the commerce of France and Holland, and they are preciſely the deſcription of ſhips with which thoſe built in India will interfere. The number which are now unemployed muſt be increaſed very conſiderably, when the tranſports, and other private ſhips in the ſervice of the navy, are diſcharged; and yet theſe muſt give place to Indian-built ſhips. The views of the Indian agents are ſtill more conſpicuous, in that part of their plan wherein they propoſe to *confine* the trade to their own ſhips; that is, after having robbed the Britiſh ſhips and ſeamen of their birthright, they deſire to have thoſe Britiſh ſhips excluded, *for the benefit and advantage of the Company's excluſive trade.*—If enough has not been ſaid to refute the private traders, your Committee will beg leave to ſtate a ſhort compariſon between the general conduct of the owners of Britiſh and Indian ſhips. When the exigencies of Government, in 1795, required the large ſhips of the Company for the public ſervice, the owners ſurrendered them with cheerfulneſs at the requeſt of the Court on the moſt moderate terms; and this at a moment when the Directors in concert with the Board of Commiſſioners were taking the moſt active meaſures to reduce their advantages. The ſame readineſs and liberal conduct were manifeſted, when ſhips were wanted as tranſports to carry troops to the Weſt Indies. When the late expedition to Egypt was fitting out, Marquis Welleſley took up ſhips of the country, as well as thoſe of the Company. His Lordſhip had not communicated the ſlighteſt information to the Court of Directors in the month of November; but there are ample advices on the ſubject, and particularly to the Indian agents. Under theſe circumſtances, your Committee are obliged to have recourſe to private information, from the want of official documents. We are informed, the Gabriel, of 815 tons, manned with Laſcars, was engaged at 12,000 ſicca rupees per month; the Cuvera, of 932 tons, manned with Laſcars, was engaged at 14,000 ſicca rupées per month; and ſhips that carried no more than 150 military have been engaged for 6000 to 7000 rupees per month.—The Company was to bear all riſks on ſome of them, to employ the ſhips a certain time (in ſome caſes nine months), to pay freight for the dead weight, beſides other conſiderable advantages in favour of Indian ſhips.—Thoſe ſhips were in company with the Rockingham, one of the Company's regular ſhips of 800 tons, which carried 580 troops, and was full of ſtores, and which we ſhall take the liberty to compare with the earnings of the Gabriel, the neareſt in point of ſize, ſay, 1,500*l.* per month for nine months - - - - - - - £.13,500

The Rockingham 630*l.* per month for nine months - - - - - 5,450

Difference and loſs for nine months £.8,050

If this fact is well founded (and your Committee have no reaſon to doubt it, nor have they made any ſelection, as there may be other caſes ſtill ſtronger), it is the duty of the Court to exert every nerve to reſcue the Company and the public from the avarice and extortion of the owners of Indian-built ſhips.—Every impartial perſon would imagine that the Indian ſhip-owners would be content with this enormous profit: unfortunately for the Company, this is not the whole. Whilſt Lord Welleſley acknowledges that he cannot find cargoes for the ſhips ſent from Europe, and that three or four muſt be ſent to China (where they are not wanted), his Lordſhip has engaged that thoſe Indian ſhips ſhall be ſuffered to load with cargoes for Europe.

So many facts and arguments ariſe out of this important queſtion, that your Committee are compelled to treſpaſs on the patience of the Court with another comparative view of the caſe between Britiſh and Indian ſhips; for, under the preſent plan, the Indian ſhips may be conſidered as enjoying a *bounty* in preference to thoſe of Great Britain. In the year 1792, the *pretended* object of the private traders was to encourage the export of *Britiſh manufactures and produce*, and to meet which, the Company conſented to divide the ſuppoſed rate of freight of 20*l.* per ton in the following manner:—The export of Britiſh manufactures 5*l.*—the import of Indian manufactures and produce 15*l.*—At this moment the private traders contend that the imports from India are entitled to every degree of encouragement and protection; and therefore it is proper to examine in what manner their pretenſions will bear on the queſtion about the ſhips; and for this purpoſe, we will ſuppoſe, for the ſake of argument, that an Indian and Britiſh ſhip of 800 tons will coſt 25,000*l.* and ſail at a freight of 20*l.* out and home, divided as before mentioned:

The coſts of the Britiſh ſhip -	£.25,000
Her freight at 5*l.* per ton - -	4,000
Will coſt in India - - - -	£.21,000

The Indian ship, first cost - -	£.25,000
Her freight at 15*l.* per ton - -	12,000
Her cost in Europe - - - -	£.13,000

This circumstance merits particular attention; for, in one point of view, it may be considered as a decisive proof in favour of Indian-built ships; but it rests almost precisely on the same basis with the private trade: that is, if they enjoy a *preference* in the first instance, in that case they can trade, &c. to greater advantage. If the Company are at the expense of the establishments, which are enormous, and will raise millions as a commercial capital, to pay political debts on the one hand, whilst every other description of British subjects are excluded on the other from participating with the Indian agents in their trade, there is no doubt but that those agents will possess the real monopoly and benefit. So likewise with regard to Indian ships, if they can earn three quarters of the whole freight, after performing only half the voyage, they enjoy a decided preference over British ships, and which may operate to the exclusion of the latter. But will such a system be endured? And if it shall be proposed to equalize the freight, it is fair to ask what is to become of the encouragement held out to *British manufactures* by the act of 1792-93? Must we impose an additional freight of 5*l.* per ton on *all our exports*, in order to meet these Indian ships and traders on equal grounds? Are the public prepared to pay the same additional freight for their troops and stores (which will amount to an immense sum) in time of war? In short, the public interest, British manufactures, and British ships, must all yield to the interest of these individuals. With such extensive consequences in view, your Committee can never persuade themselves that the chartered rights of the Company will be violated.—In this part of the subject, your Committee must again notice what relates to British seamen and Indian Lascars; and still more, when they view it as contributing to the introduction of the colonial system in India. Every new light which can be thrown on those truly important questions, induces your Committee to believe, that the fatal consequences which they contemplated in the former Report, are but too just and too well founded;—they will not repeat what they have before urged, but refer the Court to their former Report on those subjects. The cause of humanity, however, requires that some addition should be made, in consequence of an attempt to prove that Lascars are dearer than British seamen. The attempt is curious; but although the fact is denied by your Committee, they will not waste the time of the Court by much discussion on that point; they will only observe that *if* it were true, it would be for the *interest* of the owners of Indian ships to discharge the Lascars at the first European port at which they arrive, and where they must inevitably perish. The country where the ship is built, where the owner resides, and where the voyage originates, must furnish sailors, who are natives of that country in the first instance. When the ship returns to India, after having performed her voyage with European sailors on board, is it likely that the owners will keep those sailors on wages, while the ship earns nothing? It is for the *interest* of the owner that the sailors should desert, which they will do, and, by rambling over the country, disgrace the British name, and weaken the hands of Government. But when the ship is again fitted out, they must again employ Lascars; and the manner in which these poor wretches are treated cannot be explained more feelingly than by the declaration of the Governor of Bombay, "that the "*mortality* had been so great on board the "country ships, that no more should sail with-"out European surgeons on board;" and the Company upon this occasion were obliged, as probably will be the case in future, to furnish surgeons at much inconvenience from their regular establishment.—These are shocking reflections; but the following statement of the mortality on board two ships *lately* arrived, may place this part of the question in a more correct point of view *.

	Lascars embarked in India.	Died on passage.	Sick on arrival in England.
Lucy Maria -	86	22	20
Surat Castle -	123	36	45
	209	58	65

In consequence of the inclemency of this climate, the diseases they are exposed to, and the voyage back to India, the mortality will be greatly increased; whilst the few who revisit their native shore may become cripples for life. These ships are selected from a list of six, as having the greater number of men on board, and much the larger proportion of mortality; they are, however, by no means unusual cases †.

Extracts from a Letter to the Proprietors of East India Stock, respecting the present Situation of the Company's Affairs both Abroad and at Home; in Answer to the Statements given in the latter Part of the Third Report of the Special Committee of the Court of Directors, respecting private Trade, dated the 25th of March, 1802.

GENTLEMEN, *London, June 8, 1802.*

IF the Third Report of the Special Committee of the Court of Directors respecting private trade, dated the 25th of March last, and approved of on the following day by the whole Court, had been confined to a fair investigation

* NOTE.—This melancholy subject is beyond the reach of the Court and of the Committee to penetrate, as the Company have no return nor control over the Lascars; the above statement must therefore be considered as imperfect, and short of the truth.

† For the remainder of this Report see pp. 622, 712, and 742; where it is continued and concluded.

of that important queſtion;—if a diſpaſſionate attempt to eſtabliſh by facts and arguments the opinions entertained by the Committee on the one hand, and to refute and expoſe the doctrines of their adverſaries on the other, had been their ſole object; the Proprietors and the public would not be troubled with any obſervations from me upon their publication. In that caſe, the merits of the queſtion at iſſue, conſidered abſtractedly, might have been properly left, without further diſcuſſion, to be decided upon by thoſe to whoſe judgment the parties themſelves had reſpectively appealed; and with reſpect to its practical application, had any difference ariſen, ſo ſerious as not to yield to conciliatory meaſures, that difference could only have been ſettled, either by the Court recurring to ſuch legal proceedings as it is competent, under the exiſting laws, to inſtitute in this reſpect, or by the paramount authority of Parliament. In either caſe, it certainly would not have afforded me any ground on which I could preſume to treſpaſs upon your attention. But when the authors of this Report, inſtead of keeping within the limits of the queſtion, are ſo hurried away by the impetuoſity of their zeal againſt the private traders, as, in the warmth of their attack, not only to forget the ſervices, but to trample upon the character of the moſt ſteady and faithful friend of the Company, of the man under whoſe direction and guidance, during eighteen years, the Indian empire has been raiſed, from a ſtate of weakneſs and confuſion, embarraſſment and diſtreſs, to a ſituation of power, order, ſtability, and efficient reſource, greater, perhaps, by a compariſon with its ſituation in 1783, than any country ever attained within ſo ſhort a period;—when, not ſatisfied with this unexpected charge, which, as we may have occaſion to ſhew hereafter, is at once an impeachment of their own conduct, judgment, and conſiſtency, and a ſevere reflection upon the ſincerity of that gratitude which they ſo lately unanimouſly profeſſed to feel for the ſervices of that diſtinguiſhed ſtateſman; the authors of this Report further repreſent the ſituation of the Company's affairs to be ſo deſperate, as to render idle and futile the conſideration of a plan he had ſuggeſted for their relief: ſo deſperate, indeed, in their view, as to exhibit, even in the diſtreſſes of 1783, when Mr. Dundas began his adminiſtration, a contraſt of proſperity and eaſe, when compared to the ſtate in which he left the Company's affairs, on retiring from office: when ſuch ſtatements as theſe are officially publiſhed, as the deliberate ſentiments of the truſtees to the public for the executive management of our Indian empire (for in this light I muſt conſider the Court of Directors), and prefaced too with a ſolemn engagement, that not only the "truth, but *the* "*whole truth*, ſhould be ſubmitted to the con- "ſideration of his Majeſty's miniſters, the "proprietors, and the public;" ſurely it is high time, not only for thoſe who have a direct and immediate intereſt in the concerns and welfare of the Company, but for every man who knows how to appreciate the value and importance of India to this country, to examine into the grounds of theſe ſtatements; to ſatisfy himſelf how far the compariſons between the preſent and former periods have been fairly and impartially made; and whether the preſent criſis be really of ſuch a nature, as either to preclude relief altogether, or to render that ſpecies of relief, ſuggeſted by Mr. Dundas, in his Letter of the 30th of June laſt, ſo incommenſurate to the extent of the difficulty, as to be at firſt ſight obviouſly nugatory, and inapplicable to the occaſion.

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When the uſual annual accounts of the affairs of India were laid before Parliament in the laſt ſeſſion, it muſt be recollected that Mr. Dundas was no longer in office. It was not, therefore, neceſſarily incumbent upon him to bring them particularly under the view and cognizance of Parliament. Many conſiderations, however, ſuggeſted to him by his zeal for the future intereſts of the Company, induced him to undertake the laborious taſk, not only of ſtating thoſe accounts according to the eſtabliſhed form of preceding ſeſſions, but, at the ſame time, to wind up his Indian adminiſtration; firſt, by a general but comprehenſive retroſpect of the principal meaſures and occurrences which had influenced the ſituation of the Company's affairs during the laſt ſeventeen years; and ſecondly, by pointing out the principles and outlines of a plan, which appeared to him well adapted, and adequate to meet and overcome a difficulty, which, amidſt ſo many flattering proofs of commercial and political proſperity, he fairly admitted was of a magnitude to require the utmoſt attention and exertions of his ſucceſſor in office, and of the Company to check and ſubdue; namely, the amount and accumulation of the Indian debt. This general explanation of the affairs of the Eaſt India Company was ſubmitted to the Houſe of Commons on the 12th of June laſt. On the 30th of the ſame month, he was induced, in his letter of that date, to tranſmit to the Court of Directors a ſeparate and more detailed ſtatement of the plan he had previouſly ſuggeſted to the Houſe of Commons for the reduction of their Indian debt: ſhewing what would be its progreſſive effect for that purpoſe, and embracing, as the Letter itſelf ſtates, "a general view of the conſequences it might "be expected to produce in the proſpect of "the Company's affairs during the continu- "ance of the preſent charter." His motive for taking this ſtep was, as he himſelf declares, "The hopes he entertained, that it might "lead to a more ſpeedy and accurate con- "ſideration of this important ſubject." So far from his laudable expectation being fulfilled, no notice whatever appears to have been taken of this letter, until it appeared to the Select Committee to afford them materials for

general attack upon the whole adminiſtration, ſervices, and views of its author. The members of this Committee are certainly neither the firſt, nor the only perſons in the world, who have begun by neglecting, and ended by ſcoffing at, the parting advice of an old, experienced, and tried friend; and, perhaps, like others, they one day may have to regret the folly, if not the baſeneſs, of ſuch conduct. Unfortunately, in the preſent caſe, the fault will be with them and their colleagues only, but the regret may extend to all thoſe who are intereſted directly or indirectly in the proſperity of our Indian empire.

To come, however, more immediately to the ſubject: "Mr. Dundas," ſays the Report, "on retiring from office, has repreſented India "and the affairs of the Company in the moſt "proſperous ſituation, and, in the event of "peace, capable of reducing the debt in India "within reaſonable and proper bounds, many "years before the expiration of the Company's "charter. The letter above referred to being "in the nature of an appeal to public opinion, "unwillingly forces itſelf upon your Committee's notice. That Mr. Dundas has not properly appreciated the importance and extent of the claims of the Indian agents, your Committee truſt they have diſtinctly proved in this and their former Reports; and they have too much reaſon to fear that the excluſive trade, as regulated by the act of 1793, is not only neceſſary, but indiſpenſable as a reſource to ſave the Company from deſtruction. It muſt always be remembered, that every part of Mr. Dundas's plan, whether it relates to the flattering proſpects held out to the Company at home, or to the relief and proſperity of the empire in India, *depends wholly and ſolely upon the Company's commerce;* but whilſt the means of applying every commercial aid with ſpeed and effect, are far beyond what he could have expected on the 30th of June laſt, in conſequence of the peace; yet the few months which have intervened, have been more than ſufficient to convince the Court that Mr. Dundas was miſtaken as to the real ſituation of the Company's affairs in India; for *the whole of his eſtimates are completely deſtroyed* in conſequence of the advices ſince received from thence."—The firſt fallacy we are compelled to take notice of in this quotation from the Report is, "*That every part of Mr. Dundas's plan depends wholly and ſolely upon the Company's commerce.*" This is a aſſertion ſo groſs and ſo palpable, that it is impoſſible to conceive how it can have found its way into the Report. The very firſt ſentence of Mr. Dundas's Letter, from which the Committee draw this concluſion, expreſsly ſays, that his plan "depends upon a due combination of the *revenues* and commerce of the East India Company;" and in the ſubſequent developement of it, the firſt requiſite ſtates as the foundation and *ſine qua non* of the whole is, "an arrangement abroad, ſo "that a full million from the ſurplus of the "revenues" (i. e. the revenues belonging to the Company in their *political* character, as ſovereigns of the ſoil in India) "ſhall, at the "commencement, be applicable to the pur-"poſe of inveſtment."—With reſpect to Mr. Dundas's repreſentation, that India and the affairs of the Company are generally conſidered in a proſperous ſituation, as the Committee have not condeſcended to argue upon the aſſertion, or ventured openly to deny it, except in ſo far as relates to their finances; though by implication they might, indeed, be underſtood to regret the overthrow of Tippoo, and our new alliances in India, it is unneceſſary to dwell upon that part of the ſubject; particularly as the general expoſition, by which, as we have already obſerved, Mr. Dundas concluded his laſt budget, is ſo deciſive upon every topic connected with the improvement of our political power and commercial connexions in India, as to appear equally ſatisfactory and unanſwerable. Such, indeed, is the importance and value we attach to that ſummary review upon each of thoſe points, that we thought it would be highly acceptable to our readers, and illuſtrative of the general ſubject, to ſubjoin it as an appendix to this Letter.

Let us paſs then to the great object of inquiry, the finances of India. "The whole of "Mr. Dundas's eſtimates," we are told, "are "completely deſtroyed, in conſequence of the "advices ſince received from India." Theſe, indeed, are ſweeping words, and a ſhort way of getting rid of the whole plan. We cannot, however, ſo eaſily conſent to conſign that plan to oblivion, or concur in the wiſdom of that childiſh policy which the Directors ſeem to have purſued on this occaſion, in exaggerating diſtreſs, and dealing out alarm with one hand, whilſt with the other they peeviſhly reject the aſſiſtance offered them, as if they were more anxious to excite compaſſion for, I know not what, imaginary evils of their own invention, than to find a remedy for thoſe which really exiſt.—But what is this advice from India which has come ſo ſeaſonably to ſpare the Directors the trouble of conſidering Mr. Dundas's plan, and to render it completely nugatory, and almoſt ridiculous in their opinion? Why, that the Indian debt *bearing intereſt*, which in his Letter he eſtimated at fourteen millions, is, by this time, there is reaſon to believe, increaſed to about ſixteen *. What effect this addition of two millions has on the calculations on which his eſtimate is formed, will be ſhewn

* The debt at intereſt, by the accounts laid before Parliament by the Court of Directors, dated the 4th of May, 1801, was only 12,301,570*l.* ſterling. Mr. Dundas, therefore, in taking it at fourteen millions on the 30th of June following, made an allowance for an addition of nearly 1,700,000*l.* The floating debt in 1800 was taken at two millions, and is now, and will probably remain, at about that amount.

preſently. But, in the firſt place, it is obvious that any augmentation of debt, only renders ſome plan calculated to produce the ſame effect, if not by the ſame means as his, ſtill more preſſing than before this advice was received. In the next, it will not be contended that, ſuppoſing Mr. Dundas's plan to have been practicable and expedient when the debt ſtood at fourteen millions, it neceſſarily ceaſes to be ſo by the mere addition of two millions to the amount. On the contrary, it muſt be obvious to every one who has looked at that plan at all, that the very ſame requiſites on which it is founded, and by the exiſtence of which it can alone be attempted, would, if they are forth-coming, be equally applicable to the reduction of the debt, whether it be fourteen, ſixteen, or even twenty millions. The only *neceſſary* difference in the final reſult would be, that in whatever ſum the debt, ſo to be paid off, may exceed fourteen millions, that ſum muſt be deducted from the balance which, according to Mr. Dundas's eſtimate, would otherwiſe be forth-coming at the end of the charter; ſo that, taking the debt at ſixteen millions, the balances which in the three different caſes, upon which eſtimates are given, in the Appendix to Mr. Dundas's Letter, Numbers I. VI, and VII. being in the

Firſt	- - -	£.20,672,028
The ſecond	- -	15,122,028
The third	- -	18,022,028

would, in each, be two millions leſs at the expiration of the charter. The only other alteration this augmentation of two millions to the Indian debt, might occaſion in the above eſtimates, would be to protract, for two years, the period at which that debt would be reduced within the intended limits of four millions and a half; but this is by no means a *neceſſary* conſequence; as the liquidation of the Indian debt might, if it ſhould be found more expedient, be accelerated, ſo as to diſcharge the two additional millions before the period at which the *decennial loan* will become payable. This might be done by adding to the remittances in bullion from this country, or by drawing additional bills from India; and conſequently in either caſe, by diminiſhing the caſh balance at home, between the preſent period and the year 1807-8, in ſuch proportion as it might, under all circumſtances, be thought proper, in order thereby to add in ſo much to the amount (one million) of debt propoſed to be diſcharged in India, in each year preceding this laſt-mentioned period, until the whole of the two additional millions ſhould be reduced. It will appear, by an inſpection of the eſtimate, that the only effect of this would be to diminiſh, in whatever proportion the payments were ſo increaſed, the current balance remaining at the end of each year, until the diminution reached two millions, which, as we have already ſtated, would be the final reſult upon the whole of the concern. Theſe are points depending upon figures alone, and which, conſequently, unleſs their accuracy can be diſputed, admit of no difference of opinion. The remaining queſtion then to be diſpoſed of is, whether the requiſites or data, upon which Mr. Dundas's plan was formed, with a view to the reduction of a debt of fourteen millions, can be expected to be forth-coming, now that the debt is ſwelled to ſixteen.—The two points which, when his plan was formed, it became moſt material carefully to aſcertain, and which may ſtill be conſidered as the moſt important, are: Firſt, The poſſibility of an arrangement in India, ſo that a million, from the ſurplus of the revenues, ſhall, at the commencement of the operation, be applicable to the purpoſe of inveſtment. Secondly, The practicability of procuring ſuch a ſupply of bullion as may be neceſſary in aid of the other reſources of exports, bills from India, &c. to complete, in the moſt advantageous manner, the ſum required in Mr. Dundas's plan for the prime coſt of the inveſtment from India and China, to four millions ſterling.—It may be objected, that the foreign commerce with India will be ſo much increaſed, in conſequence of the reſtoration of peace, that it will be impoſſible for the Company to carry the prime coſt of their annual inveſtment from India and China to four millions. This objection has been anticipated, and, we think, fully anſwered in Mr. Dundas's Letter of the 30th of June; to which we beg leave to refer on this ſubject, only remarking, that even admitting a reduction to be made in the annual inveſtment to the amount of one fourth, or one million, the only effect of it would be, not to invalidate the principle of Mr. Dundas's plan, but only to retard, in ſome degree, the rapidity of its ſucceſs, as is arithmetically proved by the eſtimate No. VI. in the Appendix to that Letter, formed upon the ſuppoſition of this reduced inveſtment. To return, therefore, to the two difficulties we have adverted to, I can ſcarcely think, with reſpect to the firſt, that any doubt can exiſt, peace being now generally reſtored, that ſuch proper retrenchments and reductions in the military eſtabliſhments, in the extraordinaries of the army, in the Company's marine, and in various other heavy expences incident to war, may be effected without riſk as will with economy, and the other reſources pointed out in Mr. Dundas's Letter, produce, at leaſt, the neceſſary ſurplus of one million ſterling.—Suppoſing the permanent additional charge for intereſt upon the two millions added to the debt, to be 175,000*l.* making the annual intereſt of the whole about 1,400,000*l.* *; and even allowing that no reduction can be effected in the rate of intereſt in any part of it; ſhall I be ſeriouſly told, that, under the preſent circumſtances of Europe and of India, a diminution of annual charge to the extent of 175,000

* In eſtimating the debt at intereſt to be four millions, Mr. Dundas reckoned the annual charge on that account to be 1,225,000*l.*

cannot, for so great an object, possibly be effected, over and above those reductions of expense, for which credit is taken in the estimate, No. IV. of the Appendix to Mr. Dundas's Letter, and exclusive also of the other resources suggested in the Letter itself; by the aid of which the net surplus, stated in that estimate at 800,000*l.* may be carried to one million sterling? Let it be recollected, that in that estimate the annual expenditure of India, exclusive of interest upon any part of the debt, then taken at fourteen millions, is reckoned at no less a sum than 8,851,260*l.*; and consequently that the only question is, whether a sum not amounting nearly to one fiftieth part of the annual receipt or expenditure of India, may not, either by an augmentation in the one, or a diminution in the other, or by the joint effect of both, reasonably be relied upon, in addition to the surplus stated in that estimate, as soon as the peace arrangements can be completed. Let it also be recollected, that the date of that estimate, "prepared," as Mr. Dundas says, by the joint labours of Mr. Wright, the Company's auditor, and of the accountant to the Board of Control, with such *abundant caution, as not to admit of any surplus that does not appear to be clearly warranted,*" antecedent to several orders, which, it is understood, were sent out last season for material reductions in some of the establishments: and that it is expressly stated in a note to that very estimate, "*that in the calculations upon which it is formed, the military establishments are supposed not to be reduced more than by the orders actually sent out, previous to the 30th of June, 1801.*"—What farther reduction * may be in contemplation since the peace, and to what extent it may ultimately be carried, consistently with the internal security and general defence of our Indian empire, are considerations upon which it is quite unnecessary to enter with a view to the present question; as I am perfectly certain it will not be contended by any one, either in or out of the direction of their affairs, supposing a surplus of one million could be relied upon when the debt was at fourteen millions, that the interest of two millions, since added to that debt, cannot possibly be provided for, either by this or some other mode of retrenchment, without breaking in upon that surplus which forms the first and most essential requisite of the whole plan. Under all these favourable circumstances, it would be a waste of time to attempt, by further explanation, to shew that a surplus of one million sterling may from this moment be reserved in India, and rendered applicable to the purchase of investments, provided positive and explicit orders shall be sent out for that purpose.—The other difficulty, that of procuring bullion, might have been great, though not, it is conceived, unsurmountable, had the war continued; but now that peace is restored, I believe it will not be urged as being of a very serious nature. The whole quantity requisite for the first year may, I make no doubt, be easily procured between this period and the dispatch of the ships of the ensuing season.

The next point to which the Committee proceed, is the comparison which they say "they will *venture* to make between the period "of distress in the Company's affairs, in the "year 1783, when Mr. Dundas began his ad"ministration, and the state in which he has "left the Company's affairs on retiring from "office." Their statements are as follows:—

"The Report of the Court of Directors, dated "the 23d of January, 1784, and laid before "the House of Commons (which was approved and defended by Mr. Dundas), *states distinctly the revenues and debts of India, according to the last accounts which could be obtained at that period.*

"The net revenue of India, exclusive of the profit on salt and opium, was - -	£.1,091,546
"The salt and opium, though they have produced much more, was at that time estimated at only - - -	400,000
"Net surplus at that time -	£.1,491,546
"This surplus was subject to *charges, and particularly to the interest of the debts in India.*	
"The salt and opium are estimated at no more than 400,000*l.* but produced, for an average of above twenty years, 800,000*l.* per annum.	
"By the accounts laid before the House of Commons, the 5th of May, 1801, the surplus net revenue was - -	£. 664,397
"It appeared at the same time that the interest upon debts bearing interest was - -	1,082,204
"Leaving a deficiency of -	£. 417,807

"Your Committee are aware that the deficiency is much larger, not only from additional interest on debts, but for expenses "which are not included; but the difference "against the annual *political* income of the "Company between the periods of 1783-4 "and of 1801-2 is very considerable."—The first part of this comparison, therefore, rests entirely upon the Report of the Court of Directors, dated the 23d of January, 1784, in which, according to the Committee, "the revenues and debts of India are *distinctly* stated, "according to the last accounts which could

* By the estimates of the army, presented within a few days to the House of Commons, it appears that all the King's regiments of infantry in India, amounting to fifteen, are forthwith to be reduced to 1375 men each (their present establishment), 653, officers included. Without presuming to form an opinion on the expediency of so great a reduction as is here proposed, we may derive, at least, this inference from the fact, that it would produce a saving far exceeding 175,000*l.* per annum.

" be obtained at that period." How far that ſtatement was, at the time it was drawn up, really *diſtinct*, ſatisfactory, or correct, and how far it is in this caſe fairly applicable, as a point of compariſon, is therefore a queſtion we have now to examine; and firſt as to its being *diſtinct*. Since this aſſertion, ſo contradictory to every recollection I had upon the ſubject, firſt came under my notice, I have uſed my beſt endeavours, by referring to the public proceedings of the Court of Directors, and of the Houſe of Commons in 1783 and 1784, to aſcertain whether any thing, bearing the ſmalleſt reſemblance to a *diſtinct* ſtatement of the Company's affairs, in any one reſpect whatever, could be ſaid to exiſt at that period. The reſult of all my reſearches, and of much inquiry in other quarters, is (and I boldly defy any one to diſprove the fact), that ſuch was the confuſion at the preciſe moment mentioned in the Report, that, notwithſtanding the moſt anxious and unremitting inveſtigation, whole years elapſed, after the commencement of Mr. Dundas's adminiſtration, before the real ſituation of the finances of India could be poſitively aſcertained. Inſtead of *diſtinct* ſtatements, I find in thoſe very documents not only that jarring and oppoſite opinions prevailed at home, even among the Directors themſelves, reſpecting the ſtate of their affairs, but that abundant and undeniable proofs exiſt, in almoſt every page, of the extreme confuſion and diſtreſs which pervaded every department in India at the concluſion of the war in 1783. Were not the payments of all the civil branches of the ſervice greatly in arrear? Were even the pay and allowances of the troops in a better ſituation? Have the authors of the Report entirely forgotten the calamities which threatened the very exiſtence of our power in India, in conſequence of the arrears then due to the army? When no ſufficient proviſion could be made for this ſervice, the laſt that in any country can with impunity be poſtponed; when at the ſame time the credit of the ſeveral preſidencies was exhauſted, and their outſtanding ſecurities depreſſed in a moſt alarming degree; will any man affirm that the finances of India were not in the laſt ſtage of diſtreſs, and that the power of Government itſelf was not tottering upon the brink of diſſolution? Such, indeed, was the extent of arrears which had accumulated in every department, and of the diſorder that prevailed in every branch of the ſervice, that no *diſtinct* account could be procured till the year 1786, and that the only account which could be made up at home in January, 1784, of the debts owing by the Company in India, was to the following periods, viz.

For Bengal	- -	February, 1783,
Madras	- -	March, 1782,
Bombay	- -	Auguſt, 1782.

The actual accounts, as to the receipts and diſburſements, were in arrear to a greater degree; for Bengal particularly, the laſt account received of this deſcription was to April, 1781. The Madras accounts do not appear to have been received to a later date. Thoſe of Bombay were received to 1780 only.

I think I have already ſtated more than enough to ſhew that the only *diſtinct* concluſion which could be formed at that period (the date of the Directors' Report in January, 1784) was, that the revenues of India had long ago been completely abſorbed by the war; and that the debts had increaſed, and were increaſing, in an amount of which it was impracticable to diſcover or eſtimate the extent.—Was the proſpect of the Company's affairs at home, at the ſame period, much more promiſing? Under this head the authors of the Report admit that the duties payable to Government had fallen in arrear to the amount of near one million ſterling, and that they were obliged to ſolicit Parliament *in forma pauperis* to ſuſpend for a further time the payment of this ſum, and of bills to a very conſiderable amount, drawn upon them from India, and which, when due, they had no funds in their treaſury to diſcharge. " *Trifling as that relief may appear,* " *when compared with the wants of the preſent* " *day,*" ſays the Report, " it was ſufficient to " extricate the Company from every difficulty " abroad and at home." To this flippant remark we ſhall at preſent only give this ſhort anſwer: That we defy the authors of this Report, with all their ſophiſtry, to make out of *the wants of the preſent day*, ſuch a caſe as would induce any one man in Parliament to countenance a propoſal, either for ſuſpending one farthing of any duties owing to Government, or for granting them one hour for the diſcharge of any bills drawn upon them beyond the period of their reſpectively becoming due.

After this general deſcription of the ſtate of the Company's affairs, abroad and at home (as far as any thing could be known of the former), in the year 1783, I might be ſatisfied, perhaps, to put the queſtion to the common ſenſe of any man, whether he can believe that there exiſted in India, at the very moment when public credit was annihilated, and *the army in the field left unpaid*, a net ſurplus of revenue to the amount of 1,491,546*l.* ſterling! Certainly ſuch an aſſertion is too abſurd to be credited; and here, perhaps, I might leave this part of the ſubject, if I did not feel it equally a duty to expoſe the effrontery of the authors of this Report, in offering ſuch a ſtatement to [illegible] and to the public.—In the firſt place it may be neceſſary to ſtate the full extent (as far as figures are concerned) of the impoſition attempted by this compariſon of their affairs in 1783 and 1801. It will appear thus, by adding the net ſurplus of the revenue, ſaid to exiſt at the firſt period, amounting to - - £.1,491,546
To the deficiency in the laſt - - 417,[illegible]
That the difference againſt the year 1801, or the defalcation of net revenue, at the concluſion of Mr. Dundas's adminiſtration, would be no leſs a ſum than - £.1,909,[illegible]

"subject," as the Report further observes, "to considerable increase by still further de-"mands for additional interest on debts and "expenses not included."---This is the only inference that can be drawn from the mere inspection of the figures; we shall, therefore, now proceed to detect the gross artifice on which the principle of this comparison is founded; so gross, indeed, that we are equally at a loss to state it in its full extent, or to keep within the bounds of propriety in pointing it out to the reprobation of the reader. Let him possess but a knowledge, however superficial, of public affairs, as liable to be affected by the difference of peace and war. If to this he add right feelings and an unprejudiced mind, we have no doubt that he will share our indignation when he is informed, on the one hand, that the statement of the pretended surplus of 1783, is taken not from any ascertained account of the receipts and expenditure of India as they then existed, but from an estimate of what *possible* surplus might thereafter be created, supposing, 1st, the debt to be at that moment four millions and a half, and without any allowance for interest, instead of more than *ten*, as it afterwards proved to have been; and, secondly, every reduction of expense to have been made that profound peace would admit of, and the most rigid economy would require; including, under this head, many retrenchments to a very large amount, that were found, in fact, to be utterly impracticable. On the other, that the estimate of 1801-2 is taken from an account of the actual expenditure of one of the years of a most extensive, complicated, and burdensome war, and includes the interest of the whole debt of India, to the full extent, at which it then really existed; and these are the widely different circumstances which the Court of Directors offer to their constituents and the public, as grounds of a fair comparison! a comparison as just in point of principle, and as conclusive in point of fact, with respect to the affairs of India, as would be, with respect to the financial prosperity of Great Britain, a statement of the balance between our ordinary revenue upon a reduced scale of expenditure, in a year of profound peace, compared with the balance between the same ordinary peace revenue and our total expenditure, both ordinary and extraordinary, in a year of most expensive and general war.—If any one entertains a doubt whether *this pretended net surplus*, stated to be really existing in 1783, was, in fact, a mere visionary estimate, of what it was conjectured might, at some future period, possibly be realized, let him turn to the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, of the 22d of June, 1784; not made during the period of the attack on the Company's charter, but formed under the superintendence of those who had supported it in the struggle, and were most friendly to its interests. It is there stated, "That the immense revenues from Bengal had been unable, *during three years, to furnish any investment*; "that considerable assistance must be given by "Bengal to Madras and Bombay, both to sup-"ply the deficiencies of revenue, and to dis-"charge the interest, at least, of their bond "debts; that in examining the Directors' esti-"mate of one year's net produce of the terri-"torial possessions in India, in *time of peace*, "they thought it a just attention towards the "Directors to observe, that the subject is in-"volved in a degree of *darkness and uncer-"tainty*" (mark this apology and description of what is now offered as a *distinct* and correct statement), "by the delay of the Company's "servants abroad in transmitting actual ac-"counts of their annual receipts and ex-"penses." After an examination of the detail of the Bengal revenues, the Committee proceed to the estimated expenses, and remark "That they do not mean to express a doubt, "that it may be both proper and practicable "to reduce the several charges within the "limits prescribed, but *such reduction is cer-"tainly not to be effected by merely presenting a "speculative system of reforms to the House*: "under these circumstances," they add, "*the "actual accounts afford, perhaps, the best criterion*; and though they will forbear to frame "an estimate founded on those accounts, *it "ought to be remarked, that the several reduc-"tions of expense assumed by the Directors, are "stated and credited, as if actually in force, from "the moment when their Report was dated.*" This was the judgment of the Committee of the House of Commons, on what the Directors of the present day bring forward as stating DISTINCTLY *the revenues of India, according to the last accounts which could be obtained at that period.* In point of fact, such was the confusion then existing, that *three* years elapsed, from the commencement of Mr. Dundas's administration, before any correct account could be procured from India; and when at last it was obtained, the debt at the close of the war in 1783, instead of being four millions and a half at that period, as stated by the Directors, was, as we have already observed, upwards of *ten*, and their Report in many other respects was proved to be equally fallacious and unfounded.—It may not be irrelevant to the subject here to observe, that this debt, so enormous when compared with the resources of that period, was, immediately subsequent to the year 1786, put in a train of being liquidated, and was in fact considerably reduced before the renewal of the war, by the application of nearly the same principle that is now proposed by Mr. Dundas, in his Letter of the 30th of June, though under regulations less perfect, and by a mode less efficacious, than are there suggested for the reduction of the present debt; to the liquidation of which it is in the power of the Directors to proceed, with means certainly available from this moment, and much more applicable to the purpose than any which existed, not immediately,

but *three* years after the concluſion of the former war.

Having now ſhewn the real nature and value of this pretended *net ſurplus* of revenue, amounting to 1,491,546*l.* in 1783, it remains to be aſcertained what, *per contra*, was in fact the *real deficiency* at that period. If, inſtead of preſenting an over-ſanguine eſtimate, formed at the time upon falſe data, of what, in profound peace, the revenue of India might eventually become, as what it "*then actually was, according to the laſt accounts that could be obtained at that period*," the authors of the Third Report had really made thoſe laſt accounts (ſuch as they were) the baſis of their compariſon, with the laſt accounts received in 1801, their proceeding would have been leſs unfair; though, for two reaſons, it would ſtill have been open to objection; 1ſt, that, owing to the accounts for the former period being ſo much in arrear, they had not then reached to that ultimate ſtage of diſtreſs, at which, by the joint effect of accumulated expenſe and diminiſhed revenue, they arrived in 1783, whilſt the accounts of 1801 were brought up to the lateſt poſſible period of the preſent war.—Secondly, becauſe ſeveral conſiderable charges of a permanent nature, which did not exiſt at all in 1783, have ſince been thrown upon the revenues of India, partly by neceſſity, and partly by ſome neceſſary expenſes attending great and laudable improvements introduced into the ſyſtem of our Indian government; improvements which reflect no leſs honour upon the liberality and juſtice of the Company, than upon the wiſdom and humanity of the illuſtrious characters who had the merit of bringing them under conſideration. Under the one or the other of theſe heads, muſt be included the new arrangements in favour of the Company's ſervants military and civil; the increaſed pay of the troops, both native and European; the new ſyſtem of juriſprudence, and other ſubſtantial benefits conferred upon the Company's ſubjects in India; the effects of which, upon the happineſs and proſperity of thoſe diſtant poſſeſſions, are, I believe, univerſally acknowledged by every man, who has attended to the riſe and progreſs of the Britiſh empire in India.—Allowing, however, both theſe advantages in favour of 1782, to be ſunk in the compariſon, let us ſee how it would then ſtand.—If the following ſtatement be not perfectly accurate, it is certainly not deficient from being under the mark (far otherwiſe), but from the want of preciſion we have already noticed in the accounts of this laſt-mentioned period.—It muſt be obvious, that by taking the difference between the calculations of ſuppoſed future expenditure, which gave as a reſult a net ſurplus of 1,491,546*l.* and the real expenditure as it actually ſtood, according to the laſt accounts that could be obtained at that period, and then deducting from this difference the above pretended ſurplus, the remainder will ſhew the real deficiency. The Reports we have already referred to from the Court of Directors and the Houſe of Commons in 1783 and 1784, furniſh the following materials for this purpoſe:

Bengal.—The military charges in the firſt caſe are taken at		£.1,500,000
According to the eſtimate of the Bengal Government for the year 1783, given in the Appendix to the Report of the Houſe of Commons, they cannot be computed at leſs than		3,000,000
The military charges may therefore be taken at a greater amount by		1,500,000
The civil charges are ſtated at	£.350,000	
By the laſt year of account made up to 1780-1 in the Appendix above referred to, they were	580,000	
The difference in this caſe is		230,000
The marine charges are eſtimated at	60,000	
On the average of three years, to April, 1781, they were 120,000*l.* taking the laſt of theſe years as in the civil Charges, ſtate them at	77,000	
The difference is		17,000
Buildings and fortifications	100,000	
On the average of three years, to April, 1781, they were 123,000*l.* in the laſt of theſe years, they were 114,000*l.* taken at that amount	114,000	
The difference is		14,000
Whence it will appear that the charges of Bengal ſhould have been taken at a larger amount by		1,761,000
The effect of which is, that inſtead of a ſurplus from the revenues of that Preſidency of 1,194,689*l.* as ſhewn in the eſtimate of 1784, the deficiency would have amounted to		566,311

At *Madras*.—Corrections will be required both in the revenues and charges—The authority of the Report of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons will be made uſe of on nearly the ſame principles as in the Bengal accounts.

	£.	£.
The net revenues and cuſtoms are ſtated at	600,000	
By the accounts ending April 1781 they were	398,000	
The difference is		202,000
The military charges are eſtimated at	600,000	
In the year 1781, they were	872,000	
Being more by		272,000
Civil charges	60,000	
If the arrears due the 30th of April, 1781, appertained to that year, theſe charges might be taken at 100,000*l.* The eſtimate given by Lord Macartney, calculated on three years of peace, may perhaps be the ſureſt guide—in that they were ſtated at 120,000*l.* ſay, however	100,000	
Exceeding the Directors' eſtimate by		40,000
Buildings and fortifications	70,000	
On the average of 10 years this amount was exceeded by 6,000*l.* but as, on other occaſions, the laſt year of account in the war has been moſtly taken, the ſame rule will be now obſerved. In the year 1780-1 they were	42,000	
Being leſs than the eſtimate		28,000

Inſtead, therefore, of a ſurplus revenue at Madras, eſtimated by the Directors at 152,857*l.* a deficit would be exhibited amounting to 313,143*l.* making a difference from the reſult in the eſtimate of £.486,000

Bombay.—The accounts of this Preſidency at the time the Committee under their Report were not made up to a later period than April, 1780; a different mode of ſtatement will therefore be adopted.

The revenues were eſtimated at		£.130,000
As the war expenſe will be taken, it is fair likewiſe to take the war receipt. On the average of the years 1782-3 and 1783-4 the revenues amounted to		500,000
Being more than eſtimated		370,000
The charges eſtimated at	£.356,000	
On the ſame average were	903,000	
Exceeding the eſtimate		574,000
Whence the ſurplus charge of Bombay, eſtimated by the Directors at 226,000*l.* being diſcovered to amount to 403,000*l.* a difference from their eſtimate will appear, amounting to		177,000

The expenſe of Bencoolen is eſtimated at 50,000*l.* which may certainly be conſidered as too low; but does not appear to require any remark.

The Reſult of this Examination may be ſhewn at One View, as follows.

	Court's Eſtimate.	Corrected Account.	Difference.
BENGAL—Surplus Revenue	£.1,194,689		
Deficient ditto	—	£.566,311	£.1,761,000
MADRAS—Surplus Revenue	172,857		
Deficient ditto	—	313,143	486,000
	1,367,546		
BOMBAY—Deficient Revenue	226,000	403,000	177,000
Net Surplus	1,141,546		
BENCOOLEN—Charges	50,000	50,000	
Remaining Surplus Revenue	1,091,546		
Total Deficient Revenue	—	1,332,454	2,424,000

	Court's Eſtimate.	Corrected Account.	Difference.
Brought over	£.1,091,546	£.1,332,454	£.2,424,000
Add Revenue from Salt and Opium, as eſtimated by the Directors in the Third Report -	400,000		
Deduct ditto, as by Report in 1784 - - -	—	450,000	50,000
Surplus Revenue, as eſtimated in the Third Report	1,491,546		
Deficient ditto, as by corrected account - -	—	882,454	2,374,000
Add Intereſt on the Debts, as by the Report of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons	—	400,000	400,000
Total Deficiency -	—	1,282,454	
Whence the total difference between the figures exhibited by the Court of Directors, as the Net Surplus in 1783, and the amount at which it ought to have been ſtated appears to be - - - - - - -	—	—	2,774,000

It may be ſaid, that the Court of Directors in this Third Report, after giving their view of the net ſurplus in 1783, at the ſum of - - - - - £.1,491,546

Stated "*that it was ſubject to "charges, and particularly to in-"tereſt.*" Could they form no eſtimate of the amount of theſe additional demands on the reſources? Could ſuch a note be ſufficient to afford any idea of their amount? What part of the general claſs of readers, even amongſt the Proprietors, could form an idea of the *amount of theſe charges and of the intereſt?* But even ſuppoſing the authors of the Third Report had thought it worth while, for the ſake of *ſtill greater diſtinctneſs*, if not of more impartial juſtice, ſo far to rectify their own *diſtinct ſtatement* of the net ſurplus as it ſtood in 1783, by deducting the ſpecific amount of intereſt then known to be 400,000*l.* per annum, inſtead of ſtating generally that it *was liable to ſome charge on that account*, their pretended net ſurplus would even then have ſtood at 1,091,546

Inſtead of a real deficiency of - 1,282,454

Making the difference - - 2,374,000

The following alteration then ought to be made in the compariſon of the two periods by the Directors:

The deficit in 1783, on a corrected ſtatement, has been ſhewn to be - - - -	£.1,282,000
That in 1800-1 is ſtated at - -	417,000
The difference in favour of 1800-1 in this view, is - - -	865,000

Inſtead of being againſt as before ſtated in the ſum of - - £.1,909,000

Making a difference in the whole reſult, as already ſhewn, amounting to - - - *2,774,000

The minute preciſion of this ſtatement, in every particular, will not be inſiſted upon; the principle is the great point for which it is drawn, viz. a compariſon with an eſtimate calculated under the circumſtances of war.

After the full explanation we have now given upon this head, it appears almoſt ſuperfluous to notice the inſinuation, that the Report of the Court of Directors of the 23d of January, 1784 (in which this *pretended ſurplus* was diſcovered), was approved and defended by Mr. Dundas. It is true that Mr. Dundas, at that eventful period, ſhewed himſelf a firm, zealous friend, and a powerful protector in Parliament of the rights and privileges of the Company, againſt the attempts then carried on for ſetting aſide their charter, and transferring to other hands their patronage, their authority, and the immediate management of the affairs of the Indian empire. Taking this line in Parliament, he certainly conſidered many of the particular objections urged againſt the Report, as being unfounded or exaggerated; and he ſtated (if credit may be given to the Parliamentary Regiſter for the accuracy of the debate) that, *ſhould peace continue*, and ſhould the ſyſtem then in contemplation be carried into effect, there was, he truſted, a *probable chance* of the Company ſpeedily emerging from debt, and growing into wealth. This opinion it was afterwards his good fortune to ſee realized, and confirmed under his own adminiſtration of their affairs; but the caution with which it was given as to the future, ſufficiently indicates

* Other charges of his Majeſty's ſhips, &c. ſhould have been taken into the account, but the annual expenſe could not well be aſcertained: if they had been included, the difference on the firſt view now given muſt have been greater.

what appeared to him the real ſtate of their affairs at that moment. Beſides, Mr. Dundas was a member of that very Committee of the Houſe of Commons, whoſe opinion of this ſurplus, even as an eſtimate for the future, and not, as what till now it never was aſſumed to be, an account of revenue then exiſting, we have already given. The real truth is, that in 1784, the Eaſt India Company did that, which other great commercial eſtabliſhments have done, under circumſtances of ſimilar embarraſſment. Their truſtees, acting in their behalf, laid open their affairs, and, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions, made ſuch a ſtatement as appeared to them beſt adapted to ſhew, that they had reſources in reſerve which would ultimately *bring them round* (to uſe a common but appropriate expreſſion), provided a further time was given them by their creditors for the payment of engagements then due, and they were allowed to continue in the management of their affairs. Such is the real hiſtory of their Report of 1784. ---In 1802, on the contrary, when no one doubted your reſources, or queſtioned your ſolidity, theſe ſame truſtees think themſelves at liberty to trifle and ſport with your credit. They hoiſt a ſignal of diſtreſs which they do not feel, and which they know does not exiſt ---for what?---Is it a ſnare to bring "the miniſ-"ters, the proprietors, and the public" down to their aſſiſtance againſt the private trader?--- If it be, ſuch a trick is as pitiful and unfair in diſcuſſion, as it would be mean and unlawful in war.---Is it becauſe their late leader, after receiving for eighteen years repeated proofs of their warm approbation, and ſharing with them the well-earned applauſe of joint ſucceſs, is ſuppoſed to differ from them upon this queſtion, that they have ventured to attack his public character, to miſrepreſent his actions, and to deny and revile his ſervices, in this his moſt diſtinguiſhed career?---Did they expect by ſuch a conduct to invalidate the juſt weight and authority of his opinions in the exiſting diſpute? If they did, they probably by this time are ſenſible of their miſtake; and if they acted from ſome better impulſe, they owe to their own characters to ſtate what that impulſe was. Without recurring to ſuch unlawful weapons as theſe in their defence, could they not be contented with proving (as they appear to think they have done to perfect demonſtration), 1ſt, That the real object of the private trader is not the *trade* itſelf, but to be at liberty to carry it on in *Indian* inſtead of *Britiſh* built ſhips? and 2dly, That the former are more expenſive to build, more expenſive to fit out, and more expenſive to navigate than the latter? Surely they might have been ſatisfied to have reſted their triumph over the poor private trader, and his ally the Indian agent, on arguments ſo conſiſtent and ſo unanſwerable. But then, we are told in the Report, theſe deluded enemies had given juſt and great offence by intercepting the fortunes of individuals, which would otherwiſe have found their way into the Company's treaſury at Calcutta. If they have done this to the diſtreſs of the Company, for the chance of embarking ſo much additional capital in a loſing trade of Indian ſhips, it unqueſtionably ſhews, on their part, a very rancorous, but a very fooliſh ſpirit of hoſtility. Suppoſing, however, the fact to be true, with due deference to the authors of the Report, I muſt ſtill be allowed to doubt whether, with a view to bring thoſe capitals to flow again in their accuſtomed channel, it was good policy in them to make ſuch a diſplay of the diſtreſſed ſituation of their affairs. This brings us again to the ſubject.

The authors of the Report ſeem to think it poſſible, "that objections may be made "againſt this compariſon of 1783 and 1801; "but then," they add, "there can be none "when a compariſon is made between differ-"ent parts of Mr. Dundas's own adminiſtra-"tion;" and, therefore, candidly and impartially they chooſe their periods, and then proceed to make it as follows:

"In 1793, on the renewal of the charter, "the Directors eſtimated the final ſurplus in "India as applicable to inveſtment,

"To be - - - -	£.1,409,127
"Deduct the proceeds of the "Europe exports - -	350,000
"Remains a political ſurplus of *	1,159,127

"It is true that Mr. Dundas objected to this "eſtimate, which, in his opinion, was much "too low; but if to that ſum ſhall be added "the preſent deficiency of 417,807*l.* there will "appear againſt the Company, in their annual "*political* income, a difference of a million and "a half, which may eaſily be ſwelled to two "millions ſterling annually, when the arrears "of debt are funded, and bear an intereſt."— This ſecond compariſon, at leaſt, is not open to one material objection to which the former was liable. We are as ready to admit that a net ſurplus of 1,159,127*l.* might actually be depended upon in 1793, as we were prepared to ſhew, in the former inſtance, that, inſtead of any ſurplus, an alarming deficiency really exiſted in 1783. A reference to the accounts of theſe two periods leaves as little doubt of the one as of the other. We alſo admit that Mr. Dundas gave his opinion that the above eſtimate was taken too low; and we may even add that this opinion was confirmed by the adjuſted accounts of the years 1792-3, 1793-4, and 1794-5, in each of which the balance exceeded the amount

* By a ſimple miſtake of *ſubtraction*, the authors of the Third Report have here added 100,000*l.* to the ſurplus of 1793, as it will be obvious to every one by a mere inſpection of the figures, that it ought to be only 1,059,127*l.*—Allowance, however, having been made in the eſtimate of 1793 for the commercial charges, amounting to about 104,000*l.* and thoſe charges not being included in the other point of the preſent compariſon, we ſhall proceed to argue upon the ſuppoſition of the political ſurplus in 1793 having been as great as is here ſtated—as, in fact, it would have been, had no deduction been made for commercial charges.

ſtated in the eſtimate; although the amount of charges for each of theſe three years was greater than had been reckoned upon; thereby confirming, on the one hand, in the fulleſt manner, Mr. Dundas's conjecture, and on the other, manifeſting in the moſt ſatisfactory point of view, the rapid increaſe of the reſources and proſperity of India. In ſhort, the reſult of the firſt ten years of Mr. Dundas's adminiſtration was, that, inſtead of a deficit, amounting as we have proved at the commencement of that period to - - - - £.1,282,000
A ſurplus was created of - 1,159,000
Making in the whole a difference in favour of the Company of - 2,441,000

As far as the character of that adminiſtration is the object of diſcuſſion, it may, I think, at leaſt up to this period, ſafely reſt upon this ſhort ſtatement; from the reſult of which, however, we derive another inference, more general in its importance, and equally concluſive and ſatisfactory in itſelf. It is this—that an empire, which in the courſe of ten years was capable of being raiſed from the ſtate of extreme diſtreſs, in which, as we have demonſtrated, it was plunged at the concluſion of the former war, to the ſtate of eaſe and affluence, in which we find it in 1793, and which in that interval (be it alſo remembered) was involved in a ſevere conteſt with Tippoo Sultaun, cannot ſurely, under the comparatively trifling difficulties which have enſued from the war now happily terminated, but afford the moſt flattering proſpects for the future; poſſeſſing, as that empire actually does, not only its former, but many new ſources of wealth, as well as many new ſecurities againſt the interruption of internal peace, and for the efficient collection and realization of its revenues; provided the principles which operated its relief on the former occaſion continue to be obſerved and applied in the preſent caſe, with that diſcernment, wiſdom, and perſeverance, which marked the former period. Without denying the facts upon which this obſervation reſts, can any man look at the calculations by which it is ſuggeſted, and the preſent ſtate of the Company's credit at home, compared with their credit in 1783, and not be convinced that the plan laid down in Mr. Dundas's Letter of the 30th of June, is not only practicable, but eaſy in its execution, when compared with the meaſures ſomewhat ſimilar in their principle, which led to the reſult of 1793? The accuracy of the eſtimate of this laſt period, as given in the Report, being therefore admitted, we have only to ſtate upon what principle that eſtimate was formed; and to remind the reader that the other point of the compariſon is the ſame in this, as in the former inſtance, namely, the eſtimated amount of expenditure in 1801, a year of moſt extenſive, complicated, and burdenſome war;—to enable every one to decide for himſelf, whether this ſecond comparison is, as the Report ſays, *ſo entirely free from every objection*. The title of the paper from which this eſtimate of 1793 is taken, is as follows: "An Eſtimate of the "Company's Affairs in India and in Europe, "with a View to aſcertain what will be the "probable Surplus reſulting from the whole, "in Time of PROFOUND PEACE."

After the view we have taken of the firſt, it cannot be neceſſary to add one word to ſtamp the character of this ſecond compariſon; we ſhall therefore proceed in our ſubject.

The political ſurplus in 1793, on the peace eſtimate has been admitted to amount to - - - £.1,159,000
On a war eſtimate for the year 1800-1, the deficit has likewiſe been admitted to amount to - 417,000
Exhibiting a difference between a calculation on peace, in 1793, and in war in 1800-1, amounting to - - - - - 1,576,000

It cannot be denied that if the war had continued, and no retrenchments could have been made, the increaſe of debts, and the probable addition of ſome charges, might have operated to cauſe the difference ſoon to reach the ſum of two millions, as ſtated by the Directors. The Company, in preparing the eſtimate for 1793, aſſumed, as we have ſeen, upon the continuance of *profound peace*; and certainly in 1792, when that eſtimate was formed, they were well warranted in that expectation. In Europe, they might reſt upon the authority of the Miniſter, Mr. *Pitt*, who, not only by his language, but by his proceedings in Parliament, had maniſeſted his confident hopes, that this bleſſing would be continued to us. In India, the Company had lately brought to a glorious concluſion, a war by which they had deprived their inveterate, and in fact their only dangerous enemy in that quarter, of half his dominions, and had acquired to themſelves a conſiderable addition of revenue. Under theſe circumſtances, their proſpects might be ſtated with great confidence; and although the war with France took place very ſoon after, the effects of it, owing to many circumſtances, were felt in India for a conſiderable time, no otherwiſe, than by the expulſion of the French from all their ſettlements in that quarter. The intrigues of that power, however, throughout Hindoſtan, were not the leſs active on that account. The late Tippoo Sultaun was not only their ally, but meditating revenge for the diſgraces and loſſes he had experienced; that implacable enemy of the Company's power was inceſſantly employed in attempting to raiſe confederacies againſt them in India. Theſe and many other occurrences, in the number of which we muſt not omit to mention the French expedition to Egypt, and their intended co-operation from thence with Tippoo, excited the vigilance of the Miniſter of India, and called forth thoſe exertions, both in Europe and in Aſia, to which, under Providence, the Company is indebted for the ſpeedy overthrow of that tyrant, the entire conqueſt of his dominions, and all the fortunate conſequences, by which the future ſafety of India is, I truſt, effectually

secured, both against the hostile designs of any European, or the attempts of any native power. Had the measures of the Governor General, at that crisis, been marked by less of foresight, decision, and energy of character, than they were; had the corresponding preparations of the Indian Minister in Europe been calculated with less wisdom, persisted in with less perseverance, or pursued with less activity and zeal than belong to Mr. Dundas's mind, the result probably might have been such, as would have left the authors of this Report very little reason to animadvert upon the *extension of their military establishments, and the absorption of their revenue for political purposes.* Then indeed there would, in all probability, have been no room for discussion between them and us respecting the state of our Indian concerns. The difference between the Directors and the private traders, the object of so much controversy, and the pretence for so much misrepresentation, might have been sunk in the common ruin of both; and in this issue at least of the contest, however calamitous in other respects, the Directors would have been spared both the trouble of expressing their approbation, when the escape from danger being recent, the impression of it was still fresh upon their minds; and the disgrace of recalling that approbation, nay, of converting to censure the very grounds of their gratitude, as soon as the ship was well anchored, and whilst the pilot was still in sight, who had steered it through the storm.

We have now followed the authors of the Third Report through two of their comparative statements; the first between an estimate of a *very reduced peace establishment*, formed under the pressure of severe distress, at the conclusion of one war; and an *estimate of the most expensive year of a war*, then unconcluded: the second between this last estimate, and one formed in the midst of, and with a view to the continuance of *profound peace*. We have taken the liberty to correct the first, as far as our information would enable us, by comparing one war estimate to another; and with respect to the second, as the preliminaries of the present peace had been signed a considerable time before the date of their Report, it would have been no great stretch of candour in those same Directors, who, for their first comparison, had gone back so many years, to revive a peace establishment which never existed but in the records of their own disappointed speculations, or detected fallacies, to have looked forward for a few months to what, on sufficient grounds, may be expected to be the real peace establishment for the ensuing year. The path was open to them; it had in part been explored by their own auditor, who could have shewn them the way through the whole; but unfortunately at the entrance stood the War Estimate of 1801, better suited to their purpose, and here they stopped.—Aided, however, by Mr. Wright's researches, we have already given the grounds, on which we rely with perfect confidence, upon a net surplus revenue of one million sterling, within the first year of the present peace, or as soon as the retrenchments arising out of it can be effected. Satisfactory as the inference to be drawn from this winding-up of the war may appear as to the future, it cannot be deemed a fair ground of comparison with 1793; inasmuch as the one exhibits the resources of India, as they had gradually grown out of ten years of economy and peace*; the other as they may fairly be assumed to stand within the first year after the conclusion of a long and expensive war. Notwithstanding this striking difference in the circumstances of the comparison, which render it inadmissible, abstractedly taken, as a criterion by which an opinion may be formed of the last eight years of Mr. Dundas's administration, it may be useful in other points of view to look at the relative situation of India at these two periods. The net surplus in 1793 stood, as we have already stated (fully concurring in that particular with the Report), at - - - - - - - - - £ 1,159,127

We have shewn that, upon a moderate peace estimate, it may be taken for the ensuing year at least at - - - - - - - - 1,000,000

Being a diminution of only - - 159,127
after nine years of war.

In what manner then, it may be said, allowing so trifling a defalcation of net revenue, do you provide for the increased interest of the debt, and the increased permanent charges of Government in India during that period? My answer is equally short as to the fact, and satisfactory as to the real prosperity of India: *By the increased resources of the permanent revenue*, which was estimated for the year 1793 at 6,963,000*l.*, for the year 1800-1 at 9,912,000*l.*; with every reason to confide in a further increase. This increase of permanent revenue, amounting to near *three millions sterling*, will be found amply sufficient, not only to defray the increased interest of the debt, but, as a very short explanation will satisfy the reader, to meet such other permanent charges, as may require to be provided for in the peace establishment of 1803, over and above those of 1793.—What may be the exact amount of the whole increased expense cannot, indeed, be ascertained with precision until all the arrangements of the present peace shall be settled and carried into effect.—The most material, however, are the following—1st, The increased interest on the debt contracted during the whole of the war, supposing the debt bearing interest to be sixteen millions, may be estimated at £.838,000—Secondly, The increased charge occasioned by the new system of jurisprudence established

* It is true the first separate war with Tippoo Sultaun occurred in this interval; but that was an Indian war only, of short duration, and of which the expense was in some degree refunded to the Company by that tyrant himself, as the price of the restoration of peace.

in the Company's territories in India, may be eſtimated at 200,000*l.* That this ſyſtem, ſuggeſted by the true principles of juſtice, and founded in a wiſe and liberal policy, is well calculated to give ſtability to property, ſecurity and protection to induſtry, to improve the morals, and to increaſe the comforts of the Company's ſubjects in India, are facts ſo well confirmed by experience, and ſo generally admitted by all parties, that no juſtification can be neceſſary for an expenſe, by which ſuch benefits have been conferred upon the inhabitants of Britiſh India.

Thirdly. The increaſed pay and other amelioration, in the ſituation of the army, both officers and privates, Europeans and natives, ſince 1793, form an additional charge, which, upon the preſent ſcale of military eſtabliſhments in India, cannot be reckoned at leſs than 700,000*l.* liable however to be diminiſhed with the diminution of thoſe eſtabliſhments. For this, however, or for any reduction in the rate of intereſt, we will take no allowance for the preſent.—Under theſe three heads, therefore, the additional permanent charge may be eſtimated at 1,738,000*l.* leaving the difference between this ſum, and the total amount of the augmentation in the revenue, applicable to defray other additional charges to which the peace eſtabliſhment of 1802-3 may be incident, over and above the peace eſtabliſhment of 1793.

This difference amounts to no leſs a ſum than - - -	£.1,211,000
To which muſt be added the further ſum of - - -	159,127
Being the difference between the eſtimated net ſurplus of 1793, and that of 1802-3, making a total of - - - - -	1,370,127

A ſum, ſurely, amply ſufficient, independent of the proviſion made for the *permanent* charges above ſtated, to defray what may be found the neceſſary exceſs of the preſent, above the laſt peace eſtabliſhment.—On the other hand, allowing the whole of this ſum for the additional expenſe of the preſent peace eſtabliſhment; but ſuppoſing the additional *permanent* charges, under the three firſt heads, had not been incurred, the net ſurplus of revenue, even upon this increaſed peace eſtabliſhment, would, at this time, have been 2,738,000*l.*

The authors of the Report, not ſatisfied with the two compariſons of which we have now diſpoſed, proceed to a third, which they preface with the following remark: "The dif-
"ferences of opinion which may ariſe on the
"queſtion of income, in conſequence of the
"numberleſs details neceſſary for the pur-
"poſe of forming an eſtimate, cannot exiſt on
"the ſubject of *debts*, which are compriſed
"within a few lines." To a certain extent, the firſt part of this obſervation may apply, even to eſtimates formed upon correſponding principles, but can be no excuſe for thoſe in the Report, formed upon principles as diametrically oppoſite as the extremes of peace and war; or as the preſent conduct of its authors to all the ſentiments they have hitherto profeſſed. However, "*debts are compriſed within*
"*a few lines*;"—"they admit of no difference
"of opinion;" and, therefore, from under their ſhelter, the Directors think they may, without riſk, except to the Company's credit, ſtrike their finiſhing blow at the reputation of the late Miniſter for India.—A compariſon between the debt of India, as it ſtood at the end of the former war, and as it now ſtands, appears to them all that is neceſſary for this purpoſe. At the former period they admit its amount to have been 10,000,000*l.*—The preſent debt at intereſt, we have already obſerved, may be taken at not leſs than 16,000,000*l.*—Some of the perſons who have ſigned this Report, are, we believe, deeply engaged in trade, and at the head of great and thriving commercial or banking eſtabliſhments. Will any one of theſe gentlemen allow us to ſuppoſe, that, of late years, he has greatly enlarged the ſcale of his concerns; one conſequence of which would be, however proſperous the general affairs of the firm, an increaſe in the uſual amount of its out-ſtanding demands, or current engagements.—Now, if any partner or confidential clerk in this houſe ſo ſituated, ſhould unexpectedly, and prefaced with a ſolemn engagement "to
"ſpeak the truth, and *the whole truth*," publiſh to the world, accompanied with other alarming circumſtances, a ſerious ſtatement of the rapid proportion in which the debts of the houſe had increaſed within theſe late years, artfully inſinuating, amongſt many other very intelligible hints, that the aid, "*which on a*
"*former occaſion of difficulty afforded effectual*
"*relief, is trifling, indeed, when compared with*
"*the wants of the preſent day*;" and as artfully avoiding to mention any increaſe of aſſets to meet the increaſe of debts,—what would the other parties concerned think of the honour and honeſty of ſuch a proceeding? how far might it go to affect the credit of that houſe, both at home and abroad, with thoſe not intimately acquainted with its concerns, until ſome ſatisfactory explanation could be given?—At the criſis when the caſh payments of the Bank of England were ſuſpended, what would have been thought by the proprietors and the public, of the guardians of its credit, if eight directors of that inſtitution, forming a committee for the ſpecial purpoſe, we will ſuppoſe, of *watching and counteracting the country banks*, had forthwith publiſhed a report, in which, after ſome diſcuſſion upon that ſubject, and, of courſe, *recommending their ſuppreſſion*, they had endeavoured to enforce their advice, by aſſuming a tone of deſpondency and alarm, and making a melancholy diſplay of their debts, carefully ſuppreſſing, at the ſame time, all mention of the aſſets by which the payment of ſuch debts was ſecured? Theſe are caſes in point, from which, leaving to the reader to draw his own concluſion, we ſhall proceed to inquire what, in fact, was the ſtate of the Company's

assets at the commencement and at the close of Mr. Dundas's administration; upon the result of which depends the whole of this third comparison. For this purpose we propose, after having examined the state of what may properly be called *Indian or foreign debt*, at each of these periods, to attempt the discovery if some counterbalance cannot be found to the increase of this debt in the latter, in the decrease of that at home, and in the amelioration of the assets generally; and, as connected with the questions both of income and debt, some remarks will be offered in addition to those already made; from the whole of which it is hoped the public will be enabled to draw a more correct inference as to the situation of the Company, at the periods under discussion, than they could have done, if the statements and insinuations of the Directors had been suffered to pass without refutation.

The debt in India, in 1786 (for it was not till then that the extent of arrears occasioned by the former war was known), has been stated at	£.10,000,000
It must be considered, that whatever is due at home for bills drawn from India and China properly appertains to the foreign concern, inasmuch as the amount would otherwise be owing abroad; this in the next year (1787), commonly taken in connexion with the preceding year, amounted to	4,200,000
The debt owing in China in 1786 was	510,000
So that the aggregate foreign debt, in 1786, might be taken at	14,710,000
The debt in India, including the floating debt, has been admitted to amount at this present time to	18,000,000
The amount due on bills of exchange, from India and China, in March, 1802, is	967,000
Total foreign debt at this time	18,967,000
Increase from 1786 to 1801-2	4,257,000
The debt at home, exclusive of what was owing on foreign bills, was on the 31st of January, 1787	4,249,000
March, 1802, on the same principles, it was	3,855,000
Being a decrease of	394,000
1786, the amount of the assets in India was	5,277,000
On the 30th of April, 1800, it was	£.11,569,000
Shewing an increase of	6,292,000
In 1786, the assets in China amounted to	203,000
In 1800 they were	1,226,000
Increase	1,023,000
The increase of assets abroad on the comparison, is	7,315,000
In 1787, the amount of the assets at home was	£.8,832,000
Deduct sundry sums from their having been wrote from the home accounts of 1794, in consequence of the act of 1793, being for the expense of the Manilla expedition, expenses of French prisoners, and hospital expenses of his Majesty's troops	422,000
	8,410,000
On the 1st of March, 1802, the home assets, exclusive of the claims on Government, amounting to 3,573,000*l.* stated by Mr. Dundas to be subject to adjustment, were	13,229,000
Shewing an increase of assets at home of	4,819,000
So that the whole increase of assets generally in the period of Mr. Dundas's administration is found to be	12,134,000
Adding the decrease of debts at home	394,000
The total will be	12,528,000
From whence deduct the increase of debts in India	4,257,000
The amelioration of the whole concern on the comparison now made will then be	*8,271,000

* Within the periods of this comparison, it is true, 3,700,000*l.* sterling has been raised by the increase of the Company's capital stock; but even deducting this from the general state of the concern, as it now stands, at the conclusion of a very long and expensive war, it would still be improved to the amount of 4,571,000*l.* sterling, independent of the Company's claim upon Government.

Comparisons of this description have been made by Mr. Dundas in his budget-speeches; —a considerable difference, however, will appear between them and that now made, from the entire exclusion of the claims of the Company upon Government, for stores, supplies, &c. for which credit is taken in the accounts laid before the House. They have been now excluded in consequence of the remarks in Parliament last year respecting them, and in consequence of the explanations given by Mr. Dundas in the last and preceding speech, that they were liable to reductions, when the final adjustment should be made.—This comparison, therefore, it may be remarked, exhibits the most unfavourable view that could be given of the property of the Company in the periods now under consideration; inasmuch as part of the claims on Government may, on the ultimate balance, return to the credit of the Company. The Indian debt is taken at its full amount, according to the late additional loans, although it may be conjectured, upon very just grounds, that a great portion, *if not the greatest*, will find its way into the Company's warehouses, and finally into their treasuries; as the demand for what is termed *political purposes*, can only have taken a proportion of the money borrowed. It can in fact be proved that the loans may, in the greatest part, be attributed to the measures adopted in India for *continuing the investments to Europe*; for the whole amount of the deficit of the revenues to answer the charges from the year 1797-8 to 1799-1800, on the adjusted accounts, and for 1800-1 on the estimate, appears to have been about 2,200,000*l*.—This last observation leads us to a topic upon which great stress is laid in the Report, and upon which, indeed, the Directors appear to rest the great burden of their complaints, namely, *that the increased debt in India has been incurred entirely for political, and not for commercial purposes*. These two interests the authors of the Report affect to speak of, not only as perfectly distinct and separate, but almost as opposite and irreconcilable. Instead of considering them as affording mutual support and assistance to each other, they seem to behold in the one the decided enemy of the other; and then forgetting that they are sovereigns, and not well recollecting on what grounds and by what aids they are enabled to be merchants, they hastily declare for the latter, and peevishly rail at the former. Since the nature of our empire in India, from being so much the object of general attention and public discussion, has been better understood, and particularly since the renewal of the charter, in which the attributes of the Company's power, and the duties imposed upon them as sovereigns, are so clearly chalked out and defined; in which the appropriation of the revenues they enjoy, in this latter capacity, is expressly pointed out and prescribed, and the connexion between their political power and that appropriation, on the one hand, and their existence, privileges, and concerns, as a stock Company, carrying on trade, on the other, is provided for and established, it could scarcely be expected that this exploded distinction, no less false in theory, than inapplicable in practice, would have been revived.—Can the Court of Directors seriously imagine that the Company is annually to derive, for a long tract of years, the benefit of above a million sterling, drawn from the territorial revenues of India, towards purchasing their investment, and yet that every expenditure for the defence of those very territories is unconnected with all objects of commerce? Can they point out any practical line of separation that can be drawn between the political and commercial concerns of the Company, as long as the possession, the revenues, the government, and the defence of India are vested in them? If, for that defence, or for any political object necessary to the general security of their empire, extraordinary exertions are requisite, is it no part of their duty, is it no condition of the tenure under which they govern, that they shall provide for those exertions? Is it not, on the contrary, expressly stipulated in the act of 1793, that the revenues should be applied, in the first place, to the purposes of *government and defence?* Does not that act go further, and, anticipating the case of the occasional absorption of the revenues for these purposes, mark out the mode in which any new debt shall be liquidated? At the time that act was passed there existed, as there will now again exist with the return of peace, a surplus revenue; but was that surplus declared to be a commercial resource for any other reason than because the Company's commerce was the most eligible channel through which it could be remitted to England, in the double view of increasing their profit by the sale of the goods in Europe, and of aiding the revenues of the state by the duties to which those goods are liable in Great Britain?—It would be superfluous to enter into a further examination either of the general spirit, or of the specific provisions of that act, to shew that no distinction can be made as to what part of the debt may be termed political, and what commercial; although, if such a distinction could be admitted at all, it would unquestionably follow, from the circumstance of its being expressly stipulated by the hundred and seventh section of the act, that the *expenses of defence and civil government shall, in the order of preference thereby established, precede every other expense whatsoever*, that every rupee of the loans made in India this war, which has been employed in aid of the bullion, the proceeds of the exports from Europe, and the bills drawn upon the treasury at home, but exclusive of any surplus revenue from India, to complete the annual investments, is strictly and in the letter of the act of Parliament, a debt for *commercial purposes only*.—Under this head, I believe, if the inquiry were gone into, would be included a very considerable portion of the augmentation made to the Indian debt this war, instead of

the whole having been abſorbed, as the Directors inſinuate, for *political purpoſes only*; but the whole diſtinction is idle and nugatory, and cannot poſſibly be entertained. The true criterion of the Company's proſperity unqueſtionably muſt be their providing the greateſt poſſible inveſtment for Europe, without recurring to loans or extra reſources in India, and with the leaſt poſſible demand upon their treaſury at home, and *vice verſâ*;—but how is this to be atta ned? By the ſtate of the political affairs being ſuch as to admit of the greateſt poſſible increaſe of that ſurplus revenue, every farthing of which is derived to them, not in their *commercial*, but in their *political* capacity.—It therefore follows, on every principle of reaſon, juſtice, and common ſenſe, as well as from the poſitive enactment of the ſtatute, that, however cloſe the connexion between the political and the commercial character of the Company, the advantages of the latter are a conſideration ſecondary and ſubordinate to the diſcharge of the duties impoſed by the former. What then muſt we think of the affectation in the authors of this Report, to aſcribe all the greatneſs, all the wealth, and all the power of the Company to their commercial purſuits, and to impute all their difficulties and embarraſſments to their having been unneceſſarily engaged in political concerns, as if the latter were a mere ſupererogation to the former?—It is true this view of the ſubject enables them, with equal modeſty and juſtice, to inſinuate, that the happy reſults of the one are entirely due to their own ſuperior management and ſkill; and the contingent inconveniences and expenſes of the other, to the ill-adviſed plans and ſuperfluous interference of the late Indian adminiſtration. When their empire, after defraying all the charges incident to their ſovereignty, yielded them a net ſurplus tribute of between one and two millions ſterling, annually, in aid of their commerce, we heard nothing of theſe invidious diſtinctions; but no ſooner are they called upon, by the inevitable interruption of peace, to forego for a time, not according to the caprice of a miniſter, but under the expreſs proviſion of an act of Parliament, the benefit of this tribute, as merchants, and to appropriate it, together with ſuch other reſources, as the exigences of war might require, to the defence of their own rights, and the diſcharge of their moſt important duty, as ſovereigns; than diſtinctions are taken, and loud complaints made "*of their revenues being abſorbed, and their* "*debts augmented for political purpoſes.*" The natural concluſion is, that the Court of Directors would kindly undertake, for *their own profit*, to ſave the ſtate the trouble of drawing, for the benefit of the public, any ſurplus tribute, however conſiderable, which the territorial revenues of India might afford in time of peace; on condition, not only that their general funds, but that thoſe very revenues, ſhould be exempted from contributing to its defence in time of war. The preſent charter having provided otherwiſe, it is unneceſſary, at this moment, to argue upon the fairneſs of ſuch a propoſal, though, ſhould the Court perſiſt in their preſent ſentiments, it may become the baſis upon which, ſome years hence, they may, without inconſiſtency at leaſt, reſt their application for its renewal.

The authors of the Report have given an hiſtorical enumeration of the different foreign Companies trading to India, all of which have either dwindled into inſignificance, or have been violently ſwept away by abſolute ruin, "whilſt," they add triumphantly, "the Engliſh Eaſt India "Company *was able to rear its broad front* "*with a proud and envied pre-eminence.*"—With them we ſincerely rejoice in the contraſt; but we might, perhaps, if this were the proper occaſion, ſhew that it is the reſult, much more of their territorial ſovereignty, than of their commercial dealings. We might, perhaps, call in queſtion, whether the advantages ſecured to them as a trading Company, by their excluſive privilege, would have been ſufficient to counterbalance the diſadvantages incident to ſo great an eſtabliſhment, and to carry them ſafe through all the difficulties, loſſes, and embarraſſments, to which, in their commercial capacity, they have been expoſed, by the political convulſions of the laſt forty years. We might, perhaps, have our doubts whether, conſidering the extent of capital, and commercial ſpirit now exiſting in this country, it would have been thought expedient to continue the Company's excluſive privilege, could the ſubject have been diſcuſſed as a queſtion of trade only, abſtractedly of conſtitutional conſiderations at home, and of our territorial ſovereignty in India.—As a mere trading Company, therefore, they might, not improbably, either have ſhared the fate of foreign companies, or, dying a natural death, have been ere now forgotten; but as ſovereigns, "*they are able to rear their* "*broad front, with a proud and envied pre-emi-* "*nence.*" So out of humour, nevertheleſs, are the authors of the Report, with their *political power and dignity*, at this moment, that they can ſcarce keep their temper in adverting to that part of Mr. Dundas's plan, in his Letter of the 30th June, in which he propoſes, that the Company ſhall avail themſelves of the power they already poſſeſs, under the authority of Parliament, "for augmenting their capital "ſtock to the extent of two millions, and that "the additional money ſo raiſed, ſhall be ap- "plied excluſively to the liquidation of the "preſent Indian debt at intereſt." In their language, this is neither more nor leſs, than the monſtrous propoſal of raiſing four millions ſterling here *, in order to pay *political debts* in

* At the preſent prices, and notwithſtanding the gloomy ſtatements of the Third Report, the ſale of two millions of India ſtock would produce conſiderably more than four millions ſterling; and as it is propoſed to ſell only one fourth part of it annually for four years, there is every reaſon to think, ſhould peace be continued, that it would produce a reſource very little ſhort of five millions in the whole.

India. In plain Engliſh, it is ſimply this:—that the Company, having it in their power to raiſe money in England, at a rate of intereſt, which, upon the average of the four next years, would probably not exceed 4½ per cent. and owing debts in India, for which they pay *ten* and *twelve* (and which, for whatever purpoſes contracted, they muſt continue to pay), they ſhould avail themſelves of that power for the general and more ſpeedy relief of their affairs.—The advantage of this arrangement is ſo obvious, and ſo eaſily capable of arithmetical demonſtration, both as to its principle and its effects, that it would be a waſte of time to dwell upon it here, though it may not be unneceſſary to requeſt the Directors to conſider a little more coolly what may be the conſequences of not adopting it in the preſent interval of peace. The ſubject is too delicate for detailed explanation; and thoſe who know any thing of India, will underſtand my reaſons for abſtaining from examining too minutely into what might be the reſult of a new war, before the debt in that quarter had been conſiderably reduced, and when the neceſſities of the ſtate might preclude the Company from raiſing money, by extending its capital at home. In this view of the ſubject, the Directors may not improperly be compared to the truſtees of a private eſtate, which, after a long, inevitable, and expenſive litigation, is ſecured with conſiderable additional advantages to the right owner. The net rent, however, is abſorbed in paying the intereſt of ſeveral large ſums they were obliged to take up, upon ruinous terms, to pay the expenſes of the ſuit. A friend ventures to ſuggeſt whether it may not be proper, with a view, as well to the immediate relief of the owner, as to the more ſpeedy liberation of his eſtate, to raiſe the money at a cheap rate in another quarter, and to pay off theſe uſurious debts. The truſtees can object neither their want of legal power, or the difficulty of finding a lender; but preciſely becauſe they cannot give theſe or any other good reaſons againſt the meaſure, to which they are ſomehow unaccountably adverſe, they reſolve to abuſe their friend for his advice, and to get rid of it at once by querulouſly aſking (as if that were the whole queſtion) how it can be expected of them to borrow money to pay the expenſes of this lawſuit?—Such is the nature and value of the only objection made in the Report againſt a propoſal for the liquidation of the Indian debt, to the payment of which the good faith of the Company is pledged, and in the ſpeedy reduction of which are involved the moſt important intereſts of our Indian empire.—Six years have elapſed ſince Parliament granted to the Company the privilege of adding two millions to their preſent capital ſtock. During the continuance of the war, when every aid the floating capital of the country could afford, was called for by the neceſſities of the ſtate, it was, perhaps, a laudable attention to the public intereſt on the part of the Court of Directors, to look rather to the reſources of their own ſeparate credit in India, than to interfere with the public credit at home. The former enabled them, during the whole conteſt, to provide, not only for the neceſſary charges of war, but alſo to make proviſion *for the increaſed demands of their inveſtments and general trade;* and as it is for this laſt object, that a great part of the debt has been incurred, now that hoſtilities are over, and that the Company can recur to its credit at home, not only without inconvenience to the ſtate, but with great advantage to itſelf, ſurely it appears but juſt and reaſonable, that the Directors ſhould avail themſelves of it, in order to reſtore to their Indian treaſury, a part of what they have drawn from it, in the ſhape of inveſtment during the war, and thereby to relieve and invigorate their depreſſed credit in that quarter. The very favourable rate of intereſt at which they may borrow at home, compared with that which they muſt have paid during the war, would compenſate to them the unfavourable terms, upon which, during that period, a part of their Indian debt has neceſſarily been contracted; but, inſtead of conſidering the ſubject in this point of view, inſtead of looking with ſatisfaction to the facilities the return of peace affords for the relief of their affairs in India, by a judicious uſe of their credit at home, the authors of the Third Report have acted, as if their only anxiety was, by cruſhing the Company's credit here, to prevent the adoption of any plan for its relief abroad. The only certain mode of fruſtrating the ſuggeſtions offered by Mr. Dundas for effecting this latter object is to ſap the foundations of the confidence the Proprietors and the public have, of late years, placed in the reſources and general proſperity of the Company; and, unqueſtionably, if the authors of the Third Report had ſucceeded in ſhaking that confidence, as much as it was ſhaken in 1783, when, as they affect to believe, "*a relief, trifling indeed, when compared with the wants of the preſent day, was ſufficient to extricate the Company from every difficulty abroad and at home;*" they would be relieved in the moſt effectual manner from any immediate apprehenſion of recurring to their credit at home.

I have now gone through the diſcuſſion of the principal topics which, in the view to which I limited myſelf in this letter, appeared to me, for the ſake of the public intereſt, as well as in juſtice to the Proprietors, and to the character of the late Miniſter for India, to require ſome explanation. The ſearch and inveſtigation to which I have been led for this purpoſe, have added (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) to the conviction I previouſly felt, that our Indian empire is in a ſituation of ſolid and growing proſperity; and that, by a due combination of the territorial reſources of the Company in the Eaſt, and of their commercial wealth and credit in Europe, not only every exiſting embarraſſment might ſpeedily be relieved; but, ſhould peace be continued, that the ſplendid advan-

tages, pointed out by Mr. Dundas, in his Letter of the 30th of June, might ſtill be realized before the expiration of their charter. I have probably been guilty of great preſumption in ſuppoſing I could convey to the public mind any part of the impreſſion which has thus been ſtrengthened and confirmed in my own; but if, by expoſing the miſrepreſentations of the Directors, both as to men and meaſures, I ſhall have ſo far ſucceeded in counteracting any ſiniſter apprehenſion they were too well calculated to excite among the Proprietors, with reſpect to their own immediate intereſts, my intentions will be fulfilled; and that character, which the Directors have not ſcrupled to attack, will appear deſerving of the eſteem and gratitude, which it has long commanded from every friend to the welfare of the Company, and the general proſperity of our Indian empire. It might indeed have been expected that in mentioning his name, the firſt feelings of the ſame Directors, who had ſhared his labours and witneſſed his exertions during eighteen years, would have been an affectionate remembrance of the happy cordiality and mutual good-will, which, for the whole of that long and trying period, ſubſiſted invariably between him and them. But ſince they have unaccountably choſen to be the firſt to diſfigure the faireſt monuments of his ſervices and of his fame, and the beſt ſupport of the Company's proſperity; the wiſh, an honeſt one at leaſt, to reſtore what they have mutilated, and in doing ſo, to re-eſtabliſh their own credit, in ſpite of themſelves, will, I hope, excuſe the preſumption of the attempt, even by hands as unſkilful as mine.

I am, &c. &c.

The following (ſaid to be the Inſtructions of the Nabob of the Carnatic to his Agents in London) is the Paper referred to in the Debates of the Houſe of Commons, p. 774 and 775.

From his Highneſs the Nawab Walajah Omeer ul Hind Tajool Omrah Omeer ul Mule Main ud Dowlah Mahomad Ally Huſſein Cawn Bahadur Juffer Jung, &c. to James Stuart Hall and Samuel Johnſon, Eſqs.

WHEN I look round me, and perceive the many dangers which beſet me, I am overwhelmed with difficulties; every object occaſions new alarm; and my little experience in buſineſs, my unacquaintance with the world, and my great want of friends in a trial ſo ſerious, leave me little to overcome the difficulties which preſent themſelves. Though a ſtranger in perſon, yet I would perſuade myſelf, that, in relation and character, I am not wholly unknown; nor will you forget the anxious ſolicitude, with which my ever honoured and lamented father recommended his only offspring to you, at your departure from theſe regions—a pious ſolicitude! which ſeemed to anticipate the awful and melancholy moment which has ſince enſued.—Apprized, as I am, of the eſteem in which you were held by his late Highneſs the Nabob, of your unalterable concern for his true intereſts, and of your friendſhip for his family, I naturally turn to you in this embarraſſment of my affairs; and moſt earneſtly entreat the benefit of your advice and endeavours, to extricate me from ſurrounding perils.—I have not truſted to a ſtranger's aid, to make known theſe circumſtances, which it is my firſt wiſh to be communicated to you. I will detail them to you with my own hand; I will trace the unhappy events which have happened, and the evils which they have introduced in their train. I will explain to you the ſentiments to which they have given riſe, the reſults to which they have already led, and the conſequences which they may eventually occaſion. Theſe will not only direct your ſervices (of which I conſider myſelf ſecure) to proper objects, but will be the means (for I am confident in the juſtice of my claims) of obtaining the redreſs I am ſeeking. A true and faithful account of my ſituation, to whom it may be required to be made known, will be all-ſufficient to the ſucceſs of my application.

In order that you may have a complete knowledge of all that has happened, it will be neceſſary to begin with circumſtances apparently remote, though certainly not unimportant, nor unconnected with the preſent ſituation of affairs. I ſhall, therefore, firſt acquaint you, that early in the month of June laſt, his Highneſs the Nabob of the Carnatic was ſeized with very dangerous ſymptoms, which continued, with little variation, for the ſpace of ſeveral days; and were ſufficient to alarm his family and friends for his Highneſs's ſafety and life. It pleaſed the Almighty to allow his Highneſs an interval of a few days of quiet and tranquillity, to arrange and ſettle the particulars of his houſe, and to provide for the ſucceſſion of his dominions; and ſo ſerene and untroubled a moment of freedom from bodily pain and infirmity did his Highneſs enjoy, that his family and ſervants had a moſt reaſonable hope that he might be able to overcome the violence of the attacks. After a few days, however, the diſeaſe returned with an increaſe of violence, and diſappointed all the expectations and prayers which had been kindly conceived and fervently offered up for his Highneſs's recovery. Tears will not allow me to deſcribe with exactneſs the ſcene that followed. You will, in a word, learn, that his Highneſs lay on the extreme bed of ſickneſs, awaiting the ſummons from an eventful life, with a dignified patience and reſignation; affording a ſtriking leſſon, never to be forgotten! of the vanity of ſublunary greatneſs: and in this painful and agonizing ſtate he continued, until the 15th of the ſucceeding month; when his ſpirit and ſoul forſook him, in their way to a higher glory, and more perfect happineſs.—On the 5th of July, about ten days previous to the melancholy event which I have laſt mentioned, a large body of troops, conſiſting of European and native infantry and cavalry, to the number

of eight hundred men, with a proportionate number of artillery, ſupplied with requiſite ſtores and field equipage of every denomination, were ſent by Government (under the command of Colonel M'Neil, one of the Company's officers, to take poſſeſſion of the garden and palace of Chepauk, under the pretence of defending them againſt any inſult or violence which the deceaſe of his Highneſs the Nabob might poſſibly produce: a meaſure which had been adviſed and adopted, without any communication either with his Highneſs or his miniſters, until the very moment of its execution, when Major Grant, the town-major of Fort St. George, was ſent to the ſick chamber of his Highneſs, to acquaint him with the inſtant approach of the troops, and to explain to him the reaſons which had determined that extraordinary act of Government.—It will not be neceſſary for me to attempt a relation of the various emotions, under the conflict and agony of contending paſſions, which this ſudden and unſeaſonable communication unfortunately excited. You will be able to form ſome conjecture about them, if you advert to the ſituation and condition of his Highneſs at that moment, and to the hand which executed the meaſure.—Whether from this, or ſome other cauſe, I am too deeply and dearly intereſted to dare to form an opinion. His Highneſs's diſorder augmented daily in violence, and ended in the unfortunate way which I have before been obliged to ſtate.—The troops, notwithſtanding the repreſentations and laſt entreaties of his Highneſs, ſurrounded his Highneſs's apartments, and the inmoſt receſſes of his palace, at the time of his demiſe; and although but one mind manifeſted itſelf amongſt his Highneſs's relations, and the miniſters of his affairs, although the moſt uninterrupted order and regularity every where appeared, and a ſpirit of loyalty, I am proud to ſay it, univerſally ſhewed itſelf to his Highneſs's ſucceſſor, yet the military force ſtill kept its poſition, under the ſame inſtructions; and ſeemingly with a view to dictate the order and terms of the ſucceſſion.—Under theſe unhappy circumſtances did an old and honourable ally draw his extreme breath!—In this degrading ſituation did his unoffending ſucceſſor begin the cares of his government and dominion.—Decent attentions had ſcarcely been paid to the inanimate form of his Highneſs, to prepare it for its ſhroud, when Mr. Webbe (the ſecretary of Government), and Colonel Cloſe (the preſident of Myſore), were ſent to the palace, under the inſtructions, as they repreſented, of the Right Honourable the Governor. His Highneſs departed this life at about a quarter paſt ten; and at a quarter paſt one o'clock, of the ſame day, I was adviſed of the approach of the Commiſſioners of Government. I am thus circumſtantial in my detail, as I cannot but conceive, that it will tend to ſhew the features of the policy which was intended to be adopted in the beginning, and which has eventually terminated in the utter ſubverſion of every thing like right and juſtice.—Though ſecure, from the poſition of the force about the palace, of every acceſs to it; and of the knowledge of every act, which might paſs within it; yet, at the ſacred hour of ſorrow, and into the chamber of hallowed affliction, did theſe cold Commiſſioners obtrude themſelves; not with the tender offices of friendſhip or condolence, but with offers of indignity and inſult.—It would not be believed, unleſs ſolemnly aſſerted, and I do aſſure you on the honour and faith of a prince unuſed to any ſubterfuge or compromiſe, that at this melancholy juncture, I was drawn by peremptory meſſages from the ſide of the great deceaſed, to anſwer to the countleſs interrogatories of Commiſſioners, inſtructed to examine me. I hope I ſhall not ſuffer in the eyes and contemplation of good men, in yielding to importunities ſo unworthy of myſelf and them; which nothing leſs than the peace and tranquillity of my family, and the fear of pollutions (which I cannot bring myſelf to think of), could poſſibly have led to. But they are paſt, and I will endeavour to be calm.—Attended by ſeveral of my principal officers, I went to the apartments where the Commiſſioners were waiting: when I was immediately accoſted by one of them, with an inquiry, as to the diſpoſition which his Highneſs had made of his affairs. I anſwered with calmneſs, but not without a ſenſibility natural to my favoured ſituation from the bounty of my royal predeceſſor, that ſuch diſpoſition was clear, ſhort, and unequivocal; and was contained in a written paper, which had been executed in quadruplicate, the ſeveral parts of which had been ſent, many days previous to his Highneſs's demiſe, to their ſeveral deſtinations. One of them had been forwarded to his Majeſty the King of Great Britain; one to the Court of Directors; one to the Governor General; and the remaining part was firſt delivered to his Highneſs's chief miniſter, and had by him, ſince the deceaſe of his Highneſs, been delivered into my poſſeſſion, where it then remained.—The Commiſſioners requeſted to ſee the paper, to which I had immediately alluded; when one of my officers, ſtruck with the impropriety of the requeſt at ſuch a ſeaſon, could not reſtrain himſelf from obſerving, that the preſent moment was devoted, as well by feeling as cuſtom, to the indulgence of grief; and he truſted that they would not again advert to the paper, or to circumſtances to which it had relation, but would ſuffer the interval allowed to humane and religious conſiderations, not to be moleſted with worldly cares or reflections: that after three days, his Highneſs would be happy to produce the will, and conſult with them on the objects connected with it, ſo far as they related to the Company. But the Commiſſioners would not hear this conſiderate ſuggeſtion, but inſiſted, with a firmneſs to which I was unuſed, on the immediate production of the paper.—Fearing that ſome poſſible doubts might have been entertained, as to the reality of the paper, if it had not

been produced at the time when demanded, I gave it to their hands, with as little reluctance as the occaſion would permit; they examined it in my preſence, and in the preſence of my officers, with a particular and ſcrupulous care; obſerving, when it was returned to me, "That his Highneſs had appointed me to the entire dominion and government of the Carnatic; and (with very ſmall exceptions) to the poſſeſſion of all his property; but that, in contemplation of my youth, he had placed me under the guardianſhip of two of the noblemen or cawns about his Highneſs's perſon, who were to fill the office of regents, until I ſhould arrive at my nineteenth year." I inſtantly obſerved to them, "That I had been long ſenſible of this diſpoſition of his Highneſs's affairs; that I was well aware and greatly thankful for the kind and tender precaution of his Highneſs, in committing my inexperience into ſuch able and worthy hands; that I well knew and highly reſpected them, and was ready, in all things, to abide by their counſel and advice;" and concluded with remarking, that "ſince his Highneſs had ſo diſpoſed of me, and had ſo conſigned the buſineſs of the government, it were unneceſſary that I ſhould be conſulted further, at a moment ſo inauſpicious. The Regents, I was ſure, had not leſs inclination to meet and forward the deſires of the Company, than what I now felt, and ſhould ever continue to feel; being the firſt and earlieſt impreſſion I had received, and would, I hoped, be the laſt that would remain with me." On this I was preparing to depart, when the Commiſſioners deſired that I would yet remain; having ſomething important to communicate to me, and which they begged to deliver in private, or at leaſt in the preſence only of the Regents and myſelf. On this my officers and ſervants were inſtructed to withdraw; when the Commiſſioners proceeded in the manner in which I ſhall now ſuccinctly and clearly relate.—On the immediate departure of my principal ſervants, the officers of Government produced a letter, repreſented by them to have been written by the Marquis of Welleſley, and intended for his late Highneſs the Nabob; which accuſed my royal grandfather, and my much-revered father, of an improper and unjuſtifiable correſpondence with the Sultan of the Myſore; and concluded with demanding an immediate ſurrender of all the country of the Carnatic, for an alleged breach of treaty. After the reading of this correſpondence, they remarked, that the territory of his Highneſs had been forfeited to the Company, by the act which had been ſtated in the letter; and that, of conſequence, he had no manner of right to diſpoſe of it by will; yet to ſhew that the Company had every diſpoſition to ſerve and protect the ſon, whom his Highneſs had ſo favoured, they were fully inclined to make a very liberal proviſion for him, on condition of his previous ſurrender of all the dominions which had been nominally willed to him. The Regents being preſent, were as much moved as myſelf, at the extraordinary communication which had been juſt made to us. And although we were fully convinced, that no unauthorized correſpondence had ever taken place between his late Highneſs or his predeceſſor, with the Sultan of the Myſore, yet we were ſo much agitated and afflicted at the ſerious manner in which the charge was preferred, as not to be able to afford a cool and diſpaſſionate anſwer. After ſtating our internal impreſſions, that neither of the reſpected perſonages to whom alluſion had been made, could have been engaged in a clandeſtine communication with any foreign power in enmity with the Britiſh intereſts, and our great mortification at the propoſal which had been offered, as founded on that ſuppoſed fact, we begged for a few days conſideration of the terms which had been ſuggeſted, which was conceded to us, after ſome diſcuſſion.

Every inquiry was made in the interval, to aſcertain the correſpondence, which had at any time taken place of the nature already mentioned, when no veſtige could be traced, which could throw the ſlighteſt ſtigma on the venerable names which had been implicated in ſo unfortunate a charge. The only correſpondence which had ever occurred between the parties in queſtion, and which could have given riſe to the ſuſpicion entertained by the Company, happened at the inſtance of the Earl Cornwallis, after the termination of the war ſo ſucceſsfully conducted by his Lordſhip againſt the late Sultaun; and related to a family connexion, which, from well-known circumſtances, never took place. This correſpondence naturally produced mutual communications of courteſy on ſeveral domeſtic events, which concerned either of the parties perſonally, as occaſions happened; but nothing that could affect any intereſts connected with national or public conſiderations. The Regents, at the conference on the next evening, being confirmed in their firſt impreſſions of the rectitude of his late Highneſs's conduct, in the particular referred to, ſtated in perſpicuous terms, the ſteps which they had purſued to inveſtigate the truth of the accuſation which had been alleged to have been contained in the letter of the Marquis of Welleſley; and that they had found on a full inveſtigation, that there was not the ſmalleſt foundation for the charge which had been urged; but, on the contrary, that the only correſpondence which had occurred between his Highneſs and the late Sultaun, had been carried on with the knowledge and conſent of the executive local government, and had been forwarded officially by them; and in proof of this aſſertion, referred the Commiſſioners to their own immediate records. The Regents then expreſſed their concern, that the matter of this accuſation had not been made known and inquired into in the lifetime of his late Highneſs, when it might have been fairly and candidly explained and anſwered. This circumſtance alone led them to hope that the Company did

not ſeriouſly believe that a correſpondence of ſuch a deſcription had in reality happened; though they might have felt themſelves authorized in requeſting an explanation concerning it: and under this conviction, they could not but conclude that the terms propoſed to them at their laſt conference would be given up, as they were applicable to a ſituation of things which did not exiſt. The Regents next profeſſed themſelves moſt ready to receive any propoſals which might ſerve to promote a good underſtanding in reſpect to the exiſting engagements, or might render them more convenient to either of the ſubſcribing parties; though they were not ſenſible how they could be improved: at the ſame time they were apprehenſive that a new arrangement might give riſe to diſcuſſions which had been long ſet at reſt by the ſubſiſting treaty. The Commiſſioners ſtill ſtood on their firſt ground, and inſiſted, in peremptory language, on the propoſal which they had before made. Seeing there was no poſſibility of diverting them entirely from this object, the Regents conſidered of an expedient, which, in their expectation, might have induced the Commiſſioners to have foregone their propoſal, at leaſt in the extent in which it had been moved. Being well aware, from an intimate knowledge of his late Highneſs's affairs, that the preceding Governors of Fort Saint George had looked for poſſeſſion of the Tinevelly and ſome of the adjacent countries as more convenient to their affairs; and ſenſible that the preſent Government, from the nature of the propoſal made, had ſimilar views, though in a more extended ſhape, they determined, under the peculiar circumſtances in which they ſtood, to meet their deſires, as much as they could, conſiſtent with their own honour and the intereſts which they had been given in charge. With this intention, they propoſed to deliver into the hands of the Company, for their entire management and control, the whole of the Tinevelly and Madura provinces to the ſouthward, and Ongole and Palnaud to the north; on the condition that the Prince of the Carnatic ſhould be allowed, in his periodical kiſts, the amount rent of ſuch diſtricts, agreeable to the ſchedule No. 2, annexed to the treaty of 1792, being a yearly ſum equal to the full amount of the ſubſidy claimable by the Company by virtue of ſuch treaty. To the propoſal of the Regents, the officers of Government gave a ſhort reply—"That it would not in any way do"—and that nothing ſhort of the demand which had been made, could be accepted or conſidered. In conſequence of this diſpoſition on the part of the Commiſſioners, the Regents requeſted a further time to reflect, and were indulged to the next day. I ſhall not trouble you with the particulars of the next or the ſucceeding meeting on the day following; for you will find them circumſtantially related in the Journal of the Regents, which I have directed to be forwarded with this. You will readily anticipate, that although the Regents have been diſpoſed to have rendered up more of the countries (which really was the caſe), on a like condition with thoſe already tendered by them, they could not unworthily bring themſelves to make an unqualified and unconditional ſurrender of thoſe rights, which it was their duty to protect and guard. The meetings, therefore, to which I have laſt requeſted your attention, paſſed without effect. Seeing that the Regents were inflexible in their duty, and conceiving, from my want of knowledge in public concerns, that I might poſſibly be rendered an inſtrument, as I cannot but conſider, to my own undoing, the Commiſſioners at the laſt conference, and towards the concluſion of it, ſent a note to Lord Clive, who thereupon appeared at the palace; but inſtead of going to the apartment where the negotiations had hitherto been carried on, his Lordſhip went to the tent of Col. M'Neil, in charge of the troops about the gardens, and immediately requeſted my attendance on him. I cheerfully complied with his Lordſhip's requeſt, and went to the tent. His Lordſhip then accoſted me with ſeeming kindneſs, and begged "I would well conſider the Company's proffered terms, which, if then neglected, would evade my acceptance for ever; that they were now offered for the laſt time; that a liberal allowance ſhould be made out of the collections (but which his Lordſhip did not particularize), if I would liſten favourably to his propoſals; but that if I did not incline to them, I ſhould be reduced from the grandeur which awaited me, into an humble and private ſtation."—I obſerved to his Lordſhip "that I was not acquainted with matters of ſo high concern: that I was indeed an utter ſtranger to buſineſs; that my royal predeceſſor had wiſely committed me to the care and attention of others, and had recommended my conformity to their advice; that in reſpect to my father's will, and to the perſons to whom my affairs were truſted, I could not think of anſwering for myſelf the important propoſitions made to me;—but, from regard to his Lordſhip's character, and to the intereſts which he repreſented, I was inclined, not only to give my ready attention to what his Lordſhip communicated, but would adviſe the Regents (if it were compatible with their honour and my own ſafety) to overlook any formal difficulty which might ſtand in the way of their acquieſcence; for this purpoſe, I would beg leave to acquaint them with what had paſſed, and would appoint an early day when his Lordſhip ſhould have my anſwer."—His Lordſhip obſerved that he would wait on me again the next day, at the ſame place, and took his leave. In conſulting with the Regents and the Cawns, and Omrahs of Empire, before whom the whole of what had paſſed at the preceding conferences was laid, I was fully adviſed of the dangers to which my affairs and family might be expoſed, by the acceptance of terms ſo diſreputable and ſo vague;

an advice, which I had no reaſon to ſuſpect of prejudice or infidelity, and by which, after the moſt mature conſideration, I was determined to govern my conduct. Accordingly, when the Governor came the next evening, I acquainted him ingenuouſly, "that I could not accede to the offer which he had yeſterday the goodneſs to make me; that I had every perſonal good wiſh for the proſperity of the Company, and for the real and ſubſtantial intereſts of the Britiſh nation, which I had been taught to admire from my earlieſt years; but that I could not ſacrifice my own and my family's rights for any ſuppoſed benefit to the Company, or any proviſional good which I was given to expect. Beſides, the mode of ſurrender dictated, and the ground on which it profeſſed to be founded, was ſuch, that I could not adopt it, without rendering a credit to ſuggeſtions, highly diſhonourable to thoſe whom, by duty and religion, I was bound to honour and revere. I had already ſhewn an inclination to attend to the Company's requiſitions, in ſo far as they could be attended to; and was much induced by my own ſentiments, to extend the propoſal which had been made on my behalf, even to a greater latitude, on the principle of the footing on which it had been made. My motives, therefore, for the non-acceptance of his Lordſhip's offer, could admit of no doubt. That I had the higheſt perſonal conſideration for his Lordſhip, and would hope that the frank and explicit anſwer, which I had now given him, would not occaſion offence." While I was delivering what I had to ſay, a number of troopers rode round the tent with drawn ſwords; and an unuſual guard of Sepoys were poſted at the door, who traverſed conſtantly to and fro, and a certain degree of confuſion ſeemed to reign around. I endeavoured, nevertheleſs, to preſerve a coolneſs and conſiſtency of demeanour, requiſite for the occaſion; and have to thank Heaven, that my reaſon and fortitude were not to be ſhaken by a circumſtance calculated to move them; and which, from after-practices, I am ſorry to add that I cannot but imagine was contrived with that view. After I had concluded what I had to anſwer, his Lordſhip replied, "That I was extremely badly adviſed; that I had ſacrificed my beſt intereſts to ſpecious appearances, and that I ſhould rue the rejection of his propoſal; that it was the very laſt time that he ſhould addreſs me on the ſubject"—and with a few words of form, he departed the tent. I have taken ſome pains to acquaint you with the foregoing circumſtances, as well by myſelf, as by the more detailed accounts of the Regents, as they tend to ſhew the true grounds of the diſagreement which exiſted between me and the Government; and which have been made the pretence of diſpoſſeſſing me of a throne to which, by perſonal right, as well as by the will of my royal predeceſſor, I was lawfully and indiſputably entitled.

From the detail of which you are in poſſeſſion, you will readily perceive the policy on which the Madras Government have acted; that they had an ambitious deſign from the beginning, of poſſeſſing themſelves of the whole dominions of the Carnatic—a deſign which the circumſtances of the times ſeemed peculiarly to favour. Apprehenſive, however, of the opinions of the European and Aſiatic world, they determined on arriving at their ends by means the leaſt alarming and ſuſpicious. They therefore firſt betook themſelves to him who they well knew, if he could be brought to conſent, could give not only effect and legality to their unbounded views; but they ſoon experienced, from the wiſe precautions of his predeceſſor, that he was not left a ready inſtrument to their purpoſes (though not indiſpoſed in ſentiment to accept any reaſonable terms), and judging from the latter circumſtances (which ſhewed a pliancy of character) that he might yet be made what the Government deſired to ſee him, they endeavoured by promiſes, allurements, and threats, to mould him to their wiſhes. But ſeeing in the event, that all their ſtratagems failed, while their ambition remained unabated, they reſorted to other expedients, that ſeemed to promiſe, if not a more honourable, at leaſt a more ſucceſsful iſſue. Their ambition ſtill exhibited its original mixed character; it poſſeſſed not any of that daring, open, and dazzling quality, which leads the world to overlook the means in the ſplendour of the event; but a lofty and towering mind, with a diminutive and half-aſſured ſpirit, which affects, but can never perfect a great or admirable achievement.—Diſappointed in their firſt expectation, the Government ſought to accompliſh their object by the inſtrumentality of the next immediate prince to the Muſnud of the Carnatic; and unmindful of the order and ſucceſſion, and of the diſpoſition of his late Highneſs, did not ſcruple to open negotiations with him for filling the Imperial ſeat. But I ſhall not trouble you at any length on the many ſubterfuges uſed on this occaſion; or on the meaſures adopted, through an oblique medium, of obtaining their originally intended end.—On the 23d of July (about eight days after the demiſe of his late Highneſs), the Commiſſioners of Government, whom I have had ſo often occaſion to mention, ſent for Huſſain ul Dowla, (ſon of the Ameer, and nephew of his late Highneſs) to the tent of Colonel M'Neil, and entered into a conference with him for ſome hours. They repeated their viſits every day, ſometimes bringing with them large ſupplies of money, until the inſtant, when the Ameer's ſon was removed with great ceremony, and under a ſtrong eſcort of the Company's cavalry, to a houſe provided for him by the Government; at which place, a treaty was deviſed and executed, alienating, as I am told, the whole territories and countries of the Carnatic to the poſſeſſion of the Company.—During the time even when theſe tranſactions were paſſing, ſeveral repreſentations were made to me, through Colonel M'Neil, of the favourable

diſpoſition of Government to me, and of the advantages which would be loſt by my refuſing to meet their wiſhes; that he was well aſſured that the Ameer's ſon would readily accept any terms which the Government ſhould graciouſly grant to him; but as I had delivered my ſentiments publicly to the officers of Government, and at open conferences, I declined to hear any private propoſals; and ſo informed the Colonel, obſerving at the time, that I implicitly believed whatever he told me reſpecting the Ameer's ſon; for I well knew that he would receive what the Company would be pleaſed to give him, in lieu of the territories of the Carnatic; for he would be receiving every thing, when he had nothing in reality to return. —I need not acquaint you (for it is a common conſequence of the policy I have been deſcribing), that every means were uſed to ſpread diſſenſions in the family, and provoke counter-claims, in order to give the Government a colour for interference; and notwithſtanding the variety of contending intereſts, which this ſtratagem put in motion, I am happy to ſay, that a ſenſe of juſtice finally prevailed, and that there was but one opinion as to the ſucceſſion, which ought to be conſulted, and but one ſentiment on the conduct of Government as to the meaſures adopted by them. And thinking that the united ſenſe of the family and of the Mahomedan lawyers might have had a weight and influence, I encloſed two written inſtruments to the Government, declarative of their ſentiments on the act which Government were about to ſanction: copies of which papers are encloſed for your further information. And hearing ſhortly after, that Government intended to place the Ameer's ſon on the Muſnud at all events and at all conſequences, I requeſted the Regents, in a public letter (a copy of which accompanies), to addreſs the Right Honourable the Governor in Council on the ſubject of my affairs, recapitulating what had paſſed at the conferences with me and them, profeſſing our joint wiſhes to form ſuch an alliance with the Company, as might inſure our mutual intereſts, and begging that they would open a negotiation with us in writing, and in a direct way, which they had always previouſly declined, and we would endeavour to ſatisfy their expectations as far as our means would allow. But to the addreſs of the Regents the Government did not return an anſwer.—Being informed on the 29th, that a public notification had been made through the different ſtreets of Madras, that the Ameer's ſon would be placed on the Muſnud on the 31ſt inſt. under the influence of Government, I immediately addreſſed the Governor, with the advice of the Regents, on the ſuggeſted meaſure, and propoſed to accept the terms which had been at firſt offered—a meaſure which my mind revolted at; but which ſeemed to be demanded by the trying exigencies of the moment; and I felt confident within myſelf, that if my offer had been accepted, the liberality of the Britiſh nation would have never held me bound by conditions which had been ſo compulſorily impoſed on me; or would have ameliorated a ſituation which had been produced by means which neither honour nor juſtice could bear to contemplate. My addreſs was wholly and totally diſregarded. I cannot repeat the ſcene which followed; that inſulted every noble feeling, and outraged every right. I have endeavoured, under the mortifying events which have happened, and the variety of ſenſations which have poſſeſſed me, to acquaint you of the unhappy ſituation in which I find myſelf expoſed, and I am afraid that I have ill ſucceeded. I need not endeavour to impreſs you with the horrors of the ſituation to which I feel myſelf reduced. You have but to picture to yourſelves the height of human grandeur, and the ſad and miſerable reverſe of it! the higheſt and loweſt condition of which humanity is capable! But even the meaneſt ſubject of the very worſt government poſſeſſes a bleſſing which my fortune and fate forbid! He owns the gratifying ſenſation of knowing himſelf ſafe amidſt the ſociety of his fellows: while I, alas! have no friendly nor kindly ſociality; none of thoſe relations and ties which are made to ſecure the comforts and happineſs of life—an unit, as it were, in the ſum of the people of the Carnatic, I am delivered into the hands of an enemy, who has but one act to execute, to finiſh his career.—If I fail of your active ſervices, your zealous and ſtrenuous ſupport, there is but one ſhort ſtep to inevitable deſtruction; let me entreat and implore, that you take the immediate time to ſeek the removal of the ills which are about to overwhelm me. From the diſtance which intervenes, from my ignorance of the fit and proper means of remedy, and from my ſenſibility of the injuries with which I am ſeverely galled, I know not what courſe to try. In your judgment, experience, and cooler determination, I confide and reſt.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

THE Houſe (according to order) reſumed the adjourned debate upon the motion, that the amount of the public funded debt, on the 1ſt of February, 1793, was 238,231,248*l.* excluſive of long and ſhort annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550*l.* of which ſums, ſtock, to the amount of 10,242,100*l.* had been purchaſed by the Commiſſioners for redeeming the national debt, and the annuities, to the amount of 79,880*l.* had fallen in, and been carried to their account, reducing the actual amount of the debt on the 1ſt of Feb. 1793, to 227,989,148*l.* and the annuities to 1,293,670*l.* and that, on the 1ſt of February, 1802, ſtock, to the amount of 39,885,308*l.* had been purchaſed by the Commiſſioners, and ſtock, to the amount of 18,001,148*l.* had been transferred to them on account of land tax redeemed, and annuities, to the amount of 125,707*l.* had fallen in; redu-

cing on the 1st of February 1802, the actual amount of debt existing before the war to 180,344,792*l.* and the annuities to 1,247,843*l.*

And the question was again proposed.

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the total amount of stock created since the 1st of February 1793 (including the amount created by sums borrowed in the present session of Parliament, and after deducting 20,490,003*l.*, purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt) on the 1st of February 1802, is 338,138,360*l.*; of which sum the interest on 7,502,633*l.* is payable by the emperor of Germany; and the interest on 22,348,000*l.* is payable by Ireland: and that annuities have been granted, since the 1st of February 1793, to the amount of 550,460*l.* of which 9,791*l.* is payable by Ireland, and 230,000*l.* by the Emperor of Germany.

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the total amount of the public funded debt (including the amount created by the sums borrowed in the present session, and after deducting 60,375,311*l.* purchased by the commissioners, and 18,801,148*l.* transferred to them on account of land tax redeemed) was, on the 1st of February 1802, 518,483,152*l.*; of which sum 29,064,226*l.* is on account of Ireland and the emperor of Germany; leaving a funded debt charged on Great-Britain of 489,418,926*l.*; and that the amount of annuities charged on Great-Britain (after deducting what have fallen in) was, on the 1st of February 1802, in short annuities and for lives, 543,200*l.*; and in long annuities 1,015,410*l.*

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that, under the heads of treasury, army, ordnance, barracks, and advances from civil list (after deducting the surplus of ways and means of 1801) outstanding demands, as far as the same can be made up, remained to be provided for, on the 5th of January 1802, to the amount 3,264,235*l.*

That the unfunded debt in exchequer bills, unprovided for, or provided for out of funds which have proved insufficient, was, on the 5th of January 1802, 13,744,443*l.*

That the debt of the navy remaining to be provided for, was, on the 5th of January 1802, 9,073,070*l.*; and, that the total amount of demands outstanding, navy debt and exchequer bills unprovided for, or provided for out of insufficient funds, was, on the 5th of January 1802, 26,081,748*l.*; of which sum 11,771,836*l.* has since been made good out of the supplies of the present session, leaving an unfunded debt of 14,309,912*l.* to which 5,000,000*l.* of exchequer bills, voted in the present session, being added, makes a total of unfunded debt hereafter to be provided for, of 19,309,912*l.*

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the total debt may be stated as follows: *viz.*

	£
Total amount of the public funded debt unredeemed - - - - -	518,483,152
1,015,410*l.* long annuities, valued at 25 years purchase - - -	25,385,250
Unfunded debt - - - - - -	19,309,912
	563,178,314
Of this sum, Ireland and the Emperor of Germany are chargeable with the interest on - -	29,064,226
Leaving a total debt charged on Great-Britain (exclusive of 543,000*l.* short annuities, and any further sums necessary for winding up the expenses of the war) of - - - - - - - -	534,114,088

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the sum applicable to the reduction of the total funded debt was, on the 1st February 1793, 1,427,143*l.* and, on the first February 1802, 5,809,330*l.* to which must be added 26,390*l.* being 1 *per cent.* on part of the loan of the present year; making a total of 5,835,720*l.*, of which sum 5,587,399*l.* is applicable to the reduction of the debt charged on Great-Britain, and, being appropriated by act of Parliament to accumulate at compound interest, will redeem a sum equal to the amount of debt created since the 1st of January 1800, in about 16 years, supposing all stocks to be purchased at par, and in about 28½ years, supposing the 3 *per cents.* to be purchased at 75.

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the annual charge incurred by the permanent debt, on the 5th of January 1793, was 10,325,866*l.* including 1,000,000*l.* applicable to the reduction of the debt:

That the annual charge incurred by the permanent debt created since the 5th of January 1793 (exclusive of the interest payable by Ireland, and including the charge incurred by the loan of the present session, but exclusive of 48,000*l.* interest on deferred stock) is 13,557,600*l.* of which sum, 2,462,100*l.* is the 1 *per cent.* sinking fund on the capital of the said debt, applicable to the reduction thereof; and that a further charge of 497,735*l.* *per annum* is guaranteed by Parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by his Majesty the emperor of Germany.

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the net produce of the permanent taxes existing previous to the war was, on the 5th of January 1793, 14,284,000*l.*; and, on the 5th of January 1802, 13,221,682*l.*;

That the net produce of the permanent taxes imposed since the 5th of January 1793 was, on the 5th of January 1802, 9,187,288*l.*

And, that the total amount of the permanent taxes was, on the 5th of January 1802, 22,408,970*l.*

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the total official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 19,659,358*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 18,685,390*l.*

That the total official value of all imports, in the year ending the 5th of January 1802 (supposing the imports from the East-Indies, of which no account has been made up, to be the same as in the preceding year) was 32,317,032*l.*; and, on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 26,964,036:

That the total official value of British produce and manufactures, exported in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 18,336,851*l.* and, on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 14,771,049*l.*:

That the total official value of British produce and manufactures, exported in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, was 25,719,979*l.* and, on an average of six years, ending the 5th January 1802, was 21,631,050:

That the total official value of foreign merchandize, exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 6,568,346*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th January 1793, was 5,469,014*l.*

That the total official value of foreign merchandize, exported in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, was 16,523,480*l.*; and, on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 14,104,700*l.*

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the total sum to be raised in Great-Britain in the year 1802, may be estimated as follows, *viz.*

Interest of the public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th of January 1802, after deducting interest payable by Ireland - -	£22,444,564	
Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between the 5th January 1802 and the 5th January 1803, on stock created by loans of the present session to the amount of 30,351,375*l.* - - - - -		£ 665,422
Interest on exchequer bills, estimated to be the same as paid in the year ending 5th January 1802 - - - - - - - -		1,121,890
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting together to 1,560,472*l.* - -		1,376,881
Civil government of Scotland, pensions on revenue, militia, and deserters warrants, bounties for promoting fisheries, &c. &c. estimated at - - - -		1,000,000
Charges of management of revenue, estimated to be the same as in the year ended 5th January 1802 - - - - - - - -		1,871,861
Supplies voted for 1802, on account of Great-Britain exclusively - -	£8,409,473	
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the supplies voted for Great-Britain and Ireland (amounting in the whole to 31,259,209*l.*) -	27,261,063	
Total amount of supplies for 1802, to be defrayed by Great-Britain - - - -		35,670,536
Advance to Ireland - - - -		2,000,000
Interest payable for loans to Emperor of Germany - - - -		497,735
Making in the whole the sum of		£66,648,896

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the interest of the public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, after deduct- interest payable by Ireland, is £ 23,320,000

That the interest on exchequer bills, exclusive of three millions not at present bearing interest, cannot be estimated at less than 450,000

That the interest on navy debt cannot be estimated at less than 150,000

That of the present charges on the consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland, the proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, is - - - - 1,376,881

	£
That of the miscellaneous charges of Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain cannot be estimated at less than	397,060
That the charges of the militia of Great Britain cannot be estimated at less than	22,000
That of the charges of Chelsea and Kilmainham hospitals, and widow pensions in Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain cannot be estimated at less than	262,948
That of the half pay of the army of Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain cannot be estimated at less than	400,000
	26,776,899
That of the charge of the navy (supposing the number of seamen employed to be reduced from 70,000, their present amount to 30,000, for the year 1803) the proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain cannot be estimated at less than	3,514,613
	£.30,291,512

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that, supposing the produce of the old permanent taxes to be the same as in the year ending the 5th of January 1800, being their highest amount, and the new permanent taxes to produce the sum for which they were laid, the income applicable to the peace establishment of Great Britain, may be estimated as follows: viz.

Old permanent taxes	£.15,740,000
New permanent taxes, including 1801	10,395,246
Taxes imposed in present session	4.000,000
Land and malt	2,558,000
Estimated profit on lottery	360,000
	£.33,053,246
Which sum, being so raised, after deducting certain estimated charges, to the amount of	30,291,512
would leave towards the charge of the army ordnance, and contingencies, a surplus of	£.2,761,734

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put;

It passed in the negative.

A motion was made, and the question being proposed, that the actual charge of the army and ordnance for Great Britain and Ireland, for six months, ending the 5th of January 1803 (exclusive of army extraordinaries, militia, half-pay, Chelsea, &c.) to be defrayed by Great Britain, is 2,414,876l. being after the rate of 4,829,750l. per annum.

That, supposing a reduction to take place to the amount of 20,000 men, with a proportionate reduction in the barracks and ordnance departments, the total charge to be defrayed by Great Britain for the army and ordnance (exclusive of army extraordinaries, militia, half pay, Chelsea, &c.) may be estimated for the year 1803, at

	£
	3,812,960
And that upon such an establishment, the charge of army extraordinaries to be defrayed by Great Britain, cannot be estimated at less than	600,000
Making (exclusive of contingent charges, and of 497,000l. interest due by the emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament) a sum of	4,412,960
Which, after applying the estimated surplus of taxes	2,761,734
would leave a deficiency to be provided for, of	£.1,651,226

And the previous question being put, that that question be now put; it passed in the negative.

The house (according to order) resumed the adjourned debate upon the motion, that the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th of January 1786, 238,231,248l., exclusive of long and short annuities, and annuities for lives to the amount of 1,373,550l.; that, on the 1st of February, 1793, stock to the amount 10,242,100l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt, and annuities to the amount of 79,880l. had fallen in, and had been carried to their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt on the 5th of January 1793 to 227,989,148, and the annuities to 1,293,670l. and that, on the 1st of February 1802, stock to the amount of 39,885,308 had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt, and annuities to the amount of 125,707l. had fallen in and been carried to their account, and stock to the amount of 18,001,148l. had been transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed; reducing the actual amount of debt existing before the war, on the 1st of February 1802, to 180,344,792l., and the annuities to 1,247,843l.

Resolved,—That the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th of January 1786, 238,231,248; exclusive of long and short annuities and annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550: that on the 1st of February 1793, stock to the amount of 10,242,100 had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 79,880l. had fallen in, and had been carried to

their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt, on the 5th of January 1793, to 227,949,148 l. and the annuities to 1,293,670 l.: and that on the 1st of February 1802, stock to the amount of 39,885,308 l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 125,707 l. had fallen in and been carried to their account; and stock to the amount of 18,001,148 l. had been transferred to them, on account of land-tax redeemed; reducing the actual amount of debt existing before the war, on the 1st February 1802, to 180,344,792 l. and the annuities to 1,247,843 l.

Resolved,—That the capital of the public funded debt created since the 1st of February 1793, as the same stood on the 1st of February 1802, together with the capital to be created by sums borrowed in the present session of parliament, and exclusive of 7,502,633 l. 3 per cent. Stock created by advances to the emperor of Germany, is 351,125,730 l.—That the amount of long annuities, created during the same period, is 320,461 l. per annum, exclusive of 230,000 l. annuity created by advances to the emperor of Germany, which will expire in the year 1820.—That of these sums, 22,348,000 l. capital, and 9,791 l. long annuities, are on account of Ireland; leaving a permanent debt of 328,777,730 l. charged on Great Britain.—And that, on the 1st of February 1802, 49,703,596 l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; reducing the said permanent debt, created since the 5th January 1793, to 309,074,134 l., exclusive of long annuities, to the amount of 310,670 l. per annum.

Resolved,—That the total amount of the permanent funded debt charged on Great Britain, after deducting the sum of 59,588,904 l. redeemed by, and the annuities fallen in, to the commissioners, and 18,001,148 l. transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed, was, on the 1st of February 1802, 489,418,926 l. together with short annuities to the amount of 543,103 l. and long annuities to the amount of 1,015,410 l.

Resolved,—That the sum annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt of Great Britain, in pursuance of the act passed in 1786, was 1000,000 l. being about 1-238th part of the capital of the permanent debt then existing; and for 1793, was 1,427,143 l. being about 1-160th part of the permanent debt existing in 1793, and may, for the year 1802, be estimated at 5,800,000 l. being about 1-84th part of the permanent debt existing in 1802; which sum of 5,800,000 l. is appropriated by act of parliament to accumulate at compound interest, until the whole of the existing debt is discharged; which, supposing all the stocks to be purchased at par, and no further sums to be transferred for redemption of land-tax, cannot be later than the close of the year 1843.

Resolved,—That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt on the 5th of January 1786, was 9,297,000 l. before any fund was created applicable to the reduction of the debt, and, on the 5th of January 1792, was 10,325,000 l. including 1,000,000 l. applicable thereto; in which sum of 10,325,000 l. was included, on the 5th January 1793, the interest of 10,242,100 l. capital stock redeemed; and the amount of annuities fallen in or unclaimed, which had been transferred to the commissioners, making together the sum of 387,143 l. and that the said sum of 10,325,000 l. was reduced on the 5th January 1802, by reason of stock transferred for redemption of land-tax, and by diminution in the charges of management, on account of sums redeemed by the commissioners, to 9,771,169 l. in which sum is included the interest on 39,885,308 l. capital stock redeemed, and the amount of annuities fallen in or unclaimed, and transferred to the commissioners, making together the sum of 1,334,186 l.

Resolved,—That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt of Great Britain, created since the 5th January 1793) including 924,199 l. permanent interest and charge on loan of the present session, of which 48,761 l. 17s. will not become payable till after the 5th of January 1806, amounts to 13,597,594 l. per annum; of which 10,544,383 l. is for interest, annuity, and charges of management, of such part of the said debt as was unredeemed on the 1st of February 1802; and 3,053,211 l. arises from 1 per cent. sinking fund on the capital of part of the said debt and interest of stock redeemed, and is applicable to the reduction thereof; and that a further charge of 497,735 l. per annum is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by his majesty the emperor of Germany.

Resolved,—That the annual charge on account of the permanent debt of Great Britain on the 1st of February 1802 (including 924,199 l. for interest and charges of the loan of the present session, and 200,000 l. now permanently added to the sinking fund) amounts to 23,568,763 l. whereof 5,587,397 l. is applicable to the reduction of the national debt. And that a further charge of 497,735 l. per annum is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by his Majesty the Emperor of Germany.

Resolved,—That the amount of the outstanding demands unprovided for on the 5th of January 1802, exclusive of unfunded debt, and of the anticipation of certain duties annually voted, was 4,514,531 l. That the surplus of ways and means for the year 1801 was 114,000 l. and 99,886 l. remained unpaid and applicable to the public service on the grant to the Queen of Portugal; reducing the amount of demands unprovided for to 4,300,465 l of which 4,018,420 l. has been provided for in the present session.

Resolved,—That the unfunded debt, exclusive of the anticipation in the usual form of certain duties annually voted, amounted, on the 5th of January 1793, to 8,925,422 l. and on the 5th of January 1802, to 21,179,170 l. exclusive of the anticipation of the loan of 1802, and of 3,000,000 l. advanced by the bank without interest, for the renewal of their charter, to be repaid in 1806;

of which sum of 21,179,170 l. 10,113,493 l. has been paid off or provided for in the course of the present session.

Resolved,—That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing on the 5th January 1784 then amounted to 10,194,259 l. and that taxes were afterwards imposed to defray the expenses of the war ending in 1783, amounting in 1786 to 938,000 l. making together 11,132,000 l.

Resolved,—That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing previous to the year 1784, adding thereto about 938,000 l. imposed as above stated in 1784 and 1785, and 137,000 l. arising from the consolidation act, and from duties imposed in 1789, was, in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, 14,284,000 l. on the 5th of January 1794, 13,941,000 l. on the 5th of January 1795, 13,858,000 l. on the 5th of January 1796, 13,557,000 l. on the 5th of January 1797, 14,292,000 l. on the 5th of January 1798, 13,332,000 l. on the 5th of January 1799, 14,275,000 l. on the 5th of January 1800, 15,743,109 l. on the 5th of January 1801, 14,194,539 l. and on the 5th of January 1802. (including 1,275,544 l. the amount of bounties paid on corn and rice imported) 14,497,226 l. which last sum, after deducting the duties arising from the consolidation act and those imposed in in 1789, exceeds the net produce of the permanent taxes on the 5th of January 1784, together with that of the taxes imposed in 1784 and 1785, by 3,228,226 l.

Resolved,—That the actual net produce of the taxes imposed since the 5th of January 1793, amounted, in the year ended the 5th of January 1802, to 9,187,288 l. and that the total net produce of the permanent taxes in the year ended the 5th of January 1802 amounted to 23,684,514 l. (including 1,275,544 l. paid for bounties on corn and rice imported.)

Resolved,—That the total gross receipt within the year (deducting repayments, discounts, and drawbacks, and also deducting all loans and annuities paid to government) was, in the year 1797, 23,076,179 l. in the year 1798, 30,176,303 l. in the year 1799, 34,750,976 l. in the year 1800, 33,535,016 l. and in the year 1801, 35,368,376 l. being an increase, compared with 1797, of 5,292,197 l. compared with 1798, of 5,192,073 l. compared with 1799, of 617,400 l. and compared with 1800, of 1,833,360 l.

Resolved,—That the official value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1784, was 13,122,235 l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1784, was 11,690,829 l.—That the official value of all imports into Great Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 19,659,358 l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 18,685,390 l. —That the official value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1802 (supposing the imports from the East Indies, of which no account has yet been made up, to be the same as in the preceding year) was 32,317,032 l. making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 19,194,797 l. and with 1792, of 12,657,674 l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 26,964,038 l. making an increase, as compared with the average of the 5th of January 1784, of 15,273,209 l. and with the average to the 5th of January 1793, of 8,278,648 l.—And that the real value of imports in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, supposing the imports from the East Indies to be the same as in the preceding year, may be estimated at about 58,680,000 l.

Resolved,—That the official value of British manufactures, exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1784, was 10,409,713 l.; and on an average of six years, ending 5th of January 1784, was 8,616,660 l.: —That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain in the year ending 5th of January 1793, was 18,336,851 l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 14,771,049 l.:—That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain in the year ending 5th of January 1802, was 25,719,979 l., making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 15,310,266 l., and with 1792, of 7,383,128 l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 21,631,050 l., making an increase, as compared with the average to 5th of January 1784, of 13,014,390 l.; and, and with the average to 5th of January 1793, of 6,860,001 l.:—And that the real value of British manufactures exported in the year 1801, may be estimated at 41,770,000 l.

Resolved,—That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1784, was 4,332,909 l., and on an average of six years ending the 5th of January 1784, was 4,263,930 l.: —That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 6,568,348 l.; and on an average of six years ending the 5th of January 1793, was 5,468,014 l.:—that the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, was 16,523,480 l., making an increase as compared with 1783, of 12,190,571 l. and with 1792, of 9,955,132 l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1802, was 14,104,700 l., making an increase as compared with the average to January 5th 1784, of 9,840,770 l., and with the average to January 5, 1793, of 8,636,686 l.:—and that the real value of foreign merchandize exported in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, may be estimated at about 15,750,000 l.

Resolved,—That the number of registered vessels belonging to the British dominions, and employed in trade, in the year 1789, being the first year in which the register act had taken full effect, was 14,310; their tonnage 1,393,172, and the number of seamen navigating the same 108,962.—In the year 1792 the number of vessels was 16,079; their tonnage 1,540,145; and the number of seamen navigating the same 118,286; and, in the year 1801, the number of vessels was 19,772; their tonnage 2,037,317,

and the number of men 143,987;—being an increase of 5,462 ships, of 642,145 tons, and of 35,025 men, compared with 1789; and of 3,693 ships, of 497,172 tons, and of 25,701 men, compared with 1792.

Resolved,—That the total sum to be raised in Great-Britain in the year 1802, may be estimated as follows:—viz.

	£.
Interest of public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th of January, 1802, after deducting interest payable by Ireland	22,444,564
Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between 5th January, 1802, and 5th January, 1803, on stock created by loans in the present session	665,422
Interest on exchequer bills	750,000
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting together to 1,537,739 l.	1,356,828
Civil government of Scotland, estimated as before; Pensions on hereditary revenue, estimated asbefore; Militia and deserterswarrants, estimated as before; Bounties for promoting fisheries, linen manufactures, &c. including excess of corn bounties beyond 1,643,000l. re-paid by parliament	1,000,000
Charges of management of the revenue, the same as last year	2,024,697
Making the total permanent charges to be defrayed out of the gross receipt of permanent revenue	28,241,511
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the supplies voted for 1802 for Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting in the whole to 39,305,344 l., including therein the separate charges on Great-Britain	35,532,371
	63,773,882
Advance to Ireland £.2,000,000	
Interest payable for imperial loans 497,596	2,497,596
	£.66,271,478

Resolved,—That the gross receipt of the permanent revenue, after deducting repayments for over entries, drawbacks, and bounties in the nature of drawbacks, amounted in the year ended 5th January, 1802, to £. 29,220,536

Estimated produce, to the 5th April 1803, of the taxes imposed in the present session of parliament £. 2,400,000

That further sums are applicable to the service of the year 1802, as follows:

Repayments from Grenada, imprests, and lottery	862,000
And that the remainder of the supply for the year 1802 is provided for by a loan, on account of Great-Britain, of	23,000,000
And a loan for Ireland, of	2,000,000
And by exchequer bills, to be charged on supplies 1803	5,000,000
And expected additional produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799	1,600,000
Surplus of ways and means 1801, and residue of grants to the Queen of Portugal	213,886
Interest on land-tax contracted to be paid for by instalments	25,000
Arrears of income tax	2,500,000
Making in the whole the sum of £.	66,821,422

Resolved,—That it appears by a report of a committee of this house in 1791, that the actual expenditure (including the annual million for the reduction of the public debt) on an average of five years peace ending the 5th of January 1791, and including sundry extraordinary expenses for the armament of 1787, and for payments to American loyalists, and other articles of a temporary nature, amounted to £.16,816,985.

	£.
By the peace establishment was estimated by the said committee, at	15,969,178
With which estimate the actual expense of the year 1792 nearly agreed.	
In the above sum was included the charge of the public debt, amounting to 10,325,000 l., from which is to be deducted the charge of stock extinguished by the redemption of land-tax on the 5th January 1802	540,000
	15,429,178
That the additional permanent charge incurred by the debt created since 1793, exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, is	13,597,594
That the additional charge to be incurred for increased amount of exchequer bills outstanding is about	140,000
Interest of money for satisfying increased navy debt, at £.5 *per Cent.* is about	270,000
That the additional charge incurred on the consolidated fund is	390,000
That the additional charge incurred for a sum appropriated for	

the redemption of the public debt is - - - - - - - - - -	200,000
And that the increased expense of of the peace establishment (exclusive of any charges to be incurred by interest on further sums to be paid on winding up the expenses of the war, and of any augmentation which may take place in the naval or military establishments, but allowing for increase of pay and other expenses, may be estimated at -	700,000
And also exclusive of 497,000l. interest ou loans due by the emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament)—may be estimated at - - - - - -	£.30,726,772

Resolved,—That, adding to the produce of the permanent taxes in the year ending the 5th of January 1802, the sum of 1,275,544l. paid for corn bounties; and the sum of 1,600,000l., being the estimated deficiency of certain duties in the same year; the income applicable to the peace establishment may be estimated as follows, viz.

Old permanent taxes - - -	£.14,497,226
New permanent taxes - - -	9,187,288
Further produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799 - - - -	1,600,000
Further produce of taxes 1801 -	864,319
Taxes imposed in 1802 - -	4,000,000
Land and malt, after deducting land tax redeemed - - -	2,060,000
	£.32,208,833

And that a further sum of 454,340l., arising from annuities which will expire at the periods under-mentioned, viz.

In 1805 - - - -	£.56,554
1806 - - - -	8,152
1807 - - - -	15,515
1808 - - - -	374,119
	£.454,340

will then also be applicable, as well as such sums as may from time to time arise from the savings on the interest of stocks which may be reduced to a lower rate; and which, supposing the whole of the stocks to be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* would amount to 1,491,890l.: which sums are exclusive of any allowance for the profit a lottery, or for any participation of the territorial revenues of India.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, he rose in pursuance of the notice he had given on a former day, to submit several Resolutions on the subject of Finance, on which it was his intention to move that the Debate should be adjourned to Thursday, with an understanding that the Resolutions should be printed and ready for delivery to-morrow He then submitted the following Resolutions:

1. That the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th of January, 1786, 238,231,248l. exclusive of long and short annuities, and annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,873,550l. That on the 1st of February, 1793, stock to the amount of 10,242,100l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 79,880l. had fallen in, and had been carried to their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt, on the 5th of January, 1793, to 127,989,148l. and the annuities to 1,293,670l. And that, on the 1st of February, 1802, stock to the amount of 36,885,308l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt, and annuities to the amount of 125,707l. had fallen in and been carried to their account; and stock to the amount of 18,001,148l. had been transferred to them, on account of land-tax redeemed; reducing the actual amount of debt existing before the war, on the 1st of February, 1802, to 180,344,792l. and the annuities to 1,247,843l.

2. That the capital of the public funded debt, created since the 1st of February, 1793, as the same stood on the 1st of February, 1802, together with the capital to be created by sums borrowed in the present session of parliament, and exclusive of 7,502,633l. three per cent. stock, created by advances to the Emperor of Germany, is 351,125,730l. That the amount of long annuities created during the same period, is 220,461l. per annum, exclusive of 230,000l. annuity, created by advances to the Emperor of Germany, which will expire in the year 1802. That of these sums 22,348,000l. capital, and 9,791l. long annuities, are on account of Ireland; and leaving a permanent debt of 328,771,730l. charged on Great-Britain: and that on the 1st of February, 1802, 19,703,596l. had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt, reducing the said permanent debt created since 5th January, 1793, to 309,074,134l. per annum, exclusive of long annuities to the amount of 310,670l.

3. That the total amount of the permanent funded debt charged on Great-Britain, after deducting the sum of 59,588,904l. redeemed by, and the annuities fallen in to, the commissioners, and 18,001,148l. transferred to them, on account of land tax redeemed, was, on the 1st of February, 1802, 419,418,926l. together with short annuities to the amount of 543,103l. and long annuities to the amount of 1,015,410l. after deducting the annuities provided for by Ireland.

4. That the sum annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt of Great-Britain, in pursuance of the act passed in 1786, was 1,000,000l. being about 1-238th part of the capital of the permanent debt then existing; and for 1793, was 1,427,143l. being about 1-160th part of the permanent debt existing in 1793, and may for the year 1802 be estimated at 5,800,000l. being about 1-84th part of the permanent debt existing in 1802; which sum of 5,800,000l. is appropriated by act of parliament to accumulate at compound interest, until the whole of the existing debt is discharged, which, supposing all the stocks to be purchased at par, and no further sums to be transferred for the redemption of the land-tax, cannot be later than the close of the year 1843.

5. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt, on the 5th of January, 1786, was

9,297,000l. before any fund was created applicable to the reduction of the debt, and of the 5th January, 1793, was 10,325,000l. including 1,000 000l. applicable to the reduction of the debt; in which sum of 10,325,000l. was included, on the 5th of January, 1793, the interest of 10,242,100l. capital stock redeemed; and the amount of annuities fallen in, or unclaimed, which had been transferred to the commissioners, making together the sum of 387,143l. and that the said sum of 10,325,000l. was reduced on the 5th of January, 1802, by reason of stock transferred for the redemption of the land-tax, and by the diminution in the charges of management on account of sums redeemed by the commissioners, to 9,771,169l. in which sum is included the interest on 39,885,308l. capital stock redeemed, and the amount of annuities fallen in, or unclaimed, and transferred to the commissioners, making together the sum of 1,334,186l.

6. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt of Great-Britain, created since the 5th of January, 1793, (including 924,199l. permanent interest, and charge on loan of the present session) of which 48,761l. 17s. will not become payable until after the 5th of January, 1806, amounts to 13,597,594l. per annum, of which 10,544,383l. is for interest, annuity, and charges of management of such part of the said debt as was unredeemed on the 1st of February, 1802, and 3,053,211l. arises from 1l. per cent. sinking fund on the capital of part of the said debt and interest of stock redeemed, and is applicable to the reduction thereof; and that a further charge of 497,735l. per annum is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by His Majesty the Emperor of Germany.

7. That the amount of the outstanding demands unprovided for on the 5th January, 1802, exclusive of unfunded debt and of the anticipation of certain duties annually voted, was 4,416,220l. That the surplus of ways and means for the year 1802, was 114,000l. and 99,886l. remained unpaid, and applicable to the public service, on the grant to the Queen of Portugal, reducing the amount of demands unprovided for, to 4,202,334l. of which 3,920,289l. has been provided for in the present session.

8. That the unfunded debt (exclusive of the anticipation in the usual form on certain duties annually voted, amounted, on the 5th of January, 1793, to 8,925 422l. and on the 5th of January, 1802, to 21,179,170l. exclusive of the anticipation of the loan of 1802, and of 3,000,000l. advanced by the bank, without interest, for the renewal of their charter, to be repaid in 1806; of which sum of 21,179,170l. 10,113,493l. has been paid off, or provided for in the course of the present session.

9. That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing on the 5th of January, 1784, then amounted to 10,194 259l.; and that taxes were afterwards imposed to defray the expenses of the war ending in 1783, amounting in 1786 to 938,000l. making together 11,132,000l.

10. That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing previous to the year 1784, adding thereto about 938,000l. imposed as above stated in 1784 and 1785, and 137,000l. arising from the consolidation act, and from duties imposed in 1789, was, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, 14,284,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1794, 13,941,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1795, 13,858,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1796, 13,557,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1797, 14,292,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1798, 13,332,000l.; on the 5th of January, 1799, 14,275,000l. on the 5th of January, 1800, 15,743,100l. on the 5th of January, 1801, 14,194,539l.; and on the 5th of January, 1802, including 1,275,544l. the amount of bounties paid on corn and rice imported, 14,497,226l. which last sum, after deducting the duties arising from the consolidation act, and those imposed in 1789, exceeds the net produce of the permanent taxes, on the 5th of January, 1784, together with that of the taxes imposed in 1784 and 1785, by 3,228,226l.

11. That the actual net produce of the taxes imposed since the 5th of January, 1793, amounted, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, to 9,187,288l.; and that the total net produce of the permanent taxes, in the year ended the 5th of January, 1802, amounted to 23,684,514l. including 1,275,544l. paid for bounties on corn and rice imported.

12. That the total gross receipt within the year (deducting re-payments, discounts, and drawbacks; and also deducting all loans and monies paid to government) was, in the year 1797, 23,076,179l.; in the year 1798, 30,176,803l.; in the year 1799, 34,750,976l.; in the year 1800, 33,535,016l.; and in the year 1801, 35,368,376l.; being an increase, compared with 1797, of 12,292,197l.; and compared with 1798, of 5,192,073l.; compared with 1799, of 617,400l.; and compared with 1800, of 1,833,360l.

13. That the official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 13,122,235l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 11,690,829l.: That the official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1798, was 19,659,358l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 18,685,390l.: That the official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, (supposing the imports from the East-Indies, of which no account has been yet made up, to be the same as in the preceding year) was 32,317,032l. making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 19,194,797l. and with 1792, of 12,657,674l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 26,964,038l. making an increase, as compared with the average to 5th of January, 1784, of 15,273,209l. and with the average to 5th of January, 1793, of 8,278,648l.; and that the real value of imports in the year ended the 5th of January, 1802, supposing the imports from the East-Indies to be the same as in the preceding year, may be estimated at about 58,680,000l.

14. That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 10,409,713l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 8,616,660l.: That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 18,336,851l. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 14,771,049l.: That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending 5th January 1802, was 25,719,979l.; making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 15,310,266l. and with 1792, of 7,383,128l. and on an average of six years ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 21,631,050l. making an increase, as compared with the average to 5th January, 1784, of 13,014,390l. and with the average to 5th January, 1793, of 6,860,001l. and that the real value of British manufactures exported in the year 1801, may be estimated at 41,770,000l.

15. That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain, in the year ended the 5th January, 1784, was 4,332,909l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th January, 1784, was 4,263,930l.: That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th January, 1793, was 6,568,348l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th January, 1793, was 5,468,014l.: That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 16,523,480l.; making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 12,190,571l. and with 1792, of 9,955,132l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1802, was 14,104,700l.; making an increase, as compared with the average to January 5th, 1784, of 9,840,770l.; and with the average to January the 5th, 1793, of 8,636,686l.; and that the real value of foreign merchandize exported in the year ended the 5th of January, 1802, may be estimated at about 15,750,000l.

16. That the number of registered vessels belonging to the British dominions, and employed in trade, in the year 1789, being the first year in which the register act had taken full effect, was 14,310; their tonnage 1,395,172; and the number of seamen navigating the same 108,962: in the year 1792, the number of vessels was 16,079, their tonnage 1,540,145, and the number of seamen navigating the same, 118,286; and in the year 1801, the number of vessels was 19,772, their tonnage 2,037,317, and the number of men 143,987; being an increase of 5,462 ships, of 642,145 tons, and of 35,025 men, compared with 1788; and of 3,693 ships, of 497,172 tons, and of 25,701 men, compared with 1792.

17. That the total sum to be raised in Great-Britain, in the year 1802, may be estimated as follows: viz.

Interest of public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th of January 1802, after deducting interest payable by Ireland,		22,444,564
Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between 5th January, 1802, and 5th January, 1803, on stock created by loans in the present session.....		665,422
Interest on exchequer bills.....		750,000
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of Union, of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting together to 1,537,739l.....		1,356,828
Civil governement of Scotland, estimated as before—Pensions on hereditary revenue, ditto—Militia and deserters' warrants, ditto—Bounties for promoting fisheries, linen manufactures, &c. including excess of corn bounties beyond 1,643,000l. repaid by parliament,.....		1,000,000
Charges of management of the revenue, the same as last year.....		2,024,697
Making the total permanent charges to be defrayed out of the gross receipt of permanent revenue.....		28,241,514
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of Union, of the supplies voted for 1802, for Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting in the whole to 39,305,344l. including therein the separate charges on Great-Britain.....		35,532,871
		63,773,882
Advance to Ireland.....	2,000,000	
Interest payable for imperial loans	497,596	
		2,497,596
		66,271,478

18. That the gross receipt of the permanent revenue, after deducting re-payments for over entries, drawbacks, and bounties in the nature of drawbacks, amounted, in the year ended 5th of January, 1802, to..... 29,220,536

Estimated produce to the 5th April, 1803, of the taxes imposed in the present session of parliament.....	2,400,000
That further sums are applicable to the service of the year 1802, as follows:	
Re-payments from Grenada, imprests, and lottery	862,909
And that the remainder of the supply for the year 1802 is provided for by a loan, on account of Great-Britain, of.....	23,000,000
And a loan for Ireland, of.....	2,000,000
And by exchequer bills to be charged on supplies 1803.....	5,000,000
And expected additional produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799.....	1,600,000
Surplus of ways and means 1801, and residue of grants to the Queen of Portugal.....	213,886
Interest on land-tax contracted to be paid for by instalments.....	25,000
Arrears of income tax.....	2,500,000
Making in the whole, the sum of..	66,821,422

19. That it appears, by a report of a committee of this house, in 1791, that the actual expenditure (including the annual million for the reduction of the public debt) on an average of five years peace, ending the 5th of January, 1791, and including sundry extraordinary expenses for the armament of 1787, and for payments to American loyalists, and other articles of a temporary nature, amounted to 16,816,985.

But the peace establishment was estimated by the said committee at.....	15,969,178
[With which estimate the actual expense of the year 1792 nearly agreed.]	
In the above sum was included the charge of the public debt, amounting to 10,325,000l. from which is to be deducted the charge of stock extinguished by the redemption of land-tax, on the 5th of January, 1802.....	540,000
	15,429,178
That the additional permanent charge incurred by the debt created since 1793, exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, is.....	13,597,594
That the additional charge to be incurred for increased amount of exchequer bills outstanding, is about.....	140,000
Interest of money for satisfying increased navy debt, at 5l. per cent. is about...	270,000
That the additional charge incurred on the consolidated fund, is.....	390,000
That the additional charge incurred for a sum appropriated for the redemption of the public debt, is.....	200,000

And that the increased expenses of the peace establishment (exclusive of any charges to be incurred by interest on further sums, to be paid on winding up the expenses of the war; and of any augmentation which may take place in the naval or military establishments, but allowing for increase or pay and other expenses) may be esti mated at..... 700,000

And also exclusive of 497,000l. interest on loans, due by the Emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament, may be estimated at..... 30,726,772

20. That adding to the produce of the permanent taxes in the year ending the 5th of January, 1802, the sum of 1,275,544l. paid for corn bounties, and the sum of 1,600,000l. being the estimated deficiency of certain duties in the same year, the income applicable to the peace establishment may be estimated as follows:

Old permanent taxes.....	£.14,497,226
New permanent taxes.....	9,187,288
Further produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799..	1,600,000
Further produce of taxes, 1801.....	864,319
Taxes imposed in 1802.....	4,000,000
Land and malt, after deducting land-tax redeemed.....	2,060,000
	32,208,833

And that a further sum of 454,340l. arising from annuities, which will expire at the periods undermentioned, viz.

In 1805.....	56,554
1806.....	8,152
1807.....	15,515
1808.....	374,119
	454,340

will then also be applicable, as well as such sums as may from time to time arise from the savings on the interest of stocks which may be reduced to a lower rate, and which, supposing the whole of the stocks to be reduced to 3 per cent. would amount to 1,491,890l. which sums are exclusive of any allowance for the profit of a lottery, or for any participation of the territorial revenues of India.

A List of the Public Bills which received the Royal Assent in the Course of the Second Session of the First Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Nov. 21, 1801.—An act for continuing and granting to his Majesty certain duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, for the service of the year 1802.

An act for continuing and granting to his Majesty a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates, in England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco and snuff, for the service of the year 1802.

An act to revive and continue until the 25th day of March, 1803, so much of an act made in the 41st year of the reign of his present Majesty, as relates to permitting the use of salt, duty free, in preserving of fish, and to discontinuing the bounty payable on white herrings exported; and to indemnify all persons who have issued or acted under any orders for delivering salt, duty free, for the purposes in the said act mentioned.

An act to repeal an act made in the 41st year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An "act to prohibit, until the first day of October, "one thousand eight hundred and one, and from "thence to the end of six weeks next after the "commencement of the then next session of par-"liament, any person or persons from selling any "bread which shall not have been baked twenty "four hours;" and to indemnify bakers and other persons who have sold, or exposed to sale, any bread within the time prohibited by the said act.

Dec. 11, 1801.—An act for granting annuities to satisfy certain exchequer bills.

An act for raising the sum of 500,000l. by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of the United Kingdom for the year 1802.

An act to rectify a mistake in an act made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act "for granting to his Majesty a certain sum of "money for the service of Great Britain, to be "raised by a lottery," and to amend so much of the said act as relates to the commencement of the drawing of the said lottery.

An act to continue until the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and two, so much of an act made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his present Majesty, as relates to the reducing the duties upon worts, or wash brewed or made from melasses or sugar, or any mixture therewith, or to any distiller or distillers, or maker or makers of spirits; for reviving and continuing, for the same period, so much of the said act as relates to the reducing and better collecting the duties payable on the importation of starch; and for continuing, for the same period, an act made in the same session of parliament for prohibiting the making of low spirits from wheat, barley, malt, or other sort of grain, or from any meal, flour, or bran, in Scotland; and so much of an act made in the last session of parliament, as relates to the allowing the distillation of spirits in Scotland from melasses or sugar, at a lower rate of duty.

An act to repeal an act made in the thirty-ninth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act to permit, until the first day of August, "one thousand eight hundred and two, the impor-"tation of certain naval stores from Hamburgh "and other parts of Germany."

An act to continue, until the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and three, and amend an act of the thirty-ninth year of the reign of his present Majesty, for prohibiting the exportation, and permitting the importation of corn, and for allowing the importation of other articles of provision, without payment of duty; and to continue, for the same period, an act of the last session of parliament, for prohibiting the exportation from Ireland of corn or potatoes, or other provisions, and for permitting the importation into Ireland of corn, fish, and provisions, without payment of duty.

An act to revive and continue, until the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and three, an act made in the thirty-third year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act

" for the relief of the captors of prizes with re-
" spect to the bringing and landing certain prize
" goods in this kingdom."

An act to regulate, until the twenty-first day of March, one thousand eight hundred and three, the number of private militia-men in the several counties, ridings, and places, therein-mentioned; and for supplying of vacancies in the milita.

An act to remove certain restraints upon the correspondence by letter between persons residing in Great-Britain and Ireland, and persons residing in certain foreign countries.

Dec. 15, 1801.—An act to prohibit the distillation of spirits from wheat in Ireland.

An act to permit, until the 10th day of July, one thousand eight hundred and two, the making of starch from rice or potatoes, or any mixture thereof, and the importation of any such starch from Ireland, free of duty.

An act to continue, until the first day of July, one thousand eight hundred and two, an act made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of his present Majesty, for permitting the importation of organized thrown silk, flax, and flax seed, into this kingdom, in ships or vessels belonging to any kingdom or state in amity with his Majesty.

Feb. 24, 1802.—An act for raising a further sum of money by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year one thousand eight hundred and two.

An act for continuing the premium allowed to ships employed in, and for enlarging the limits of the Southern whale fishery.

An act to amend so much of an act made in the twenty-ninth year of his late Majesty, George the Second, intituled, "An act for explaining, amend-
" ing, and rendering more effectual an act made
" in the twenty-second year of his present Ma-
" jesty, intituled, An act for making a free market
" for the sale of fish in the city of Westminster,
" and for preventing the forestalling and mono-
" polizing of fish, and for allowing the sale of
" fish under the dimensions mentioned in a clause
" contained in an act of the first year of his late
" Majesty's reign, in case the same are taken
" with a hook," as relates to the sale of eels.

March 19, 1802.—An act for raising the sum of one million, by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1802.

An act to repeal the duties on cinnamon, imported by the East India company, and on cassia lignea of all sorts, and for granting new duties in lieu thereof; and to repeal the custom duties on certain hides and skins, and to repeal certain duties granted by an act of the last session of parliament upon box-wood imported, and granting new duties in lieu thereof.

An act to indemnify such persons as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and to indemnify justices of the peace, and others who have omitted to register or deliver in their qualifications within the time directed by law, and for extending the time limited for those purposes, until the 25th day of December, 1802; to indemnify members and officers in cities, corporations, and borough towns, whose admissions have been omitted to be stamped according to law, or, having been stamped, have been lost or mislaid, and for allowing them until the 25th day of December, 1802, to provide admissions duly stamped, to permit such persons as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies, and solicitors, to make and file the same, on or before the first day of Michaelmas term, one thousand eight hundred and two; to allow until the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and two, persons who have omitted to pay the duties on the indentures and contracts of clerks, apprentices, or servants, to make payment of the same; to indemnify such persons as have neglected to obtain certificates of admission as solicitors, or attornies, notaries, or proctors, and for extending the time limited for that purpose, until two months after the passing of this act: to indemnify persons who have printed or published pleadings and other proceedings in courts of law or equity, upon which the name and place of abode of the printer has not been printed; and for indemnifying deputy lieutenants and officers of the militia, who have neglected to transmit descriptions of their qualifications to the clerks of the peace within the time directed by law, and for extending the time limited for that purpose, until the first day of September, one thousand eight hundred and two.

An act for making perpetual so much of an act made in the nineteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, as relates to the allowing a drawback of the duties on rum shipped as stores to be consumed on board merchant ships on their voyages; and to continue several laws relating to the permitting the exportation of tobacco pipe-clay from Great Britain to the British sugar colonies in the West Indies, until the twenty-fourth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and eight; to the giving further encouragement to the importation of naval stores from the British colonies in America, until the twenty-ninth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and twelve; to the regulating the payment of the duties on cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, and mace; to the allowing the importation of certain fish from Newfoundland and the coast of Labrador, until the twenty-fourth of June, one thousand eight hundred and eight; and to the allowing the importation and exportation of goods from and to India and China, in ships not of British construction, during the continuance of the exclusive trade to and from the East Indies, granted to the East India company by an act of the thirty-third year of his present Majesty's reign.

An act for continuing, until the twenty-fifth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and four, the bounties granted for the encouragement of Greenland whale fisheries, and for continuing and amending the regulations respecting the same.

March 24, 1802.—An act for continuing until the twenty-fifth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and three, several acts of the last session of parliament, for continuing and granting duties to his Majesty in Ireland.

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters, within the united kingdom, and the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark and Man.

An act for the regulation of his Majesty's marine forces, while on shore, until the twenty-fifth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and two.

An act to empower his Majesty to cause certain countervailing duties, granted by an act of the thirty-seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, " An act for carrying into execu-
" tion the treaty of amity, commerce, and navi-

" gation, concluded between his Majesty and the " United States of America," to cease or be suspended until the twenty-fifth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and three, under certain circumstances.

An act for continuing, until the twenty-fifth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and five, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, and amending several laws relating to the transportation of felons, and other offenders, to temporary places of confinement in England and Scotland respectively.

An act to authorize the East India company to make their settlement at Fort Marlborough, in the East Indies, a factory subordinate to the presidency of Fort William, in Bengal, and to transfer the servants, who, on the reduction of that establishment, shall be supernumerary to the presidency of Fort St. George.

An act to continue, until the twenty-fifth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and two, an act made in the last session of parliament, intituled, " An act to stay, until the twenty-fifth day " of March, one thousand eight hundred and two, " procedings in actions under the statute of King " Henry the Eighth, for abridging spiritual per- " sons from having pluralities of livings, and from " taking of farms."

An act to enlarge the powers, and explain and amend an act made in the twenty-second year of the reign of his late Majesty, King George the Second, intituled, " An act for the better repairing " the highways, and cleansing the streets within " the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, in the " county of Middlesex, and for better enlighten- " ing the open places, streets, lanes, passages, " and courts there, and regulating the nightly " watch and beadles within the said parish," and and for paving, repairing, and regulating certain footways, squares, streets, lanes, and other public passages and places in the said parish, and for removing nuisances, obstructions, and annoyances therein.

April 15, 1802.—An act for raising the sum of twenty-five millions by way of annuities.

An act for granting to his Majesty certain additional duties on windows or lights, and on inhabited houses, and for consolidating the same with the present duties thereon.

An act to continue, until the twenty-ninth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and three, several acts of the last sessions of parliament, for reviving, continuing, and amending several laws for the better collection and security of the revenues of Ireland.

An act for regulating, until the fifteenth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and three, the prices at which grain, meal, and flour may be exported from Great Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Great Britain.

An act for enlarging the terms and powers granted by several acts, of laying a duty of two pennies Scots upon every pint of ale and beer brewed and vended within the town of Dundee, and the liberties and suburbs thereof.

An act to amend and render more effectual an act made in the seventeenth year of his present Majesty's reign, for the better relief and employment of the poor of the parish of St. Mary, Islington, in the county of Middlesex.

April 30, 1802.—An act for granting to his Majesty certain additional duties on servants, carriages, horses, mules, and dogs, and for consolidating the same with the present duties thereon.

An act for granting to his Majesty additional duties on beer and ale brewed in, or imported into, Great Britain, on malt made in Great Britain, on hops grown in, or imported into, Great Britain, and on spirits distilled in Ireland, and imported into Great Britain, for repealing certain allowances to brewers of beer and ale, and for preventing frauds and abuses in the revenue of excise on beer, ale, and malt.

An act for extending the time for the payments of certain sums of money advanced by way of loan to several persons connected with, or trading to the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent.

An act to continue, until the first day of March, one thousand eight hundred and three, the restrictions contained in several acts of the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth years of the reign of his present Majesty, on payments in cash by the bank.

An act for continuing and enlarging the term and powers of two several acts, of the thirty-second year of the reign of his late Majesty, and of the twentieth year of his present Majesty, charging a duty of two pennies Scots, or one-sixth part of a penny sterling, upon every Scots pint of ale, porter, and beer, brewed for sale, brought into, tapped, or sold, within the town and parish of Kelso, in the county of Roxburgh, for the purpose therein mentioned.

May 4, 1802.—An act to enable the lords commissioners of his Majesty's treasury of Great Britain to issue exchequer bills on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been, or shall be, granted by parliament for the service of Great Britain for the year 1802.

An act for repealing the duties on income; for the effectual collection of arrears of the said duties, and accounting for the same; and for charging the annuities specifically charged thereon upon the consolidated fund of Great Britain.

May 7, 1802.—An act for granting to his Majesty certain duties on goods imported into, and exported from, Great Britain, and on the tonnage of ships and vessels entering outwards or inwards in any port of Great Britain to or from foreign parts.

An act for permitting French wines to be imported into Great Britain in bottles or flasks, under certain restrictions.

An act to continue, until three months after, any restriction imposed by any act of the present session of parliament on the bank of England from issuing cash in payments shall cease; an act, made in the parliament of Ireland, in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, for confirming and continuing the restrictions on payments in cash by the bank of Ireland.

An act to require overseers and guardians of the poor to keep a register of the several children who shall be bound or assigned by them as apprentices, and to extend the provisions of an act passed in the twentieth year of the reign of his present Majesty, to the binding of apprentices by houses of industry, or establishments for the poor, which have been authorised so to do by subsequent acts.

May 10, 1802.—An act to continue until the twentieth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and three, and amend an act made in the last session of parliament, relating to certain duties on sugar and coffee exported; for permitting British plantation sugar to be warehoused; and for re-

gulating and allowing drawbacks on sugar exported.

May 24, 1802.—An act for enabling his Majesty to settle an annuity of 12,000l. on his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, and a like annuity of 12,000l. on his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, during his Majesty's pleasure.

An act for further continuing until the first day of February, 1806, an act made in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act to enable the lord high treasurer, "or commissioners of the treasury, for the time "being, to let to farm the duties granted by an "act made in the twenty-fifth year of his present "Majesty's reign on horses let to hire for travelling post, and by time, to such persons as should "be willing to contract for the same."

An act for continuing an act made in this session of parliament, intituled, "An act for punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better "payment of the army, and their quarters, within "the United Kingdom, and the islands of Jersey, "Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, and Man."

An act for continuing until the twenty-fifth day of June, 1802, an act made this session of parliament, for the regulation of his Majesty's marine forces while on shore.

An act for defraying the charge of the pay of the militia in England, for the year 1802.

An act to indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for offices or employments in Ireland, according to law.

May 28, 1802.—An act for granting to his Majesty a certain sum of money, to be raised by lotteries.

An act for making allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the militia during peace.

June 3, 1802.—An act for raising a certain sum of money, by way of annuities or debentures, for the service of Ireland.

An act to repeal an act, passed in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of his present Majesty, for granting stamp duties on certain medicines, and for charging other duties in lieu thereof, and for making effectual provision for the better collection of the said duties.

An act for allowing, until the 20th day of May 1803, additional bounties on refined sugar exported, and discontinuing the duty thereon granted by an act of this session of parliament.

An act to amend so much of an act, made in the parliament of Ireland, in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An "act for vesting a certain fund in commissioners "at the end of every quarter of a year, to be by "them applied to the reduction of the national "debt, and to direct the application of additional "funds, in case of future loans, to the like purpose," as relates to the commissioners for carrying the same into execution.

An act to continue, until the 30th day of May, 1803, and amend an act, made in the last session of parliament, for regulating and allowing drawbacks on sugar exported from Ireland, and for allowing British plantation sugar to be warehoused in Ireland, and for granting an additional drawback on the exportation of refined sugar.

An act for extending the provisions of an act, made in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for directing "the appointment of commissioners to administer "certain oaths and declarations, required by law, "to be taken and made by persons offering to "vote at the election of members to serve in parliament," to all oaths now required by law to be taken by voters at elections for members to serve in parliament.

An act for the further encouragement of Irish mariners, and for other purposes relating thereto.

June 22, 1802.—An act to authorise the licensing an additional number of hackney coaches.

An act to enable the Lord High Treasurer or Commssioners of his Majesty's Treasury of Ireland, for the time being, to sell, lease, convey, of dispose of, the parliament house in the city of Dublin, and all the premises and appurtenances thereunto belonging, to the Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland.

An act to amend, and render more effectual, two acts, passed in the twenty-sixth and thirty-second years of the reign of his present Majesty, for the reduction of the national debt.

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

An act for amending so much of an act passed in the seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty as relates to the secreting, embezzling, or destroying any letter or packet sent by the post, and for the better protection of such letters or packets, and for more effectually preventing letters and packets being sent otherwise than by the post.

An act to enable his Majesty to avail himself of the offers of certain yeomanry and volunteer corps to continue their services.

An act to revive, and further continue, until the 25th day of March, 1803, and to amend so much of an act made in the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of the reign of his present Majesty, as grants certain allowances to adjutants and serjeant majors of militia disembodied under an act of the same session of parliament.

An act to enable his Majesty to accept and continue the service of certain troops or companies of yeomanry in Ireland.

An act for making allowances until the 25th day of March, 1803, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the militia of Ireland, during peace.

An act to authorise the sending and receiving of letters and packets, votes, proceedings in parliament, and printed newspapers, by the post, free from the duties on postage, by the members of the two houses of parliament of the United Kingdom, and by certain public officers therein named, and for reducing the postage on such votes, proceedings, and newspapers, when sent by any other persons.

An act to enable such officers, mariners, and soldiers, as have been in the land or sea service, or in the marines, or in the militia, or any other corps of fencible men, since the twenty-fourth year of his present Majesty's reign, to exercise trades.

An act for directing certain public accounts to be laid annually before parliament, and for discontinuing certain other forms of account now in use.

An act to amend the laws for the better regulation of the linen manufacture in Ireland.

An act for repealing several acts made in the thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, thirty-ninth, and fortieth years of the reign of his present Majesty, relating to the admission of certain articles on merchandize in neutral ships, and to the issuing of orders in council for that purpose, and for mak-

ing other provisions in lieu thereof, to continue until the first day of January, 1804.

An act to continue until the twenty-ninth day of September, 1803, an act made in the parliament of Ireland in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, for regulating the import, export, and sale of coffee, and securing the duties payable thereon; and also for securing the duties payable on licenses to persons in Ireland not being maltsters, or makers of malt, selling malt by commission, or otherwise.

An act for repealing an act made in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for raising a body of miners in "the county of Cornwall and Devon, for the de-"fence of the kingdom during the present war," and for the more effectually raising and regulating a body of miners for the defence of Great-Britain.

An act for the further regulating of the trials of controverted elections, or returns of members to serve in parliament, and for expediting the proceedings relating thereto.

An act for the trying and punishing in Great-Britain, persons holding public employments, for offences committed abroad, and for extending the provisions of an act passed in the twenty-first year of the reign of king James, made for the ease of justices, and others, in pleading in suits brought against them, to all persons either in or out of this kingdom, authorised to commit to safe custody.

An act to alter, amend, and render more effectual, an act made in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of his present Majesty, for the more effectual prevention of smuggling in Great-Britain.

An act to revive and continue, until the 5th day of April, 1804, and to amend several acts passed in the twenty-seventh, thirty-fifth, and thirty-ninth years of his present Majesty's reign, for the more effectual encouragement of the British fisheries, and to continue, until the 14th day of June, 1803, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament, so much of an act of the sixth year of the reign of his present Majesty, as relates to the prohibiting the importation of foreign wrought silks and velvets.

An act to prevent British built ships to carry on the fisheries in the Pacific Ocean without license from the East-India Company, or South Sea Company.

An act to continue, until the 8th day of April, 1803, an act passed in the last session of parliament, for staying proceedings in actions under the statute of King Henry the Eighth, for abridging spiritual persons from having pluralities of livings, and of taking of farms; and also to stay proceedings in actions under an act of the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, touching leases of benefices, and other ecclesiastical livings with cure.

An act for vesting certain lands and hereditaments in trustees, for promoting the service of his Majesty's ordnance at Woolwich.

An act for repealing two acts made in the thirty-second and thirty-sixth years of the reign of his present Majesty, for the more effectual administration of the office of a jutice of the peace, in such parts of the counties of Middlesex and Surrey as lie in or near the metropolis, and for the more effectual prevention of felonies, and for making other provisions in lieu thereof, and for increasing the salaries of the justices at the Thames Police-office, until the first day of June, one thousand eight hundred and seven, and from thence to the end of the next session of parliament.

An act for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others employed in cotton and other mills, and cotton and other factories.

An act to amend an act made in the twenty-second year of the reign of his present Majesty, for the better relief and employment of the poor, so far as relates to the payment of the debts incurred for building any poor-house.

An act to extend the provisions of an act made in the thirteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for repealing so "much of an act made in the twenty-third year "of his late Majesty King George the Second, as "relates to the preventing the stealing or destroy-"ing of turnips, and for the more effectually pre-"venting the stealing or destroying of turnips, "potatoes, cabbages, parsnips, pease, and car-"rots," to certain other field crops, and to orchards, and for amending the said act.

An act for repealing so much of an act made in the second year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled "An act for the better supplying the "cities of London and Westminster with fish, "and to reduce the present exorbitant price there-"of, and to protect and encourage fishermen," as limits the number of fish to be sold by wholesale within the said city of London, and for the better regulation of the sale of fish by wholesale in the market of Billingsgate, within the said city.

An act to remove doubts as to certain acts relating to the admeasurement of coals in the city and liberty of Westminster, and parts adjacent, and to revive and continue an act passed in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of his present Majesty, relating to the admeasurement of coals within the limits aforesaid, and to indemnify all persons who have acted in pursuance of any of the provisions of the said act.

June 26, 1802.—An act for raising the sum of five millions, by loans or Exchequer bills, for the service of Great-Britain for the year 1803.

An act for raising the sum of 1,500,000l. by loans or Exchequer bills, for the service of Great-Britain for the year 1803.

An act for granting to his Majesty the sum of 200,000l. to be issued and paid to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the Commissioners for the reduction of the national debt of Great-Britain.

An act for settling and securing a certain annuity on Lord Hutchinson, Baron Hutchinson of Alexandria, and of Knocklofty, in the county of Tipperary, and the two next persons to whom the title of Baron Hutchinson shall descend, in consideration of his eminent services.

An act for repealing certain duties on paper, pasteboards, millboards, scaleboards, and glazed paper, imported into, or made in Great Britain, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof.

An act for providing a proper salary for the office of Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal in Ireland.

An act for repealing the duties granted by an act made in this session of parliament on spermaceti oil, blubber, train oil, fish oil, or oil of seals, and granting other duties in lieu thereof; for repealing the duties granted by the said act on linen yarn made of flax, and on goods, wares, or merchandize imported by the East-India Company, and exported from the warehouse in which the same shall have been secured; for exempting

stone, the produce of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark, or Man, from duty; and for permitting merchandize, the produce of any of the colonies ceded to the French and Batavian Republics, to be imported for three years from the passing of this act, upon payment of certain duties.

An act for allowing the stamping certain deeds until the the 31st of December, 1802; for amending an act passed in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of his present Majesty, relating to duties on legacies and shares of personal estates; for exempting certain legacies from the payment of duty; for reducing the allowance on present payment of stamp duties, and for reducing certain stamp duties on policies for sea insurances.

An act for exempting from the auction duty estates and effects bought in for the owner, and goods imported in any British ship from any British colony in America, or from any part of the United States; for the better collecting and securing the duties of excise on wine, home-made spirits, starch, auctions, rum shipped as stores, and on goods or merchandize chargeable with duties of excise; for granting a further allowance of salt in the curing and preserving of pilchards and scads; and for allowing certain draining tiles to be made free of duty.

An act for enlarging the time for which horses may be let to hire without being subject to any annual duty; for explaining and amending several acts relating to the duties on horses, servants, and carriages; and for authorising the allowance in the accounts of the Receivers' General, of the several sums advanced by them, in pursuance of the acts for raising a provisional force of cavalry, and not reimbursed to them by assessment.

An act to repeal the additional duty of 6l. per centum on the duties payable on the importation into Ireland of certain goods imported by retailers or consumers; and for repealing and reducing certain duties on policies of sea insurance in Ireland.

An act to authorise the Commissioners of Excise to order the restoration of exciseable goods seized or detained by officers of excise.

An act for the regulation of his Majesty's royal marine forces while on shore.

An act for amending the laws relating to the militia in England, and for augmenting the militia.

An act to raise and establish a militia force in Scotland.

An act for consolidating the provisions of the several acts, passed for the redemption and sale of the land-tax, into one act, and for making further provision for the redemption and sale thereof, and for removing doubts respecting the right of persons claiming to vote, at elections, for knights of the shire, and other members to serve in parliament, in respect of messuages, lands, or tenements, the land-tax upon which shall have been redeemed or purchased.

An act to require persons licensed to keep lottery-offices in Ireland, to divide into shares a certain number of whole lottery tickets, and for empowering the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury of Great-Britain, to remit to the Exchequer of Ireland a certain sum of money out of the contributions for lotteries.

An act for regulating the trial of controverted elections, or returns of members to serve in the United Parliament for Ireland.

An act for repealing several acts for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or resident therein, in certain cases, and for substituting other provisions in lieu thereof.

An act for repealing the rates and duties of postage upon letters to and from France and the Batavian Republic, from and to London, and for granting other rates and duties in lieu thereof; and for exempting from the duty of tonnage the ships and vessels to be employed in conveying the mails of letters from France to the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland.

An act to authorize the Lord High Treasurer or Commissioners of the Treasury in Great-Britain, and the Lord High Treasurer or Commissioners of the Treasury in Ireland; to order the use of the hydrometers, now employed in the management of the revenues, to be discontinued, and other instruments to be used instead thereof.

An act for enabling his Majesty to permit the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities into, and from, the port Road Harbour, in the Island of Tortola, until the 1st day of July, 1803, and from thence until six weeks after the commencement of the then next session of parliament.

An act for authorising, and rendering valid, the discharge of certain militia men in Ireland, and for giving indemnity to the several counties and places in Ireland which may incur any expense in consequence of the discharge of certain militia men.

An act to continue, until the 5th day of July, 1803, two acts, made in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of his present Majesty, and in the last session of parliament, for the further encouragement of the trade and manufactures of the Isle of Man, and for improving the revenue thereof.

An act more effectually to prevent the stealing of deer.

An act for increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to inn-keepers and others on quartering soldiers.

An act for extending the provision of two acts of the thirty-fifth and thirty-eighth years of his present Majesty, so far as they relate to the encouragement of persons coming to Milford Haven for the purpose of carrying on the southern whale fishery.

June 28, 1802.—An act for granting to his Majesty certain sums of money out of the respective consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland; for applying certain monies therein mentioned, for the service of the year 1802; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

An act for granting to his Majesty certain additional duties on goods imported into, and exported from, Ireland.

An act for defraying the charge of the pay of the militia in Ireland, until the 25th day of March, 1803; and for holding courts martial on serjeant-majors, serjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time such militia shall not be embodied.

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View of the Variations in the Price of the Quartern Loaf, as settled by the Lord Mayor of London. From January 6th, to June 30, 1802, inclusive.

Jan.		Feb.		March.		April.		May.		June.	
Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.
6	1s.	3	1s.	3	10d.	3	11d.	1	9d.	2	10d.
13	1s.	10	11d.	10	10d.	10	10d.	8	9d.	9	10d.
20	1s.	17	11d.	17	11d.	17	10d.	15	9d.	16	10d.
27	1s.	24	10d.	24	11d.	24	10d.	22	1d.	23	10d.
								29	9d.	30	10d.

View of the Variations in the Funds, as ascertained by the Value of 3 per Cent. Consols. From January 1, to June 30, 1802, inclusive.

Day.	Jan.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	June.
1	——	68	69	71	76	——
2	69	98	68	72	Sund.	75
3	Sund.	68	68	73	76	74
4	69	68	69	Sund.	76	——
5	69	69	68	74	76	74
6	——	68	67	77	76	Sund.
7	69	Sund.	Sund.	77	76	——
8	69	68	68	76	76	——
9	69	69	67	75	Sund.	74
10	Sund.	69	67	75	75	74
11	69	69	67	Sund.	73	75
12	69	69	67	76	74	74
13	69	69	67	76	75	Sund.
14	69	Sund.	Sund.	77	74	74
15	69	69	69	76	75	74
16	69	69	69	——	Sund.	75
17	Sund.	69	69	77	74	75
18	69	69	69	Sund.	74	75
19	69	68	69	——	74	76
20	69	68	69	——	74	Sund.
21	69	Sund.	Sund.	77	74	75
22	67	68	69	78	74	76
23	67	68	69	76	Sund.	76
24	Sund.	68	69	77	73	——
25	68	68	69	Sund.	73	76
26	68	68	69	76	73	——
27	68	68	69	77	73	Sund.
28	67	Snnd.	Sund.	76	73	——
29	67	——	69	76	——	——
30	——	——	70	77	Sund.	——
31	Sund.	——	70	——	——	——

View of the variations in the Bills of Mortality. From January 5, to June 30, 1802, inclusive.

Epochs.	Christened.		Buried.										Total.	
	Males.	Females.	under 2	2—5	5—10	10—20	20—30	30—40	40—50	50—60	60—70	70—80	80—90	90—100	Males.	Females.
From Jan. 5, to Jan. 26.	729	661	489	204	81	51	119	171	192	167	146	101	38	7	859	908
From Jan. 26, to Feb. 23.	817	718	518	228	10	53	109	164	221	223	237	94	43	13	970	913
From Feb. 23, to March 23.	832	791	495	181	77	44	104	168	204	184	128	88	28	4	862	843
From March 30, to April 27.	984	878	478	201	81	37	120	150	186	171	135	75	26	5	868	798
From April 27, to May 25.	801	667	356	140	57	38	78	121	144	133	84	61	27	5	632	613
From May 25, to June 22.	842	760	342	149	53	42	92	110	149	122	82	63	30	4	629	652

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